UNIVERSITY OF Southampton

University of Southampton Research Repository

Copyright © and Moral Rights for this thesis and, where applicable, any accompanying data are retained by the author and/or other copyright owners. A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge. This thesis and the accompanying data cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the copyright holder/s. The content of the thesis and accompanying research data (where applicable) must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the copyright holder/s.

When referring to this thesis and any accompanying data, full bibliographic details must be given, e.g.

Thesis: Author (Year of Submission) "Full thesis title", University of Southampton, name of the University Faculty or School or Department, PhD Thesis, pagination.

Data: Author (Year) Title. URI [dataset]

University of Southampton

Faculty of Humanities

Modern Languages and Linguistics

International postgraduate students' perceptions of their English in a UK university context

Jill Doubleday

ORCID ID 0000-0002-9036-9973

Doctor of Philosophy

July 2018

University of Southampton
Abstract

Faculty of Humanities
Modern Languages and Linguistics

Doctor of Philosophy

International Postgraduate Students' Perceptions of their English in a UK University Context

Jill Doubleday

The internationalisation of UK universities has resulted in increasing numbers of international students, particularly at postgraduate level. Features such as internationalisation of the curriculum and global citizenship have largely ignored language, while research into international students' experiences has revealed challenges at both the individual and the institutional level. With 'international students' used synonymously with 'non-native English speakers', issues reported are often language-related, and emphasis is placed on helping international students to meet language requirements. At the same time, scholarship in English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) has drawn attention to ways in which non-native English speakers use English, but has largely focussed on non-Anglophone environments.

This project employed documentary analysis and interviews to investigate language policies in one UK university and the effects of these on international students' perceptions of their English. Eighteen participants on postgraduate taught programmes each took part in two semi-structured interviews. Both document and interview data were analysed using a combination of qualitative content analysis and discourse analysis. The results show little consistency in language policies. While entry requirements demand demonstration of native-like English, this was not necessarily valued in assessment, and not always seen as relevant for oral interaction. Few lecturers appeared to adjust their own English, and none facilitated communication among students. On some modules, Chinese students were over-represented, resulting in little diversity and making interaction in English all but redundant. In-programme English provision was variable in its approach and perceived usefulness.

A range of factors interacted to affect perceptions. Participants' beliefs about English, and their prior English learning and use, were significant, as were their experiences of using English socially. Thus, the effects of policy varied. For some, entry policy seemed to reinforce their orientation to English as a Native Language, and for many, oral interactions were significant, both in assessed group work and socially. The findings have implications for recruitment, language policy and pedagogy. Increased student diversity would be beneficial on some programmes. Policies regarding entry requirements and assessment could be reviewed in the light of ELF scholarship. Finally, intercultural communication training for all students, international and home, as well as for lecturers, should be implemented.

Table of Contents

Table of Contents i

List of Tables ix

List of Figures xi

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship xiii

Acknowledgements xv

Abbreviations xvii

Chapter 1 Introduction 1

- 1.1 Development and context of this PhD research 1
- 1.2 Research aims and questions 6
- 1.3 Thesis Structure 7

Chapter 2 Language Policy and Practice 9

- 2.1 Language planning and language policy 9
- 2.2 Current approaches to language policy research 10
  - 2.2.1 Implicit policy/practice as policy 10
    - 2.2.1.1 Beliefs and ideology 11
    - 2.2.1.2 Conceptualisations of language ideology 12
    - 2.2.1.3 Bottom-up resistance: practice as opposing policy 15
  - 2.2.2 Language Management 16
    - 2.2.2.1 Mechanisms 16
    - 2.2.2.2 Agents 17

Chapter 3 Approaches to Academic English 19

- 3.1 English for Academic Purposes 19
  - 3.1.1 English Language Entry Tests and Pre-sessional EAP Programmes 19
  - 3.1.2 General and Specific EAP 20
    - 3.1.2.1 General EAP (EGAP) 21
    - 3.1.2.2 Specific EAP (ESAP) 23
    - 3.1.2.3 Quasi-specific EAP and Corpora 23

3.1.3 Norms and Discourse Communities 25

3.2 Critical Approaches to Academic English.................................. 27
3.2.1 Critical EAP 27

3.2.2 Academic Literacies 28

3.3 English as a Lingua Franca... 31
3.3.1 Defining and Locating ELF 32

3.3.2 ELF and Conceptualisations of Language 34

3.4 English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings 36
3.4.1 Lexico-grammar and Pragmatics....................................... 36

3.4.2 ELF(A) and Intercultural Communication 40

3.4.3 Native English Speakers in ELFA Communication 41

3.4.4 Students' Perceptions of their English.............................. 42

3.4.5 Writing 44

3.4.6 Pedagogy and Assessment 46

Chapter 4 Internationalisation of UK Higher Education........................ 49

4.1 Internationalisation of Higher Education 49
4.2 Internationalisation at Home, Internationalisation of the curriculum, and Global Citizenship 50
4.3 UK International Students 53
4.4 Assessment as a Policy Mechanism 54
4.4.1 English Language Entry Tests 54

4.4.2 Assessment of English on content programmes................ 55

4.5 Lecturers as Policy Agents 57
4.5.1 Lecturer (non-) accommodation to international students . 57

4.5.2 Lecturers as facilitators of intercultural communication 60

4.6 International Students' Perceptions of their English................... 62
Chapter 5 Research Methodology.. 67

5.1 Introduction 67
5.2 Research questions 67
5.2.1 Research aims... 68

5.2.2. Research questions..68
5.3 Research Design: a qualitative case study approach...................70
5.3.1 Qualitative inquiry: a constructivist- interpretivist worldview70
5.3.2 A qualitative case study approach.....................................71
5.3.2.1 The nature of case study research...................................... 72
5.3.2.2 The case, its boundaries and its contexts........................... 73
5.3.2.3 In-depth investigation and multiple perspectives................. 74
5.4 Setting and Participants 76
5.4.1 The University 76
5.4.2 Participants 77
5.4.3 Reflexivity of the researcher 78
5.5 Research instruments and data collection procedures................80
5.5.1 Documents...81
5.5.2 Interviews...82
5.5.2.1 Questionnaire 83
5.5.2.2 Qualitative Interviews.. 84
5.5.2.3 Carrying out the interviews 85
5.6 Ethical considerations 88
5.7 Methodology limitations...89
5.8 Reliability, validity and trustworthiness.....................................90
Chapter 6 English Language Policy: Entry and In-programme 93
6.1 Theoretical Approach and Analytical Framework 94
6.1.1 A discursive, social constructionist approach 94
6.1.2 critical Discourse Analysis and Qualitative Content Analysis96
6.1.3 Approach to coding using Qualitative Content Analysis.....98
6.2 English language entry policy...100
6.2.1 English Language Entry - Coding.....................................101
6.2.2 English language entry policy findings 102
6.2.2.1 Native English 102

6.2.2.2 English 107
6.3 In-programme English language policies 112
6.3.1 In-sessional English coding 112
6.3.2 In-sessional EL policy findings 113
6.3.2.1 Agency 114
6.3.2.2 English for General Academic Purposes (EGAP) approach ... 115
6.3.2.3 English as a Foreign Language (EFL) approach 118
6.3.2.4 Academic Literacy approach 119
6.3.3 Assessment guidance coding 119
6.3.4 Findings: assessment guidance policy 120
6.3.4.1 Accommodation 120
6.3.4.2 No accommodation 123
6.3.5 Assessment criteria coding 124
6.3.6 Findings: assessment criteria 126
6.3.6.1 English explicit 126
6.3.6.2 English implicit 127
6.4 Summary 131
Chapter 7 Interview findings: in-programme practices 133
7.1 Analytical framework 133
7.2 Transcription and coding 134
7.3 Thematic Framework 136
7.4 Findings: in-programme policies 136
7.4.1 In-sessional EAP provision 136
7.4.2 Evaluation of English in assessment 137
7.4.2.1 English explicit 138
7.4.2.2 Accommodation 139
7.4.2.3 English implicit 142
7.4.2.4 English absent 143
7.4.3 Lecturer accommodation: own use of English 143

7.4.3.1 Accommodation 145
7.4.3.2 Non-accommodation 146
7.4.3.3 Intelligibility 147
7.4.4 Lecturer facilitation of intercultural communication in group work 151
7.4.4.1 Communication smooth 151
7.4.4.2 Communication difficult 152
7.5 Summary 154
Chapter 8 Interview findings concerning participants' perceptions of their English 157
8.1 Thematic Framework 157
8.2 Links with perceptions 158
8.2.1 Entry route 158
8.2.1.1 Pre-sessional courses 158
8.2.1.2 IELTS as entry route 161
8.2.2 Previous English experience 163
8.2.2.1 IELTS as previous English Experience 164
8.2.2.2 Other English experience 166
8.2.3 Speaking socially 168
8.2.3.1 Negative effects – NES interlocutors 168
8.2.3.2 Positive effects 172
8.2.4 In-programme English provision 173
8.2.4.1 Academic Literacies 173
8.2.4.2 English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP) 174
8.2.4.3 English for General Academic Purposes (EGAP) 174
8.2.4.4 English as a Foreign Language (EFL) 175
8.2.5 Group Work 177
8.2.5.1 Negative effects 177
8.2.5.2 Positive effects 179

8.2.5.3 English absent 181
8.2.6 Lecturers 182
8.2.6.1 Negative effects 183
8.2.6.2 Positive effects 186
8.2.7 Assessment 187
8.2.7.1 Process – negative, product – positive 187
8.2.7.2 Explicit assessment of English - negative effect 189
8.2.7.3 Implicit assessment of English - negative effect 192
8.2.7.4 No assessment of English - negative effect 197
8.3 Summary 202
Chapter 9 Conclusion 207
9.1 Overview of Research Findings 207
9.1.1 RQ 1 The University's academic English language policies 207
9.1.1.1 RQ1a Expectation of native-like English in entry requirements 207
9.1.1.2 RQ1b In-programme policies 209
9.1.2 RQ 2 Effect of policies on perceptions 211
9.1.3 RQ3 Effects of different approaches to policy and practices 214
9.2 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research 216
9.3 Significance and Contribution 218
9.4 Implications 219
9.5 Summary and conclusion 220
Appendices 222
Appendix 1. Interview Participants 222
Appendix 2. Online survey about English language for international students starting a Master's programme 224
Appendix 3. Interview 1 guide 227
Appendix 4. Interview 2 Guide 228
Appendix 5. Participant Information Sheet (Face to Face) 229
Appendix 6. Consent Form (Face to Face) 231

Appendix 7. Documents analysed: English entry requirements, Research Question 1a........232
Appendix 8. Coding Frame 1, English language entry requirements, Research Question 1a........233
Appendix 9. Documents analysed: in-sessional English, Research Question 1b........234
Appendix 10. Documents analysed: assessment guidance, Research Question 1b........235
Appendix 11. Documents analysed: assessment criteria, Research Question 1b........236
Appendix 12. Coding Frame 2, Research Question 1b........237
Appendix 13. Coding Frame 2 Code definitions........239
Appendix 14. Interview themes: in-programme practices........240
Appendix 15. Interview themes: perceptions and policy/non-policy241
Appendix 16. Transcription Conventions........242
Appendix 17. Sample transcript........243
List of References........265

List of Tables

Table 1 Interview scheduling within semesters 1 and 2 86
Table 2 Other English Language Tests (UoS, 2014b) 103
Table 3 Comparison of pre-sessional and pre-Masters aims 109
Table 4 Categorisation of entry routes as native English or English 111
Table 5 In-programme language policy document sources 112
Table 6 Lecturer intelligibility in first and second round interviews 144
Table 7 Lecturer (un)intelligibility by reason 148
Table 8 Participants' IELTS Scores 162

List of Figures

Figure 1 Data collection and analysis sequence... 80
Figure 2 Coding Frame 1, English language entry policy 102
Figure 3 Coding Frame 2, main dimensions - In-programme English Language Policy... 112
Figure 4 Coding Frame 2, dimension of In-sessional English Provision 113
Figure 5 Coding Frame 2, dimension of Assessment Guidance.................. 120
Figure 6 Coding Frame 2, dimension of ‘assessment criteria’.................... 125
Figure 7 Links between perceptions, beliefs and experiences................... 211

Research Thesis: Declaration of Authorship

Print name:	Jill Doubleday

Title of thesis:	International postgraduate students’ perceptions of their English in a UK university context.

I declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is my own and has been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

1. This work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
2. Where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
3. Where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
4. Where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
5. I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
6. Where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
7. Either none of this work has been published before submission, or parts of this work have been published as: [please list references below]:

Doubleday, J. (2014) *National English language entry policy at an ‘International’ UK university?* Paper presented at the Seventh International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF7). 4-6 September 2014. Athens, Greece.

Doubleday, J. (2018) We (don’t) need to talk. *Communication among international students in group projects*. Paper presented at the Eleventh International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF11). 5-7 July 2018. London, UK.

Signature:		Date:	19 July 2018

Acknowledgements

I am extremely grateful to the 18 postgraduate students who gave up their time to share their thoughts and (sometimes painful) experiences with me. Without them, this project would not have been possible.

I have benefited enormously from the inspiration, insight and expertise of my main supervisor, Professor Jennifer Jenkins and my second supervisor, Dr Alasdair Archibald. Members of the Centre for Global Englishes have supported me in continuing on the long road to completion, as have colleagues in Modern Languages and Linguistics and the Academic Centre for International Students. Particular thanks go to Ying Wang, Rob Baird, Alison Dickens, Laura Dominguez, Julia Hüttner, Sonia Moran Panero and Virginie Pignot-Shahov.

On a practical note, I would like to thank Sami Al-Hasnawi and Graciela Arizmendi for their advice on NVivo, and the library and iSolutions teams for practical help on more than one occasion. Huge thanks go to the Graduate School, particularly Luke Fletcher, for his unfailing patience in answering my many queries. I would also like to acknowledge the university's generous support with fees.

Finally, my heartfelt thanks go to my family and friends for their support and understanding of my frequent inability to spend time with them. My partner Tricia Worby and our boy Sidney have kept me calm and healthy, and without them, I could not have done this.

Abbreviations

AL	Academic Literacy
ALs	Academic Literacies
cDA	critical Discourse Analysis
CEAP	Critical English for Academic Purposes
EAP	English for Academic Purposes
EAS	English for Academic Studies
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
EGAP	English for General Academic Purposes
ELF	English as a Lingua Franca
ELFA	English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings
EMI	English Medium Instruction
ENL	English as a Native Language
ESAP	English for Specific Academic Purposes
EU	European Union
GC	Global Citizenship
HE	Higher Education
HEFCE	Higher Education Funding Council for England
HEPI	Higher Education Policy Institute
HESA	Higher Education Statistics Authority
HS	Home student
IC	Intercultural Communication
ICA	Intercultural Awareness
ICC	Intercultural Communicative Competence

Abbreviations

ICE	Intercultural Citizenship Education
IaH	Internationalisation at Home
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
IoC	Internationalisation of the Curriculum
IS	International student
L1	First language
LEP	Language Education Policy
NES	Native English Speaker
NNES	Non-Native English Speaker
OFS	Office for Students
PG	Postgraduate
PGT	Postgraduate Taught
QCA	Qualitative Content Analysis
SELT	Secure English Language Test
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
UG	Undergraduate
UoS	University of Southampton
WrELFA	Written English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings corpus

Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Development and context of this PhD research

Two years before beginning this PhD project, I had completed a Master's dissertation investigating the attitudes of pre-sessional EAP (English for Academic Purposes) tutors towards English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). A few months later, I started working as an EAP tutor at the same institution. One question in particular that I had posed to my participants kept coming back to me. I had asked who they thought their students would interact with, both on their degree programmes and after graduation, calling this the "interlocutor factor." It seemed important to understand this, in order to best prepare students for their futures. If they would be mainly interacting with other non-native English speakers, using English as a lingua franca, then how useful would it be to teach them to sound like native English speakers? My initial experience of the EAP department indicated that most of my colleagues had not considered this, and were not aware of ELF research.

The interlocutor factor is significant, since the aim of ELF is intercultural communication, unlike EFL (English as a Foreign Language), which is learnt to communicate with native English speakers (Jenkins, 2014). Seidlhofer defines ELF as 'any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option' (2011: 7). ELF then is not a variety of English but rather 'a variable way of using it: English that functions *as* a lingua franca' (ibid, p77, emphasis in original). For some, ELF is not relevant in the UK (e.g. Lynch, 2011), but as Jenkins points out, the geographical location is less significant than other factors such as the interlocutors, the purpose of the communication and 'the speakers' orientations towards their use of English' (2014: 29). While some international students in the UK may wish to use English to communicate with local native speakers, others may primarily communicate with other international students and be less concerned with learning native-like English (Björkman, 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011).

I was also curious to know whether any adjustments had been made to teaching and learning in the disciplines in response to increased recruitment of international students. Given my experience of the EAP department, I was not optimistic. Frankly, I felt rather uneasy at the potential imbalance between the investment made *by* international students compared with the university's investment *in* those students. One lecturer's comment stands out as indicative of a particular view.. This came several years after I had started my doctoral study and was running a workshop for academics on teaching international students. Unlike the optional workshops that I also run, the session was part of a compulsory course for lecturers[1] without teaching qualifications, meaning that participants may not be positively oriented to making adjustments. This particular lecturer's objection was along the lines of, "Well, if I chose to go to France and study for a master's that was taught in French, I would make sure my French was good enough". This use of 'chose' struck me: did it suggest the lecturer had a limited understanding of why students come to the UK? Perhaps he had not considered how the status of English as a global lingua franca might constrain 'choice', and why the comparison with French was therefore of limited use. What he meant by 'good enough' was not explained, but by then I had heard and read so many similar comments during my work and research that it seemed reasonable to think that 'good enough' might mean 'in comparison to a native speaker.' These are some of the themes I explore in my research project, but before providing an overview of the chapters, I will first elaborate on its context and development.

Across the UK, international students now make up a substantial proportion of the student body, particularly at postgraduate taught (PGT) level, where 34% were international in 2016-17 (HESA, 2018). To clarify, the term 'international student' here refers to students domiciled outside the UK, so the figures include students from Australasia and North America, but these account for less than 7% of all PGT students (ibid). For visa purposes, students are categorised as UK, EU and international students. However, in research into UK higher education and language policy, 'international student' is generally used synonymously with 'non-native English-speaker' and 'home student' equates to 'native English speaker'. While acknowledging debates in linguistics regarding the native speaker (e.g. Davies, 1991, 2003; Widdowson,1994; Flowerdew, 2000), in this thesis I use the term 'international student' (henceforth, IS) to mean those students whose native language is not English *as defined by the prevailing language policy*, and who therefore need to provide proof of their English proficiency to gain entry to university in the UK I use ‘home student’ (henceforth, HS) to mean those students considered to be native English speakers in the context of UK university language policy. When discussing studies conducted outside the UK, I use the terms non-native English speakers (NNESs) and native English speakers (NESs).

---

[1] In this thesis I use 'lecturer' to distinguish academics teaching content from EAP tutors.

It is not my intention to suggest that ISs are a linguistically homogenous group. My experience tells me otherwise: I have often taught academic English to very diverse groups of ‘non-native English speakers’. Recently, these included an undergraduate whose mother tongue was Portuguese but who was domiciled in the UK, so was considered a ‘home’ (UK/EU) student – a status that resulted in her reaching the end of her 2nd year before being invited to join academic English classes. The university policy of offering English lessons to *international* students meant that she had been overlooked until her personal tutor contacted me. My groups have also included Indian students with English as one of their native languages and students from Brazil, France, Hong Kong, Myanmar and South Sudan who have used English for most of their lives, some of them studying in English-medium schools. Alongside these students are more ‘typical’ ISs from places such as China, Kuwait, Hungary and Greece, who have learned English as a foreign, rather than a second, language. Yet all of these students have had to demonstrate their English proficiency through a recognised test – or rather, they have had to demonstrate proficiency in a *particular* English. Despite their having done this, however, there are lecturers like the one above who seem to find their English ‘not good enough’. For my research, I was interested in finding out how these two factors - the explicit language policy and lecturers’ practices - might affect how students feel about their English.

The observation by Bourdieu and Passeron that ‘Academic language (…) is no one's mother tongue’ (1994: 8) is often quoted to acknowledge that all students need to learn the discourses of academia. But Bourdieu also made the point that some students start with an advantage in terms of their background, meaning they begin closer than do other students to the legitimate, ‘consecrated (…) language enshrined in texts’ (Grenfell, 2012: 68). Linguistically speaking, NES students can be considered to have an advantage (Ferguson, 2007; Kuteeva, 2014). However, it seemed to me that some lecturers might not recognise this, perhaps assuming that an IS with an English language certificate is a *de facto* native English speaker – or at least should be. Moreover, as I noted at the beginning, I wondered if ENL (English as a Native Language) was unquestioned because of the geographical context, with the assumption made that ISs would communicate largely with NESs. Mauranen notes that research into academic English has 'traditionally oriented to the native speaker' because NNESs typically studied in ENL countries (2012: 69). She asserts that this orientation is inadequate, given the increasing numbers of EMI (English Medium Instruction) programmes in non-ENL contexts (ibid)[2]. Jenkins has argued that the orientation to native English is equally inadequate in ENL environments if ISs are in the majority and are studying in an 'international' university (2011, 2014).

The label 'international' is ambiguous, however. For example, the Times Higher Education ranking of the 'most international universities' is based on the proportion of international staff and students, the number of published research papers co-authored by academics in different countries and international reputation (Times Higher Education, 2018). There is no reference to how students experience the institutions, only to their presence. In contrast, Knight's frequently cited definition of the *internationalisation of higher education* focuses on teaching and learning. She notes, 'To many, it means the inclusion of an international, intercultural, and/or global dimension into the curriculum and teaching and learning process' (2004: 6). Thinking about my research context, I wondered if an intercultural dimension to teaching and learning might affect lecturers' practices in relation to English, especially since a number of scholars outside the field of ELF have also raised concerns. Henderson, for example, questions how staff construct notions of legitimate English through tasks and marking criteria (2009), pointing out the contradiction between valuing diversity while accepting only native speaker-like spoken English as the only legitimate English (2011).

As I noted above, my EAP colleagues appeared to be uninformed about ELF research, and indeed Björkman (2011) points out that ELF scholarship does not yet seem to be finding its way into mainstream EAP. Neither does it appear to feature in studies in the field of ISs and internationalisation. While there is some evidence that ISs are viewed positively (e.g. Higher Education Policy Institute (HEPI)/Higher Education Academy (HEA), 2015), universities face a number of challenges as a result of their presence. These include difficulties integrating ISs and HSs (e.g. Wang, 2012; Rienties, Alcott and Jindal-Snape, 2014), with English often being cited as a factor. HSs hold negative views of ISs' English (e.g. Harrison and Peacock, 2010; Henderson, 2011) and are concerned that it will lower marks for group projects (e.g. Harrison and Peacock, 2009; Elliot and Reynolds, 2014). At the same time, ISs struggle to understand HSs' English and feel they dominate discussions (e.g. Welikala and Watkins, 2008; Jenkins, 2014), and have trouble following lectures if the lecturer does not accommodate to their presence (e.g. Hyland et al., 2008; Liu, 2013).

---

[2] While EMI is used by some scholars to include the UK and other ENL universities (e.g. Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra, 2013; Lauridsen and Lillemose, 2015; Baker and Hüttner, 2017; Blaj-Ward, 2017b), others exclude Anglophone countries (e.g. Wächter and Maiworm, 2014).

The typical response to these challenges is to require ISs to attend in-sessional English classes (e.g. Turner and Robson, 2008; Quan, Smailes and Fraser, 2013). This tendency to place responsibility for adaptation solely with ISs appears to be not only unsuccessful, given the research outlined above, but also anachronistic in the light of two significant areas of scholarship: the internationalisation of higher education, and English as a lingua franca. In an era when university rankings and the quality of the student experience are given increasing prominence, organisations such as the HEA have pledged to improve the learning experience of all students (HEA, 2015). The Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) notes that, while England has the advantage of courses in a global language, quality of education is the most important factor affecting a student's choice of destination (HEFCE, 2014). Furthermore, greater effort is needed to continue to recruit ISs because of increased competition from other countries as a result of education becoming more globalized (ibid). In fact, IS numbers fell in 2012-13 for the first time in 30 years (ibid) and the direction of immigration policy gives cause for further concern (HEPI/HEA, 2015). Yet while IS are most visible at PG level, an environment focussed on rankings based on the National Student Survey, which is completed by undergraduates (Ipsos Mori and Office for Students, 2018) silences their voices. Although Hayes outlines ways in which the recently introduced Teaching Excellence Framework 'could become an opportunity for inclusion of international students as equals' (2017: 294), this too is linked to undergraduate students' opinions.

Despite this, there appear to have been few studies seeking to understand how ISs feel about their English, and why they feel like this. As outlined above, it seemed to me that language policies and practices might affect students' perceptions, but studies into this area are lacking in the literature. While language policy research has been undertaken in EMI universities outside Anglophone areas (e.g. Cots, 2013; Saarinen and Nikula, 2013), much of this tends to look at the use of English and the home language. In the UK, language policy investigations would necessarily have a different slant, looking at what kinds of Englishes are used and accepted, but research has mainly focussed on academic English provision, rather than English (e.g. Wingate, 2015; Pilcher and Richards, 2016).

Moreover, there has been little research that considers English language policy in UK universities in the context of ELF, other than that by Jenkins (2014), Al-Hasnawi (2016), Baker and Hüttner (2017) and Jenkins et al (in press, 2018). Baker and Hüttner (2017) looked at the language practices of both lecturers and students in three EMI programmes, one of which was set in a UK university. Al-Hasnawi (2016) explored content and language lecturers' beliefs and practices about English. Jenkins' (2014) study yielded valuable insights into what being an 'international' university means in respect of academic English policies, through website analysis and a survey of staff. The third component of Jenkins' study, conversations with 34 postgraduate ISs, explored the impact of their orientations to policy and practice on their 'academic identities and self-esteem' (ibid., 72). Finally, Jenkins et al (in press 2018) investigated linguistic diversity, drawing on analysis of language policy, linguistic landscaping, interviews with lecturers and students, and classroom observations.

While student perceptions were included in two of these studies, it is evident that language policy and perceptions in UK universities remains an under-researched field.

1.2 Research aims and questions

This project aims to investigate one UK university's academic English language policies, and international postgraduate students' perceptions of their English. In this thesis, I use the term 'perceptions' to mean how ISs feel about their English, in the sense of whether they feel confident about using English, particularly for studying. Other studies that have used 'perceptions' in the same way include Hall and Sung 2009, Hennebry, Lo and Macaro 2012 and Karakas 2015. The following research questions were formulated to guide the research. Question 1 is further subdivided into two areas for investigation.

1. What are the university's explicit and implicit academic English language policies with regard to international students?

    a) To what extent do the English language entry requirements indicate that native-like English is expected?

    b) What policies and practices apply once students are undertaking degree programmes?

2. To what extent do the university's policies affect international students' perceptions of their English?

3. In what ways and to what extent are international students affected by different approaches to language policy and practices?

By addressing the first question, I aimed to gain an understanding of the university's English language policies and practices. With the second question, I sought to understand the tangible and intangible effects of policies and practices on IS perceptions' of their English. The third research question was designed to investigate any effects that different policies and practices had on their perceptions.These findings will contribute to filling a gap in the literature relating to the IS experience, and will be of interest to EAP tutors, lecturers and policymakers. I hope that my research will provide valuable insights that can contribute to bringing about improvements in the experience that ISs have in UK universities.

1.3 Thesis Structure

To answer these research questions, this thesis is structured as follows. Chapter 2 explores approaches to language policy. It considers explicit and implicit policy, language practices and language ideology, ending with a discussion of language management. Chapter 3 is concerned with approaches to academic English, beginning with a critical overview of EAP. The alternative approaches of Critical EAP and Academic Literacies are discussed next, followed by English as a Lingua Franca research conducted in academic settings (ELFA). Chapter 4 turns to internationalisation of UK higher education, focusing on the attention given to language in the theoretical literature. This is followed by a discussion of empirical studies looking at language policy mechanisms and agents. The chapter concludes with an overview of previous research into ISs' perceptions of their English. Chapter 5 deals with research methodology, and includes justification of my chosen research design and instruments. It also incorporates a detailed discussion of my involvement in the research setting.

The following three chapters present discussion of findings. Chapters 6 and 7 focus on document and interview data respectively, to examine policy and practices in the university. Chapter 8 investigates participants' perceptions through interview data. Finally, Chapter 9 draws findings together to address the research questions.

Chapter 2 Language Policy and Practice

In this chapter, I consider key issues in language policy. Following a brief overview of terminology, I examine each component in Spolsky's (2004) tripartite model of practices, beliefs and management, and the relationship between them. Spolsky's conceptualisation of practices is contrasted with the perspectives taken by Shohamy (2006) and Tollefson (2011). This incorporates a discussion of ideology, particularly in relation to standard English. The final section looks at language management, focusing on Shohamy's (2006) notions of mechanisms and agents.

2.1 Language planning and language policy

In this thesis, I use the term language policy, as opposed to language planning. Although there are differences in how the terms are used, language *planning* is associated with a period when the field was generally seen as ideologically neutral (Tollefson, 1991; 2011; Ferguson, 2006). By the end of the 1980s, critical analyses of language *policies* emerged (Ricento, 2000). There was increasing interest in social, economic and political matters such as maintaining linguistic diversity and addressing issues of social disadvantage (Ricento, 2000; Ferguson, 2006; Tollefson, 2011). Some scholars foreground the role of discourse (e.g. Tollefson, 2011), with Lo Bianco emphasising the need to examine how language is used to talk about language, particularly the ways in which it is used to influence how problems are perceived, or which problems receive attention (2004, 2005, 2008, 2010).

The term *language policy* is, however, used in different ways. Ricento (2000) for example, uses it as a superordinate term, to reflect the fact that research is interested in more than just attempts to *manage* language policy; it is also concerned with cultural and historical factors that affect both attitudes and practices. For Tollefson, *language policy* refers to 'explicit or implicit language planning by official bodies, such as ministries of education, workplace managers, or school administrators' (2011: 357). In contrast, Spolsky offers an interpretation of policy as practices, as discussed in the following section.

2.2 Current approaches to language policy research

Spolsky (2004) argues that there are three aspects to the language policy of a speech community: its practices; its beliefs or ideology; and any intervention, planning or management. In the remainder of this chapter, I examine what is meant by each of these components, and how they interact.

I first examine the notion of implicit policy, contrasting Spolsky's characterisation of this with those of Shohamy and Tollefson. Second, beliefs and ideology are considered, and third, language management, again drawing on Shohamy.

2.2.1 Implicit policy/practice as policy

For Spolsky, *policy* is used in one of two ways. Firstly, it is an overarching term for practices, beliefs and management; secondly, a policy may be formed, and usually written, as part of a language management effort (2004). Furthermore, in the absence of an explicit policy in the second sense, policy may be implicit in a speech community's language practices or beliefs (ibid). As Spolsky puts it, in any social group there will be 'one or more ideological views of appropriate language use and behaviour, and certainly there will be observable, if irregular and not consistent, patterns of language practice' (ibid, p39).

Equally, there may be two policies, since members of a speech community may follow their own policy, even when an official, explicit policy exists (ibid). Spolsky therefore argues that the most effective way to identify the 'real' language policy is to look at practices: 'look at what people do and not what they think they should do or what someone else wants them to do' (ibid, p218). This suggests that it is the practices of the 'managed' that reveal the policy, which raises the question of whether the practices of the managers, those with 'authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs' (Spolsky, 2009: 4), also constitute the 'real' policy. Although Spolsky has qualified the notion of 'practice as policy' by saying that practices 'constitute policy to the extent that they are regular and predictable' (ibid), it seems that there could be multiple 'policies' in any one community.

Moreover, from a critical perspective, Spolsky's discussion of practices representing the 'real' policy can be seen as problematic because of the apparent focus on the 'managed' without acknowledgement of power relations. In the domain of higher education, with the gatekeeping role played by language policy and its managers, 'practice-as-policy' may be a source of confusion if applied to students, given that they, as the 'managed', may have little choice but to do what 'someone else wants them to do'. It is therefore helpful to consider other views of explicit and implicit policy.

For Shohamy, explicit policy is found in 'official documents such as national laws, declaration of certain languages as "official" or "national", language standards, curricula, tests, and other types of documents' (2006: 50). In cases where policies are not explicitly stated it is possible to form an *implicit understanding* of policy by examining a range of de facto practices; in this case, the policy can be considered 'hidden' from the public eye (Shohamy, 2006: 50; 2007: 119). By referring to policy as 'hidden' Shohamy implies it is the practices of the managers, not the managed, which constitute the policy. Similarly, for Tollefson implicit policy refers to rules or guidelines, established by those in power, that are not written down, but are 'implicitly understood' (2011: 358).

In order to explore this further, I next consider the relationship between beliefs and practices.

2.2.1.1 Beliefs and ideology

The second component in Spolsky's model concerns ideology or beliefs:

> The members of a speech community share also a general set of beliefs about appropriate language practices, sometimes forming a consensual ideology, assigning values and prestige to various aspects of the language varieties used in it.
>
> (Spolsky, 2004: 14)

Two aspects of this statement require scrutiny here: what is meant by a speech community and the matter of a 'consensual ideology'. Spolsky defines a speech community as 'any group of people who share a set of language practices and beliefs' (2004: 9), but others have argued that the notion of a homogeneous speech community, in which all members share beliefs about language use, is a myth (Fairclough, 1992; Gal, 1998). Spolsky later had misgivings, referring to the 'fuzziness' of the term 'speech community', and choosing to use 'domain' to provide a 'more defined organizational unit' (2009: 2). He explains that a domain has three characteristics: the role-relations of participants, the location and the topic (Fishman, 1972 in Spolsky, 2009), and expands the third to include 'communicative function - what is the reason for speaking or writing' (2009: 3).

Spolsky notes that since a person takes on different roles in different domains, s/he is familiar with a range of language practices and beliefs (ibid). An individual may therefore have a preference for the values of one domain whilst in another, meaning that practices may not align with beliefs (ibid). This may be because the variety or language most highly valued by the speaker, which Spolsky states is likely to be that associated with identity, may not be equally valued in the community, so a speaker may use 'stigmatized forms' (ibid, p4). Spolsky argues that the variety that *is* valued in the community is related to the number and importance of its users, along with the advantages it brings to its speakers, both socially and economically (2009). This assignment of value to one variety sometimes comes about through a 'consensual ideology' (2004: 14).

With his emphasis on choice and consensus, Spolsky seems to neglect the possibility that the domain may constrain the 'choice' available to an individual to such an extent that she uses forms that are in conflict with her beliefs. This was the case with a participant in research by Lillis (2001: 85), who felt 'imprisoned' by the constraints of an academic discourse community. This is considered in the next section, which explores language ideology.

2.2.1.2 Conceptualisations of language ideology

Ideology may be seen as a negative or a neutral phenomenon (Woolard, 1998). Some scholars view it as 'ideas, discourse, or signifying practices in the service of the struggle to acquire or maintain power' (ibid, p7). Here, ideology is mostly associated with dominant groups sustaining asymmetrical relations of power, while subordinate groups are held to be non-ideological (ibid). When seen as neutral, however, ideology is 'derived from, rooted in, reflective of, or responsive to the experience or interests of a particular social position*, even though ideology so often (in some cases, always) represents itself as universally true'* (ibid, p6, emphasis added). The italicised part of the previous statement points to the division between the two groups of scholars, for it is when the interests of a particular group are not only presented as universally true, but are *accepted* as such, that critical scholars take a negative stance towards ideology.

Spolsky's conceptualisation of ideology would seem to fit with this second, neutral use, given that, as noted above, he states that a consensual ideology may be formed from a shared set of beliefs (2004). It is also noteworthy that *choice* is frequently referred to by Spolsky, and is even used in the opening line of his 2009 monograph: 'Language policy is all about choices' (2009: 1). Although there is acknowledgement that language users are constrained, such as by their 'understanding of what is appropriate to the domain' (ibid, p34), Spolsky appears not to address the issues of power and struggle in connection with how practices are judged as appropriate and whether in fact the 'choice' is illusory (Pennycook, 1994; Chowdhury and Phan Le Ha, 2014).

In contrast, critical scholars such as Tollefson (1991, 2006), Fairclough (2001) and Shohamy (2006) strongly identify ideology with power relations. Tollefson, for example, defines ideology as 'unconscious beliefs and assumptions that are "naturalized" and thus contribute to hegemony' (2006: 46). He maintains that a classroom is a clear example of a place in which a language policy reflects relationships of unequal power, so that one individual is able to promote his or her beliefs as common sense (Tollefson, 1995). However, this does not mean that the teacher permanently holds the power; rather, power is found 'within relationships in which struggles over power are won or lost' (ibid, p2). For Tollefson then, in contrast to Spolsky, language policy ideology is less about consensus and choice and more about coercion and struggle (2011).

Fairclough defines ideologies as 'common-sense' assumptions, embedded in linguistic conventions, which both reflect and reinforce the unequal power relations in society (2001: 2). He uses 'common-sense' to denote that people are usually unaware of these assumptions (ibid). Moreover, ideologies do not become common sense 'just like that' (Blommaert, 1999: 10). Rather, they are 'being (re)produced by a range of practices, from the institutional to the everyday' and these practices may result in '*normalization,* i.e. a hegemonic pattern in which the ideological claims are perceived as "normal" ways of thinking and acting' (1999: 10-11). In the case of English, the 'common sense' view of standard English as 'correct' results from, and is perpetuated by, the *ideology of standardisation* (Milroy and Milroy, 2012). Regarding negative value judgements that people make about non-standard English, Cameron asserts that common sense is 'the most powerful ideology there is' (2012: xxv).

The ‘normal’, ‘common sense’ view of ‘good English’ is that it is the English produced by educated native speakers, by which is meant standard English (Mauranen, 2012; Jenkins, 2014). This ideology is generally assumed to be transmitted through the conventional education system (e.g. Seidlhofer, 2011), and while Cameron (2012) asserts that there is little clear evidence of how this happens, a number of other scholars suggest factors such as classroom language, textbooks and examinations (Lo Bianco, 2010), teachers’ opinions (Lippi-Green, 2012), and policy documents and teacher correction (Snell, 2013).

The question of choice, then, is particularly pertinent in relation to which language variety is accepted as the standard (Haugen, 1972) given that, in education, users arguably have little choice in ‘accepting’ the standard, at least while in that domain (Armstrong and Mackenzie, 2013). But as Cameron points out, a situation in which a majority of people conform most of the time need not signify their *acceptance* of that standard; instead, it may reflect the fact that the conditions in which language is used are not conducive to resisting or deviating from it (2012: 7, footnote 4). Furthermore, as Blommaert notes, ‘the hegemony of one ideology does not necessarily imply total consensus or total homogeneity. On the contrary, ambiguity and contradiction may be key features of every ideology, and subjects’ adherence to one ideology or another is often inconsistent or ambivalent’ (1999: 11). In other words, even when an ideology is thought of in the negative sense, as being imposed by the power holders, it does not follow that every individual emphatically holds the views that have been imposed. There may be no overt resistance or struggle, but this should not be taken to imply acquiescence.

Moreover, it is problematic to exclude individual agency in making choices, however constrained those choices may be (Wright, 2004; Ferguson, 2012). Language users who conform to the appropriate norms may be doing so with their eyes open: their choices may be strategic and pragmatic, designed to gain entry to the discourse community. That is, they may not believe that standard English is more superior to any other variety, but know they have to conform to it. Alternatively, individuals may genuinely believe in its superiority, but the degree to which their belief has been affected by the prevailing ideology may be difficult to determine (Milroy and Milroy, 2012).

Lippi-Green argues that when those speakers who are likely to be disadvantaged by the standard language ideology nevertheless acquiesce to it, they ‘become complicit in its propagation against themselves, their own interests and identities’ (2012: 68), making a similar point to Bourdieu’s characterisation of those individuals who lack ‘the necessary ways of speaking, thinking and doing’, asserting that they ‘accept and even collude in their own exclusion’ (Grenfell, 2012: 57). Lippi-Green goes on to point out, however, that this does not suggest that such a speaker will always remain complicit given that a point of resistance may be reached (2012). The notion of resistance is discussed in the next section.

2.2.1.3 Bottom-up resistance: practice as opposing policy

Spolsky’s view of practice-as-policy was discussed above. From this perspective, language practices that do not conform to the explicit policy are seen as amounting to an implicit policy. An alternative view of non-conformism is to see it as resistance.

Shohamy (2006) suggests that policies are normally statements of intention, with implementation being comparatively neglected. Thus, there may be no guarantee of the policy being followed, and language use may even oppose the stated policy, a situation which is considered to be bottom-up resistance of top-down implementation attempts (ibid). Policy-makers may view non-conformism as ‘problematical’, but it is inevitable when policy-makers disregard a community’s linguistic culture (Schiffman, 2006: 112). Similarly, Brumfit argues that people ‘will do what they will do’ despite the existence of a policy, or perhaps in response to it (Brumfit, 2006: 37).

For Schiffman, language policy is not just the ‘explicit (…) “top-down” decision-making about language, but also the implicit (…) grass-roots, ideas and assumptions which can influence the *outcomes* of policy making just as emphatically and definitively as the more explicit decisions’ (2006: 112, emphasis in original). Thus while non-conformist beliefs and practices are not seen as constituting a policy, as in Spolsky’s view, they are viewed as having an influence on outcomes; for this reason, Schiffman cautions against uncritically accepting statements made by the ‘power elite’ about language policy and language use (2006: 116). Similarly, Canagarajah advises language policy researchers to pay attention to ‘what ethnography reveals about life at the grass-roots level – the indistinct voices and acts of individuals in whose name policies are formulated’

(2006: 154). Referring to 'marginalized subjects' resisting policies, he argues that the resulting alternative practices that exist alongside dominant policies sometimes bring about transformations in unequal relationships (ibid).

In summary, resistance can occur because a policy does not reflect the actual language practices of a community, and can bring about changes to that policy. The next section will explore policy from the top-down perspective, by looking at ways in which policy makers attempt to manage language use.

2.2.2 Language Management

The third component of Spolsky's model, language management, was originally defined as 'the formulation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document' (2004: 11). However, his later definition emphasises implementation:

> the explicit and observable effort by someone or some group that has or claims authority over the participants in the domain to modify their practices or beliefs.
>
> (Spolsky, 2009: 4)

In the following two sub-sections, I consider how this effort might be made, by looking at mechanisms and agents (Shohamy, 2006).

2.2.2.1 Mechanisms

Mechanisms are 'overt and covert devices that are used as the means for affecting, creating and perpetuating de facto language policies' (Shohamy, 2006: 54) so it is crucial that they are examined alongside official policy documents. Mechanisms are not only used for top-down implementation by those in authority, but also provide a means of bottom-up resistance, though this may be seen less often because of power imbalances. All mechanisms are used, Shohamy claims, to promote language ideologies (ibid). They have a significant impact on how language is perceived and on how people behave, which in time creates a de facto policy, so an awareness of these policy devices can help to explain language practices. Shohamy lists five types of mechanisms, the first three of which I outline below: rules and regulations, language education policies and language tests. The fourth, language in the public space, is beyond the scope of this study, and I have discussed relevant aspects of the fifth - ideology, myths, propaganda and coercion - in 2.2.1 above.

Within the first category, ‘rules and regulations’, Shohamy criticises the mechanism of *standardisation* for being in opposition to language creativity and variability (2006). Other scholars make the same point: that despite awareness among linguists of the inherent variation and dynamism of language, policy makers may view language as a static, unchanging code (e.g. Brumfit, 2001; Milroy and Milroy, 2012). Shohamy argues that the prescription of specific ways in which language should be used frequently bears little relation to how the language is actually used in practice, particularly because standardisation often attempts to impose written norms on spoken language (2006). This is especially problematic in light of the global use of English, she maintains, since ‘it is difficult to think of a homogenous “Standard English”’ (ibid, p64). While local norms are appropriate in local contexts, international communication requires consideration of intelligibility and ‘linguistic norms shared across cultures’ (ibid, p65). (See Chapter 3 for further discussion of this).

Shohamy’s second category is Language Education Polices (LEPs), considered to be mechanisms due to their role in implementing language policy decisions in schools and universities (ibid). These decisions relate to the languages or language varieties that are both taught and used to teach. LEPs encompass all associated aspects, such as who can teach, who can learn, and the methods, materials and tests employed (ibid). While tests are seen as part of LEP, Shohamy discusses these separately because they are, in her view, such powerful mechanisms (ibid., 2008; 2013; 2018). Below I discuss both English language testing as a gatekeeping mechanism for entry to higher education (Chapter 3) and academic English assessment on degree programmes (Chapter 4). Next, I turn to the role played by agents.

2.2.2.2 Agents

Shohamy uses the term *agents* to refer to teachers, principals and inspectors who carry out policy, often without questioning it, thus spreading the ideology of the policy makers (2006: 79). She argues that teachers are often not involved or trained in policy making, which is why they ‘internalize the ideology’ (2006: 80). Moreover, because language teachers are defined by the language they teach, that is, as an *English* teacher rather than a *language* teacher, the theories learned come not from applied linguistics or language teaching, but from the language itself (ibid). This results in the perpetuation of ideas about correctness, and goals of native-like proficiency (ibid).

Teachers may also be considered agents in the sense that they may have the authority to make decisions about teaching methodology and allocation of time and other resources (Shohamy, 2006). Lo Bianco similarly emphasises the significant role that teachers play in language planning (LP), suggesting that they are ‘inescapably involved in LP activity’ (2010: 164). For Lo Bianco, however, their involvement goes beyond content and pedagogy: classroom language, particularly teacher talk, is an enactment of language policy. Spolsky also argues that teachers play a key part in policy management since it is their role, broadly speaking, to modify students’ language practices so that they conform to the policy (2009).

Shohamy, Lo Bianco and Spolsky are all referring to language tutors; in UK higher education these points apply to EAP tutors. But in EMI higher education, subject lecturers are also agents of language policy. The degree of influence they have will depend on their status and beliefs, and may conflict with those of other agents (Dafouz and Smit, 2016; Baker and Hüttner, 2017). It is also important to acknowledge the agency of students. While they might not be considered agents in Shohamy’s sense, students are able to make decisions about language use. As with other agents, their status will affect the choices they are able to make (Dafouz and Smit, 2016; Baker and Hüttner, 2017). I return to the agency of EAP tutors, lecturers and students in Chapters 3 and 4 below.

In this chapter, it has been seen that while most scholars acknowledge the existence of both explicit and implicit policies, interpretations of what constitutes implicit policy vary. Relatedly, the agency of language users and the extent to which they have choices is viewed differently, as is the role of ideology. Finally, I discussed mechanisms and agents of language management, focussing on education. In the following chapter, I revisit these themes in the context of academic English.

Chapter 3 Approaches to Academic English

In this chapter, the focus turns to academic English. First, the predominant approach in UK higher education, English for Academic Purposes (EAP), is discussed, followed by Critical EAP and Academic Literacies. The second half of the chapter looks at ELF, particularly in academic settings.

3.1 English for Academic Purposes

I begin this section by discussing English language entry tests and pre-sessional EAP programmes, because both act as gatekeeping mechanisms for entry to university study. Their gatekeeping role also affects the approach to EAP on in-sessional programmes offered to students undertaking degree courses. I discuss both general and specific approaches to EAP, looking in particular at how they orientate to standard native English.

3.1.1 English Language Entry Tests and Pre-sessional EAP Programmes

University admissions departments make decisions about ISs' linguistic readiness for academic study based on their scores in tests such as TOEFL and IELTS (Brooks and Swain, 2015). These tests are widely used since they offer an efficient and cost-effective method of assessing English proficiency (Schmitt and Hamp-Lyons, 2015), but have been criticised for failing to take account of the lingua franca use of academic English (e.g. Jenkins and Leung, 2014, 2017; McNamara, 2014; Gu and So, 2015).

IELTS refers to the 'international' nature of its test, in recognition of the fact that 'More people are teaching, studying and working with others who speak different varieties of English' (IELTS, 2015: 11). But as Jenkins has pointed out, IELTS' interpretation of 'international' appears to extend only to including both British and American spelling, and a range of native English speaker accents (Jenkins, 2015a). This lack of non-native English accents is also noted by Hyatt and Brooks, who recommend that the listening test include 'even more international voices/accents (both L1 *and L2*)' (2009: 38, emphasis added). Hyatt and Brooks' argument for this is that ISs in the UK will work with other ISs, and would therefore benefit from being familiarised, through pedagogic washback, with 'a range of international English accents and speech patterns' (ibid). McNamara and Harding (2018: 573) point out that while this would introduce the possibility of bias, this would be 'a small price to pay.'

Such recognition of the relevance of 'international voices' for study in the UK is rarely heard in the field of EAP. For example, in Hall's article inviting 'teachers and testers to question the monolithic position' of English, he nonetheless suggests there remains a need to 'test conformity with such varieties [of standard English] under many circumstances (for example in *some EAP contexts*)' (2014: 377, emphasis added). Hall does not elaborate on this but pre-sessional programmes are arguably one such context. When these programmes are an entry route into university, it follows that assessment must also use standard native English as a benchmark in order to be a substitute for the required IELTS or TOEFL score (Green, 2000; Banerjee and Wall, 2006; Jenkins, 2014; Wingate, 2015). In some cases, an explicit comparison is made: for example, Gillett and Wray suggest that 'an intensive EAP course of around 3 months would normally be necessary to improve scores by 1 IELTS band' (2006: 5-6).

Moreover, when planning in-sessional courses, EAP tutors typically look to students' test scores for information about their current language proficiency (Gillett and Wray, 2006; Armstrong and Evans, 2013). Thus although in-sessional provision is typically optional, and therefore not credit-bearing or formally assessed (Gillett and Wray, 2006; Schmitt and Hamp-Lyons, 2015), the influence of IELTS remains significant. As I noted in Chapter 2, tests are influential in shaping language policies (Shohamy, 2008; 2013).

Turner argues that tests such as IELTS also contribute to the 'technicisation' of language, meaning that students do not see it as 'an essential, and integral, part of engaging with their subject of study' (2004: 97-98). Similar criticisms are made of general EAP. I elaborate on this in the following section, where I discuss two in-sessional EAP approaches: general and specific.

3.1.2 General and Specific EAP

The term EAP was originally used to refer to a branch of ESP (English for Specific Purposes) with the distinction being that EAP was restricted to academia, while ESP was concerned with professional domains (Hyland, 2002; Hamp-Lyons, 2011a). The first issue of the Journal of English for Academic Purposes defines EAP as:

> language research and instruction that focuses on the specific communicative needs and practices of particular groups in academic contexts.
>
> (Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002: 2)

Hyland and Hamp-Lyons argue that an important goal of EAP is to challenge the common view that ‘academic conventions are universal and independent of particular disciplines’, for the natural outcome of this is that learners then believe that they need only to ‘master a set of transferable rules’ (ibid, p6). However, EAP is actually seen rather differently in many universities, as a set of generic skills that apply across disciplines (Hyland, 2002). I examine why this is the case below, using two terms: EGAP (English for General Academic Purposes) and ESAP (English for Specific Academic Purposes).

3.1.2.1 **General EAP (EGAP)**

General EAP (henceforth EGAP) involves teaching language, activities and skills considered applicable across disciplinary boundaries (Hyland, 2006, Tweedie and Chu, 2017). It typically features a ‘common core’ of grammatical and linguistic items considered to be present in any text, and which students should master to be ready for discipline-specific language (Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001: 17). Numerous EAP course books take this approach, built around themes such as ‘academic writing’ and ‘oral presentations’ (Hyland, 2011: 14). In addition, a survey of 33 UK university websites indicates EGAP to be the dominant type of provision (Wingate, 2015). There are, however, a number of objections to the EGAP approach.

Firstly, the ‘common core’ model has been criticised for its incremental approach to language acquisition, a model which has been shown to be flawed; in fact, learners acquire language features when they are ready (Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001; Hyland, 2002). Moreover, given that any linguistic form has more than one meaning, and that this is determined by the context, the necessary focus on meaning leads to a view of specific varieties of academic discourse (Flowerdew and Peacock, 2001; Hyland, 2002, 2011). Proponents of *specific* EAP (ESAP) therefore argue that competence in forms is best acquired in students’ specific contexts (Hyland, 2002; Pilcher and Richards, 2016). A further problem with EGAP is the difficulty in establishing which skills are actually transferable, since the conventions of, for example, summary writing, vary considerably across disciplines (Johns, 1988).

Hyland (2011) therefore concludes that teaching EGAP is only beneficial when it is not possible to be specific about students' needs, such as on IELTS preparation courses and general pre-sessionals. Here, though, Hyland is thinking of the benefits to students. When the benefits to the institution are prioritised, EGAP in-sessional provision is likely to be offered. It is more cost effective and logistically simpler, since larger class sizes are possible than with specific provision (Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002; Hamp-Lyons, 2011b; Wingate, 2015).

The most significant factor affecting the type of provision offered, since it is both cause and effect of institutional constraints, is the prevailing institutional or disciplinary ideology (Hyland 2002, 2018; Hamp-Lyons, 2011b). When academic English is seen 'as a kind of add-on to the more serious activities of university life' (Hyland, 2009: 9), EAP becomes a support mechanism and 'an exercise in language repair' (Hyland and Hamp-Lyons, 2002: 6). In this view, poor language skills can be dealt with in a few grammar classes (Hyland, 2002, 2006; Wingate, 2015) and 'EAP becomes a band-aid measure to fix deficiencies in the students themselves' (Hyland, 2013: 59). Thus, any needs analysis amounts to little more than 'some sort of gap analysis', the gap being that between the student's language proficiency and what is needed for 'general' academic English (Wingate, 2015: 38-39). The aim here is to improve students' grammar and style, using texts that could be from any discipline, representing genres that may not be relevant (Tribble, 2009; Wingate, 2015).

Not surprisingly, students often see little value in such a general approach, particularly if they are finding their assessment load to be heavy (Turner, 2004; Jenkins and Wingate, 2015; Murray, 2016a). While Hamp-Lyons sees EGAP as reflecting an 'ad-hoc, small-scale, quick fix attitude' on the part of institutional policy makers and enactors, she argues that there are moves towards a 'more mature approach' of discipline specific provision (2011a: 92), and it is to this I turn next.

3.1.2.2 **Specific EAP (ESAP)**

ESAP is 'based on identification of the specific language features, discourse practices and communicative skills of target groups, and on teaching practices that recognize the particular subject-matter needs and expertise of learners' (Hyland, 2002: 385). I elaborate on these points below.

Swales' work on genre analysis (1990) has been significant in transforming ESAP into a genre-based pedagogy (Wingate, 2015). Because Swales' concept of genre takes into account the social aspect of both task and text (Hyland, 2006; Nesi and Gardner, 2012), a thorough needs analysis is advised. Serafini, Lake and Long (2015) for example, suggest first identifying tasks by consulting a range of sources such as the students themselves, the literature, and subject specialists. Next, texts that constitute the accomplishment of tasks are analysed linguistically by EAP specialists or applied linguists, since subject specialists may be unable to explain what constitutes a successful text (Feak 2011; Serafini, Lake and Long, 2015). Such careful analysis of both task and text is necessary to produce a meaningful syllabus. While tasks are discipline-specific, when texts themselves are analysed, a more nuanced picture emerges showing that genre categories, such as a lab report, are less distinct (Hyland, 2002).

There are, however, significant obstacles to this approach. When EAP departments are marginalized as 'service units' staffed by tutors on short-term contracts, ESAP is unlikely (Turner, 2004; Hamp-Lyons 2011b). This is for reasons of expertise as well as cost, since EAP tutors may lack the specialist knowledge to transform classes from EGAP to ESAP (Sloan, Porter and Alexander, 2013). Related to this is the institutional hierarchy. The lower status of EAP tutors in comparison to lecturers can hamper collaboration and reduce EAP tutors' agency (Fenton-Smith and Gurney, 2016). These barriers are substantial, but this does not mean that EGAP is the only alternative. As Hyland has pointed out, EGAP and ESAP are perhaps better seen as 'ends of a continuum rather than a dichotomy' (2016a: 37). Below I discuss a point along that continuum, which I call 'quasi-specific' EAP.

3.1.2.3 **Quasi-specific EAP and Corpora**

A quasi-specific form of EAP relies on using existing corpora to develop teaching resources. However, this arguably provides only the 'conventional surface features' of texts (Hyland, 2002: 391) since it lacks the insights into the discourse community gained through close collaboration with lecturers (Hyland, 2009; Hamp-Lyons, 2011a; Wingate and Tribble, 2012). To mitigate this drawback, a suitable corpus should be selected with a critical awareness of the sociolinguistic context.

Blaj-Ward, for example, advises EAP specialists not to restrict their corpus use to those from Anglophone contexts, such as the BAWE (British Academic Written English) corpus, and recommends consulting the ELFA corpus (2014: 64). But this stance is unusual among EAP scholars. Hamp-Lyons (2011a) discusses only MICASE (Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English), BASE (British Academic Spoken English) and T2K-SWAL (TOEFL 2000 Spoken and Written Academic Language), all of which are largely based on data from native English speakers (Mauranen, 2006a, 2012). Hamp-Lyons (2011a) is not alone in failing to mentioning the ELFA corpus; it is also overlooked by Hyland (2009, 2012) and Wingate and Tribble (2012).

In fact, Hyland notes that corpora such as MICASE and BASE have made 'authentic academic speech' samples widely accessible (2009: 100), indicating a view of authenticity as equivalent to native-speaker usage. His position appears to be the same 3 years later when he comments that 'linking texts and contexts through corpora brings authenticity and evidence to teaching' without addressing the issue of corpus data dominated by NESs (Hyland, 2012: 207). Even among scholars who show awareness of the issue, there may be no acknowledgement that this domination can also be implicit. Tribble, for example, counters criticism by pointing out that data are compiled from published articles which are chosen for the "authors' expertise" rather than their "L1 status" (2015: 444). But he fails to acknowledge that when editorial policies require NNES-authored articles to be proofread by NESs (Lillis and Curry, 2010; Mauranen, 2012), the effect is likely to be the same as including only NES-authored articles (Jenkins, 2014). I discuss this further in 3.4.5 below.

It is apparent, then, that practitioners who uncritically use corpora advocated by leading EAP scholars such as Hyland and Hamp-Lyons are likely to reinforce ENL norms in (quasi-)specific EAP programmes. However, the norms of students' discourse communities are also significant, as discussed in the following section.

3.1.3 Norms and Discourse Communities

The concept of a discourse community was developed by Swales in his work on genre, and enabled texts to be linked to their social environments (Mauranen, 2012). Swales defines discourse communities as ‘sociorhetorical networks that form in order to work towards sets of common goals’, and argues that their established members share ‘familiarity with the particular genres that are used in the communicative furtherance of those sets of goals’ (1990: 9). As such, the concept has proved very useful in genre analysis, and thus in ESAP. According to Mauranen, discourse communities are ‘sites where participants co-construct social meanings and linguistic norms’ (2012: 20). Two particular aspects require closer examination here: what is meant by norms, and which participants co-construct meanings and norms.

Mauranen suggests that the term *norms* can be used in two senses, either to signify ‘imposed norms’ (that is, standards), or in the sense of ‘natural’ or ‘spontaneous’ norms (2012: 6). The latter are ‘much more variable’ and are the kind which ‘arise in groups and communities primarily in face-to-face interaction to regulate interaction in the interests of mutual intelligibility and smooth communicative progress’ (ibid). The two are often confused, however, particularly in relation to ‘native-speaker norms’, especially when pedagogic models are derived from spoken corpus data which reflect standard language rather than natural norms (ibid). Furthermore, courses on based on intuition rather than empirical data fail to recognise that academic spoken English has been shown from corpus studies to be more like general spoken language than academic written language (Mauranen, 2006b: 146). This tendency to impose written standards on spoken language (Shohamy, 2006; Milroy and Milroy, 2012, see 2.2.2.1 above) is arguably exacerbated by the fact that the emphasis in EAP has hitherto been on written skills with research largely restricted to writing (Mauranen 2006b, 2006c; Hyland, 2009; Flowerdew, 2015).

This emphasis is perhaps unsurprising, given that writing remains the predominant mode through which students are assessed (Hyland, 2009, 2013; Wingate, 2015), but this is not to say that other modes are inconsequential. Wingate (2015: 15), for example, argues that there is a ‘clear neglect’ of other skills, particularly those related to reading, and both Hyland (2009) and Flowerdew (2015) note that listening and seminar skills are under-represented in the literature. Oral skills are comparatively neglected, despite their being arguably more important than writing (Duff, 2010a, 2010b; Mauranen, 2006c, 2010, 2012).

The second point I want to explore concerns the co-construction of meanings and norms by discourse community members, returning to the issues related to consensus and choice I discussed in 2.2.1.1 above.

Hyland argues that conventions of language use are ideologically determined by those members of a discourse community who hold the power, ‘the powerbrokers and gatekeepers’ (2009: 53). Demonstrating expertise in this language use identifies that individual as a member and excludes others. However, this is not to say that membership entails constant conformity. As Hyland explains, ‘there is nothing in the idea of a discourse community which excludes the possibility of differing ideological perspectives, competition or even conflict within them’ (2009: 53). An example of this is that lecturers may not agree on what constitutes a successful text (Nesi, 2011; Nesi and Gardner, 2012). But lecturers are likely to be ‘established’ members, with students ‘apprentices’ (Swales, 2004). While students have ‘agency and powers of resistance’ (Duff, 2010a: 171), Ridley suggests it is necessary to be a ‘confident insider’ to be able to challenge dominant ideologies (2004: 92). She argues that tutors have an obligation to familiarise students with practices, as only then can those students decide whether to conform or challenge (ibid).

Hyland (2009) also advocates teaching norms, suggesting that ‘Common collocational patterns, generic structures and grammatical patterns … [facilitate] smooth, shorthand ways of making sense of each other’s discourse’ (2009: 57). However, for novice community members, it may be that using these patterns and structures is for reasons of seeking community approval rather than facilitating mutual understanding. After all, approval is crucial for students if it affects their marks (Maringe and Jenkins, 2015). In a later publication, Hyland argues that an important task for EAP practitioners is to ‘raise students’ awareness of the language options available to them’ (2012: 206). Using corpus evidence, he argues, is a way of ‘moving beyond the conservative prescriptions of textbooks’ (ibid); but as discussed above, corpus evidence may be equally prescriptive if it is based on standard English. It seems then that students’ language options remain limited, whichever type of EAP provision is offered.

In summary, while most scholars advocate ESAP, in practice, EGAP appears to be more common. As several authors explain, this stems from an institutional ideology which undervalues and underinvests in teaching academic English. It is also linked to the fact that entry tests such as IELTS, in failing to take into account the lingua franca use of English, perpetuate the notion that standard, native English is a useful benchmark for study in UK higher education. Even though a growing number of researchers questions this, it remains influential, especially on pre-sessional programmes. Moreover, although ESAP has the potential to position ISs as language users who are learning their disciplinary discourses, just like their HSs counterparts, it appears not to fulfil this potential. Finally, while some scholars argue that students have agency in making choices about the English they use, others highlight the constraints of the discourse community norms, particularly for assessment.

In the next section, I discuss Critical EAP and Academic Literacies. These have been called 'challenging' approaches (Jenkins, 2014: 49) because they question the conformist approach of traditional EAP.

3.2 Critical Approaches to Academic English

3.2.1 Critical EAP

Here I consider the response of Critical EAP (henceforth CEAP) to some of the issues discussed above. Benesch articulates CEAP's overall objective as "to help students perform well in their academic courses while encouraging them to question and shape the education they are being offered" (2001: xvii). It is this encouragement of students' questioning that distinguishes CEAP from the accommodationist approach of EAP, in which the primary concern is for students to master prevailing discourse conventions (Casanave, 2004).

A key theoretical underpinning of CEAP is the connection between *needs analysis* and *rights analysis.* While the first is exactly as it is in traditional EAP, that is, the collection of information about what is needed, *rights analysis* is a way in which power relations can be studied, communities can be built and greater equality between language tutors and lecturers can be achieved (Benesch, 2001). CEAP, then, is concerned with issues of hierarchy and power relations within institutions (Benesch, 2009). Moreover, Benesch argues that EAP professionals can 'imagine alternatives to the one-dimensional conceptualization of EAP as a service to higher-status disciplines' (2001: 55). As discussed above, this 'service' status arguably contributes to the predominance of EGAP. With regard to students, Benesch notes that what is often characterised as bad behaviour or lack of co-operation can, from a CEAP perspective, instead be seen as a form of resistance to the regulations of academic life (2001).

Benesch (2001) discusses the need to problematize assumptions; like Pennycook (e.g. 1997, 1999), her view is that educational discourses result in a false view of EAP as neutral. She suggests that questions should be asked about each element: which 'English'? What is meant by academic? What are the purposes? However, unlike Pennycook (op. cit.), who has written extensively on the discourses of teaching English, Benesch appears less concerned with language than with content and culture. Similarly, Morgan and Ramanathan (2005: 156) suggest that critical approaches 'invigorate, rather than replace, conventional academic skill sets.' Nonetheless, as Jenkins (2014: 59) notes, CEAP's concerns with foregrounding students' rights and raising awareness of power relations are points in common with scholarship in ELF. In this sense, there is the possibility of student agency, which contrasts with the rather more passive role they are assigned by traditional EAP.

The final point of contrast between critical and traditional EAP relates to the native-speaker status of students. While the latter is typically concerned only with NNESs, CEAP often has a wider scope. An example is Helmer's (2013) study of generation 1.5 immigrants[3] in the north-eastern US. The inclusion of NES students is a point in common with Academic Literacies approaches, which I turn to next.

3.2.2 Academic Literacies

Academic Literacies approaches, like Critical EAP, problematise the EAP approach to academic language. Moreover, scholarship in this area is not restricted to NNES students, but rather encompasses a range of 'non-traditional' students (Lea, 2004), as a result of both the 'widening access' agenda in the UK which opened up higher education to a much more diverse range of students, and increases in IS numbers (Lillis and Scott, 2007). Studies have focussed on, for example, mature students (Ivanič, 1998), local immigrant students with English as an additional language (Lea and Street, 2006) and ISs (e.g. Ridley, 2008; Salter-Dvorak, 2014). This is not to say that these categories are mutually exclusive – there are mature ISs, for example; similarly, research does not necessarily restrict itself to any one 'type' of student. For example, Lea (2004) reports the development of an online MA module for a range of students with differing levels of familiarity with UK higher education discourses. Just as EAP is a 'plurality of practices' (Hyland, 2006: 33), so too is academic literacies. In fact, the term is used in both the singular and the plural, with the singular *academic literacy* sometimes used in a more general sense to refer to academic study or discipline-specific discourse and genres (Lillis and Scott, 2007). In contrast, the plural *academic literacies* signifies a 'specific epistemological and ideological stance' (ibid, p7). In the following paragraphs, I first elaborate on what is meant by *Academic Literacies* then consider how Wingate's (2015) *academic literacy* differs.

---

[3] Generation 1.5 immigrants are bi- or multilingual US residents who have had some primary or secondary schooling in the country

For *Academic Literacies* (henceforth ALs) scholars such as Lea and Street (1998), and Lillis and Scott (2007), the emphasis is on literacy as a social practice. And literacy is not just about language: issues of identity and the contested nature of knowledge are of central importance (Lea, 2004). Students are 'active participants in the process of meaning-making in the academy', rather than being 'merely acculturated unproblematically into the academic culture' (Lea, 2004: 741-742). This is illustrated by Lea and Street's (1998) research, which found three approaches to student writing. They categorised these as *study skills*, *academic socialisation* and *academic literacies*, stressing that these are not linear. Rather, *academic socialisation* encapsulates *study skills*, and *academic literacies* takes into account insights from both the *study skills* and the *academic socialisation* approaches (ibid). The *study skills* approach takes a view of writing as technical and instrumental, with the focus on surface features of language such as grammar and spelling (ibid). This aligns closely with EGAP. The second approach, *academic socialisation,* entails the tutor inducting the student in the academic discourse, with potential for some acknowledgement of disciplinary differences (ibid). This is in line with the ESAP approach. The tendency here is for student writing to be seen as a 'transparent medium of representation' so that deeper issues of meaning making are neglected (ibid, p159). An ALs approach, however, views literacies as social practices, recognising issues of power, and seeing student writing as meaning-making and contested (ibid). Similarly, Lillis and Scott (2007: 12) suggest that the ideological stance of ALs research is *transformative*, in contrast to the *normative,* 'identify and induct' approach which is apparent in much EAP work (ibid). Another distinction between the two is ALs' emphasis on practices, compared with the focus on texts which is apparent in genre, or ESAP, approaches (ibid).

Wingate (2015) uses the singular *academic literacy* (henceforth, AL) for her approach. Using language socialisation theory as a framework, she characterises students as novices who are becoming socialised into academic discourse communities by experts (ibid). Although Wingate argues that this framework acknowledges that conflict and power struggles occur, her approach nevertheless appears to have more in common with Lea and Street's *academic socialisation* (ESAP) than with ALs in their sense. There are, however, distinctions between Wingate's AL and ESAP, the most significant of which is where instruction takes place. Wingate (2006, 2015) points out that AL is marginalised when lecturers simply send students to the EAP department, arguing that it is important that it be taught within the discipline. This means too that it is available to all students: Wingate points out that typical EAP provision is only offered to ISs, who are pre-categorised as having problems with grammar and vocabulary (ibid). In the EAP model, HSs are typically denied instruction, because AL is reduced to grammatical correctness, something NESs are assumed not to have problems with (ibid). At the same time, Wingate believes that 'attention must be paid to language and linguistic correctness', but does not elaborate on what she means by 'correctness' (ibid., p18). This lack of specific engagement with language norms is typical in AL/s scholarship, with notable exceptions being Lillis and Curry (2010). Wingate refers to spelling and grammar as being at a "superficial level" of "national norms", so that NES students have little advantage in terms of the "real challenge" of developing academic literacy (2018: 428). She acknowledges, however, that these aspects are not necessarily treated as superficial by subject lecturers or institutional policies (ibid).

In common with EAP, AL/s research has typically focussed on writing (Lea, 2004; Lillis and Scott, 2007) though the need for reading instruction has also been discussed (Wingate, Andon and Cogo, 2011; Wingate, 2015). Moreover, Duff has emphasized the importance of socialization into oral discourses, such as giving presentations (2010a; 2010b) and Ivanič's 'ecological approach' highlights that AL is 'not just about text, but about actions around texts' (1998: 62).

Implementing an AL approach is, however, challenging due to the lack of a pedagogical model (Lillis, 2003; Wingate and Tribble, 2012). Moreover, lecturers' 'lack of explicit knowledge' may be an obstacle to teaching academic writing (Wingate, Andon and Cogo, 2011: 77), meaning they may first require training, such as that provided for Law tutors by Lea and Street (2006). But it has to be borne in mind that while some lecturers appear to view disciplinary writing conventions as 'content' rather than 'language' (Baker and Hüttner, 2017: 510), others see these conventions as skills to be taught in a writing centre (Tuck, 2016).

To summarise, both AL/s and CEAP have merits in terms of giving students greater agency, and because NNESs are not singled out as a problem. However, the requirement for close involvement from lecturers, and the lack of engagement with language, can be seen as barriers to either approach being taken up successfully. It is EAP's very focus on language norms and correctness that makes it such an enduring approach: it enables the 'problem' to be segregated and addressed with little effort beyond the 'EAP Centre'. In the final approach I discuss here, the 'problem' of language is tackled in a radically different way.

3.3 English as a Lingua Franca

Wu's (2014) investigation into Chinese students' reasons for choosing to study in the UK found the desire to improve their English to be a common motivation. Respondents were asked to rate 17 options for completing the statement 'I came to Britain because …', with the second option being 'It has the natural English environment' (ibid., p440). Wu does not explain the use of the word 'natural', nor does she comment on her implication that China's English environment is unnatural. I will address these points to begin my discussion of English as Lingua Franca (henceforth ELF), by considering the who, where and what of ELF – that is, users, domains and conceptualisations.

3.3.1 Defining and Locating ELF

For many, it is self-evident that Britain is the home of ‘natural’ English: because it is spoken as a first language, its speakers are seen to own English, so whatever they do with it is ‘natural’. From this perspective, the English of non-native English speakers is identified as ‘unnatural’ – unless those speakers imitate NESs. It is not unreasonable to suppose that Wu and her participants have learned, and learned to think of, English only as a *foreign language* (henceforth EFL), not as a *lingua franca*. After all, although the use of English in a lingua franca role is far from new, its use on a worldwide scale is comparatively recent (Mauranen, 2012). As a result, ELF is ‘only gradually making its way to common awareness, where well-entrenched conceptualisations operate in terms of native speakers and language learners’ (ibid., p3). Such conceptualisations are embedded in the field of EFL, where the goal of learning is seen as successful communication with NESs and where learners’ differences from standard English are seen as errors (Jenkins, 2014; 2016).

In contrast, users of ELF are not seen as learners, so if their language use differs from standard English it is not automatically considered to be deficient (Jenkins, 2014). Their goal is to communicate successfully interculturally (Seidlhofer, 2011; Jenkins, 2014). As noted in Chapter 1, it is not only the geographical location that needs to be taken into consideration in thinking about ELF and EFL; in other words, simply because ISs such as those in Wu’s study are coming to the UK, it should not be assumed that they will a) see themselves as learners striving to imitate native English or b) actually spend much time interacting with NESs. The possibility that an IS may see her/himself as a language user, and language as a tool, is typically not considered. Instead, the prevailing belief is that ISs in the UK are learners who need to communicate primarily with NESs. ELF is therefore treated as a phenomenon relevant, if at all, only outside ENL contexts. In his overview of academic listening research, for example, Lynch moves on from reviewing UK- and US-based studies by noting that ‘The interactive dimension of communication takes on even greater importance where English is a Lingua Franca (ELF)’; he then discusses two studies carried out in non-Anglophone Europe (2011: 85). Such comments appear to reveal the type of ‘well-entrenched conceptualisations’ Mauranen has pointed out.

To some extent, this lack of awareness is not surprising given that, as Jenkins has noted, ‘Defining ELF has proved to be problematic and controversial’ (2014: 24). Some earlier definitions (e.g. House, 2008) excluded NESs, perhaps because, as Seidlhofer (2011) has noted, they are typically in the minority for ELF use. However, most ELF researchers do not exclude NESs from their definitions (Jenkins, 2014) and in fact in 2012 House notes that English used as a lingua franca ‘can occur anywhere and in any constellation of speakers, and can also integrate native speakers of English, though they tend to play a minor role’ (2012: 2). Here House also acknowledges that ELF is not restricted to any particular geographical location; indeed, research has spread from its beginnings in Western Europe to other parts of Europe, East Asia, Latin America and the Middle East (Jenkins, 2014). Most nations in these regions are within Kachru’s Expanding Circle, defined as countries which have never been colonized by NESs and where English is typically learned as a foreign language (Kachru, 1985). These are contrasted with the Inner Circle countries of the US, Canada, the UK, Australia and New Zealand, where English is spoken as a native language (henceforth ENL) and the Outer Circle post-colonial nations, such as Singapore and India, where nativized English varieties are studied by World Englishes scholars (Jenkins, 2014). While Kachru’s three circles are still used by ELF scholars as a useful shorthand, the model does not reflect the ways current speakers use and identify with English, meaning that the divisions between the circles are increasingly blurred (Jenkins, 2014; 2015b). It should not therefore be assumed that ELF interactions can only take place in Expanding Circle countries or that ELF users are only from those countries (Seidlhofer, 2011; House, 2012; Jenkins, 2014).

In fact, in considering the *where* of ELF, it is more useful to think of domains than geographical locations. ELF has been a feature of two for some time: higher education and business (Jenkins, 2014), and this is reflected in ELF corpora. The first to be established, the Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English (VOICE), comprises spoken interactions in educational, leisure and professional domains (Seidlhofer, 2011), while the corpus of English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) focuses on higher education (Mauranen, 2012) as does WrELFA, the corpus of Written English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (WrELFA, 2015). The Asian Corpus of English (ACE) was established as an ‘Asia-focused counterpart’ to VOICE (Walkinshaw and Kirkpatrick, 2014: 274). In these corpora, NESs are in the minority: in VOICE, they represent 7% of speakers (Seidlhofer, 2011: 24); in ELFA they account for approximately 5% of the data (Mauranen, 2012: 78). Mauranen notes that NESs were not deliberately excluded, 'because their presence is a normal part of ELF', but they were not recorded giving long monologues, such as lectures, because the main aim of the ELFA corpus was to 'uncover ELF interaction' (ibid). Moreover, NESs were not included in the role of principal examiner in doctoral defences because this would have been 'too close to dyadic L1-L2 communication, a borderline case for investigating ELF' (ibid).

The matter of NESs is less clear-cut in ACE, however. It features speakers from ASEAN+3[4] 'including English L1 Singaporeans, Filipinos, etc.' but 'where possible "external" native speakers [were] excluded' (ACE, 2014). This reference to NESs from Kachru's Outer Circle countries, as well as from countries outside ASEAN+3, illustrates the ambiguities of the terms 'native' and 'non-native' speaker. However, as I indicated in Chapter 1, the terms continue to hold fixed meanings when it comes to English language entry requirements for UK universities. And these requirements for NNESs such as Wu's (2014) participants to demonstrate their proficiency in standard native English perpetuate the notion that this is the 'natural' English they seek. I return to the issue of NESs in 3.4.3 below; next I elaborate on the nature of ELF.

3.3.2 ELF and Conceptualisations of Language

While scholars in the field concur in characterising ELF use as fluid, hybrid, dynamic and variable (e.g. House, 2012; Jenkins, 2014; Baker, 2015), there is less agreement about conceptualisations of language. Vetchinnikova (2015) suggests that there are two incompatible approaches. The first, she argues, aligns with Saussure's distinction between a code, as an underlying set of rules, and language usage: this is Widdowson's notion of a 'virtual language' (Widdowson, 2003), primarily expounded by Widdowson and Seidlhofer (Vetchinnikova, 2015). The alternative approach, argues Vetchinnikova, conceives of ELF use in terms of usage-based theories of language (e.g. Tomasello, 2003; Bybee, 2006), a perspective taken by Mauranen (2012).

---

[4] ASEAN, the Association of South-East Asian Nations, comprises Brunei, Burma/Myanmar, Cambodia, Indonesia, Laos, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand and Vietnam. ASEAN+3 includes China, Japan and South Korea.

Vetchinnikova illustrates the divide between the two approaches through her analysis of ‘not quite nativelike’ multi-word units (MWUs) (2015: 226). From the first perspective, these MWUs are ‘novel word combinations which demonstrate creativity of ELF speakers in their exploitation of latent possibilities inherent in the virtual language’ (ibid). In contrast, taking a usage-based approach means such MWUs are not novel, but ‘exhibit patterning common to the kind of English (in terms of register and/or variety) these ELF speakers were exposed to’ (ibid). Vetchinnikova’s analysis makes clear her preference for the second approach. She goes on to say that a usage-based approach ‘permits modelling language as a complex adaptive system’, and that since ‘coherence in the face of change is a natural property of all complex systems’ there is no need to rely on the shared code of the virtual language to explain how English remains recognisably English (ibid, p247).

Complexity theory and complex adaptive systems have been discussed in some detail in Baker (2015; see also Baird, Baker and Kitazawa, 2014). Baker’s approach is to use complexity as a ‘lens through which to view language’ (2015: 88). He makes clear that he is not suggesting ‘that it would be possible or desirable to construct a complex systems model of any particular language’ (ibid). The emergentist view of language seen from a complexity perspective is based on Hopper’s (1987, 1998) notion of emergent grammar (Baker, 2015). Hopper proposed that, rather than consisting of abstract principles, grammar is a by-product of ‘shared and repeated social interactions’ with patterns becoming sedimented over time (Baker, 2015:86). This view, notes Baker, may appear radical but in fact has considerable empirical support from usage-based research (e.g. Bybee, 2006; Ellis and Larsen-Freeman, 2009) and anthropology (e.g. Tomasello, 2003; 2008). In her call to bring the multilingual nature of ELF into the spotlight, Jenkins too favours usage-based theories, arguing that Widdowson’s virtual language contradicts the emergent nature of ELF communication (2015c). Creativity, she notes, ‘emerges in an interaction’ (ibid, p66).

Referring to her proposal as evolutionary rather than revolutionary, Jenkins acknowledges that multilingualism has been a feature of BELF (Business ELF) scholarship for some time, particularly in the work of Cogo (e.g. 2012). But Jenkins' argument is that ELF should be positioned within multilingualism, with the working definition: 'Multilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen' (Jenkins, 2015c: 73). While the size of 'English' in ELF is diminished, it remains potentially 'in the mix', even though it may not be used. In this respect, English as a Multilingua Franca is distinct from orientations to ELF in which the focus is on English. Moreover, the other languages known by everyone present in the interaction are also considered: even if those languages are not used, it is necessary to take into account their influence in terms of what Jenkins has provisionally termed 'language leakage' (ibid).

This idea is an extension of Mauranen's notion of 'similects' (2012: 29), which only covers L1 influence but could easily be extended to speakers' other languages. When NESs are in the interaction, this means that L1 English is also 'in the mix', but how this affects 'the English of the others present' is an empirical question (Jenkins, 2015c: 76). Jenkins notes that in early ELF research there was an assumption that NESs would result in NNESs making their English use normative, but little data supported this (ibid).

Having introduced ELF with a brief discussion of users, domains and conceptualisations of language, next I bring the focus to academic settings.

3.4 English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings

In this section, I begin by discussing research into lexico-grammar and pragmatics, which in general has echoed findings from non-academic settings (Jenkins, 2014: 63). This is followed by intercultural communication. I then consider the matter of NES presence before moving on to NNES students' perceptions of their English. The next theme is writing, followed by pedagogy and assessment.

3.4.1 Lexico-grammar and Pragmatics

Early work on ELF focussed on linguistic description, identifying not simply ways in which it differed from ENL use but the functional reasons behind this. For example, zero marking of third person *–s* was found to result from speakers prioritising efficiency and effectiveness over adherence to ENL norms (e.g. Breiteneder, 2005; Dewey, 2009). In this section, I briefly discuss findings related to lexico-grammar use in ELFA, before turning to pragmatics.

Ranta's (2006) analysis of data from the ELFA and MICASE corpora revealed a preference for the *–ing* form among ELF speakers, and a tendency to use it more frequently than do NESs (see Björkman, 2009; Cogo and Dewey, 2012 for similar findings). Its use appeared to be functionally motivated: the longer form made the verb more prominent and added clarity to the utterance (Ranta, 2006). In addition, three non-standard verb-syntactic features were identified in the ELFA corpus, and compared with MICASE: hypothetical *if-* clauses, existential *there is* + the plural, and embedded inversions (Ranta, 2009). These features were found to be more similar to general ENL spoken English than to the spoken academic English in MICASE. For example, in hypothetical *if-* clauses there were instances of using *would or would have* in the 'if clause' instead of the standard usage of past and past perfect, respectively. Examples of existential *there is* + plural included *there is some differences* and *there's two computers*. As Ranta notes, such non-standard forms are typically considered 'errors' and 'learner English' but are 'readily observable in (L1) spoken varieties around the world, including the speech of educated native speakers' (2009: 101), or, as Mauranen puts it, they are 'non-standard, but very English' (2010: 18).

Björkman (2009) also investigated non-standard usage, with a focus on whether this caused breakdowns in communication. Examples of morphological variations included non-standard word forms (e.g. *levelize*) and non-countable nouns used as countable (e.g. *how many hydrogen*), while syntactic variations included not marking the plural (*8000 hour*), non-standard article usage and lack of subject-verb agreement (ibid, p231-232). Communication breakdowns were rare, with only non-standard question formulations causing disturbance (ibid). Like Björkman (2009), Cogo and Dewey (2012) report that lexico-grammatical variations from ENL use, including third person singular zero, prepositions and relative pronouns, did not cause miscommunication. They also argue that 'accommodation is one of the key processes by which ELF settings generate innovative use of English' (ibid, p77) and it is to accommodation that I turn next.

While some researchers use accommodation as an umbrella term to cover co-operative acts such as other-repetition or echoing, Mauranen uses it in the narrower sense to include only ‘features where speakers reduce the dissimilarities between their speech patterns and adopt features from each other’s speech’ (2012: 49). Mauranen illustrates this with the use of *registrate* from the ELFA corpus: this form is subsequently reproduced by an interlocutor who has previously used the standard form *register* (ibid, p50). Hülmbauer reported similar creativity through the same process, which she termed ‘accommodative dovetailing’ (2009: 332). Cogo and Dewey refer to it as ‘productive convergence’, noting that it consistently resulted in convergence on innovative forms in their data (2012: 106). Mauranen (2012) notes that convergence on a standard form, on the other hand, has tended to be interpreted in L2 research as correction, because most L2 research has focussed on learner language. Mauranen goes on to point out that such an interpretation suggests comparison to a standard, and either that both interlocutors agree what that standard is, or that the speaker providing the correction ‘has the authority to judge what is within the standard and what is not’ (ibid, p51). In ELF scholarship, a different view may be taken. For example, Jenkins’ (2000) study of phonology demonstrated that speakers’ convergence on a standard form may occur in order to enhance intelligibility, rather than as a result of concerns with adherence to an ENL norm. Similarly, Konakahara (2013) reported enhancement of mutual understanding, this time through the use of other-paraphrases. Through her analysis of a conversation between four NNES students at a British university, Konakahara demonstrated that speakers supplied more appropriate words or phrases to clarify vague utterances (ibid.). Rather than being interpreted as correction by the interlocutors, such other-paraphrasing appeared to contribute to creating a co-operative atmosphere (ibid). Similar examples have been reported by Mauranen, who refers to them as examples of negotiation and interactive repair (2006d; 2012).

Strategies used by interlocutors to achieve understanding and communicative effectiveness have been examined by a number of researchers (e.g. Mauranen, 2006d; Kaur, 2009, 2011; Björkman, 2014). For example, Mauranen’s analysis of seminar discussions from the ELFA corpus concluded that interactants worked hard to prevent misunderstandings using self-repair, clarification and repetition, as well as co-construction of expressions (2006d). Kaur (2009, 2011) found similar use of self-repetition and self-paraphrasing in her analysis of non-classroom talk among students. She notes that this is no different to ENL talk, but concluded that her interactants' efforts reflected their awareness of greater potential for misunderstandings given the ELF nature of the talk (Kaur, 2009). Similarly, Mauranen notes that much self-repetition and paraphrasing in ELF is 'no different to any other kind of speaking' but suggests that speakers go further, in that they 'actively engage with each other and use repetition as a resource for achieving this' (2012: 220).

This active engagement is also achieved through other-repetition or 'echoing' (Mauranen, 2012: 220). Her analysis of graduate seminar discussions revealed three functions of echoing: co-construction of concepts and forms, and facework (ibid). Moreover, interactants make no obvious differentiation between standard and non-standard forms; of more relevance are 'salience, memorability and interactional meaningfulness' (ibid, p228). Similar points have been made by Seidlhofer in relation to the notion of 'unilateral idiomaticity' (e.g. 2004: 220). This is the use of idiomatic speech such as metaphor, phrasal verbs and fixed ENL expressions which are not understood by interlocutors and therefore cause communication difficulties (ibid). Such use is seen as inappropriate and unco-operative in ELF interactions (Seidlhofer, 2009). In contrast, expressions from VOICE corpus data which would be marked as 'odd' in ENL talk, such as *in my observation* or *in my head*, appear to cause no communication difficulty; interlocutors focus on meaning rather than conforming to ENL norms (ibid, p204). Creativity in idiomatic language has also been discussed by Pitzl (e.g. 2009, 2012), Cogo and Dewey (e.g. 2012), Mauranen (e.g. 2012) and Franceschi (2013).

However, while research has found a good deal of co-operation in ELF settings, this is not always the case. Jenks (2012, 2018) has discussed unco-operative communication in chat rooms (2012) and in shared kitchen space in accommodation (2018), for example. In her Austrian study, Smit (2010) reported some students' discomfort at jokes made by others, as well as initial intelligibility problems related to accent, with European students finding it hard to understand Asians. Also in the higher education context, Kuteeva (2014) found some NNESs to be critical of other NNESs' English.

In this section, I have outlined some key findings from ELF research. Non-standard usage appears rarely to cause communication breakdown, often because of interlocutors' accommodation efforts. A lack of accommodation, such as ‘unilateral idiomaticity’, is typically considered problematic in ELF interactions. In short, what counts is interlocutors’ orientations to the interaction. Next, the related topic of intercultural communication is discussed. .

3.4.2 ELF(A) and Intercultural Communication

The relevance of the field of intercultural communication for ELF(A) is clear. As Baker has noted ‘ELF is by definition intercultural in nature since ELF communication is typically defined as involving speakers from different linguacultures’ (2015: 43). Moreover, as noted above, pragmatic and communication strategies seen in ELF encounters are not unique to ELF, but are typical in all intercultural communication, and indeed in communication generally (e.g. Kaur, 2009; Mauranen, 2012). However, what is meant by ‘intercultural communication’ in ELF is not always defined, so the aim of this section is to make clear how the term will be used in this thesis.

Although the terms *cross-cultural* and *intercultural* are sometimes used interchangeably, the following distinction is important here. While *cross-cultural* communication research is seen as comparing separate cultures, often in the abstract sense of national groups, *intercultural* signals a focus on individuals in interaction (Scollon, Scollon and Jones, 2012). Thus intercultural communication (henceforth, IC) as a field ‘recognises that people often behave in different ways in *inter*cultural communication to *intra*cultural communication’ (Baker, 2015: 2, emphasis in original). Having said this, as Baker (2015) points out, critical approaches to IC do not assume cultural boundaries, but recognise the fluidity and heterogeneity inherent in cultures. For example, differences in identifications such as class, gender and profession can mean that speakers with the same L1 interact interculturally rather than intraculturally (Baker, 2015). This does not mean that national cultures are ignored, but that it is important to see them as one form of culture or grouping (Baker, 2018). Similarly, Zhu (2015) notes that, while IC studies often take difference as their starting point, it is essential to recognise that communication problems may be unrelated to culture. She therefore advises researchers to consider how interaction is affected by any differences *the speakers perceive to be relevant* (ibid, my emphasis). Baker adds to this that it is also important to take into account the researcher’s perception of linguistic and cultural differences as relevant, but that ‘there must be empirical or theoretical justifications for making use of such categories’ (2015: 23).

Recently, in relation to ELF research, Baker has suggested that *trans*cultural communication might be a more appropriate term in some instances ‘since it may not always be clear what cultures participants are in-between or ‘inter’ in intercultural communication’ (2018: 26). He makes similar points regarding ‘transcultural’ universities, including those in Anglophone settings, to acknowledge ‘the range of cultural groupings students and staff may identify with’ (Baker, 2016: 443). Given this complexity, he argues that the use of a ‘standard’ form of English as the target, along with a fixed target culture associated with it, is problematic (ibid).

In this thesis, I use the term ‘intercultural communication’ in the critical sense outlined above, since, as Baker (2018) points out, ‘transcultural’ is currently a less recognised term. The following section considers NESs in ELFA communication.

3.4.3 Native English Speakers in ELFA Communication

As noted above (in 3.3.1) early ELF research did not typically focus on NESs, so empirical data regarding their communicative behaviour is limited. Carey (2010) investigated NES awareness of the marked nature of idiomatic expressions. Analysing ELFA corpus data, Carey found some evidence of NESs accommodating by rephrasing, including an American student in a classroom environment and a number of interactants in conference discussions (2010). But others did not accommodate, leading Carey to suggest that NESs would benefit from training in language awareness – awareness that ELF speakers arguably already have (ibid). The same training need is identified in Jenkins’ (2014) study, in which ISs at a UK university reported NESs to be unable or unwilling to accommodate. A common comment was that both tutors and students spoke too fast, used idiomatic vocabulary and told culturally-specific jokes, even in lectures where the vast majority of students were NNESs (ibid). Such a lack of accommodation seems unco-operative in what appears to be an ELF setting, but perhaps the geographical location was a factor, as some of Jenkins’ participants suggested (ibid). Yet Carey (2010) too found examples of NES non-accommodation, even in non-Anglophone settings, suggesting that there are other factors to take into account.

In a classroom setting, one factor is the role played by the lecturer, as shown by Hynninen's (2011) investigation of mediation during seminars on an EMI course in Finland. The seminar participants were two lecturers, both NNESs, and 11 students, two of whom were NESs. Mediation occurs when 'a co-participant starts rephrasing another participant's turn that was addressed to a third party' in order to facilitate understanding (ibid., p965). Finding no examples of mediation by students, Hynninen points out that tutors are in a position of authority, and did not invite students to mediate (ibid). This highlights the tutor's potential influence on whether students accommodate, regardless of their L1 status.

In this section, two possible reasons for NES non-accommodation are identified: the geographical location and lecturer-student roles. Both location and role can affect interlocutors' orientation to interaction and students' perceptions of their English, the focus of the following section.

3.4.4 Students' Perceptions of their English

In what follows, I discuss research undertaken from an ELF perspective with NNES students in higher education in non-Anglophone settings; in Chapter 4 the focus is on NNES students in the UK.

A common finding is that, while students describe ENL as 'correct', 'natural' or 'real', they may not view it as the most appropriate target for ELF communication, often because they wish to retain their own culture or identity (Kalocsai, 2009; 2013; Hynninen, 2010; Borghetti and Beaven, 2015). Experience in using English outside a language classroom setting is key here. Sung's participants in Hong Kong, for example, reported regular IC and 'embraced their identities as legitimate and empowered speakers of English in ELF interactions' (2015: 309). In contrast, Ishikawa (2015) reports Japanese university students' mostly negative orientations to Japanese speakers' English, including their own. He attributes this to school ELT instruction and testing, as well as his participants' minimal opportunities to use English with other NNESs (ibid). Like Ishikawa's participants, those in Wang's (2015a; 2016) study in China were not undertaking EMI education, and had few chances to use English for IC. Although their awareness of ELF was low, some had positive attitudes towards non-conformity to standard English. At the same time, they struggled with social expectations, aware of the prestige attached to ENL; Wang argues that this is a result of language education policies, including testing (ibid).

Wang and Jenkins (2016) demonstrate that experience can cause students to question whether ENL norms are necessary for intelligibility, and hence acceptability; in other words, experience can override the influence of EFL education. This supports Virkkula and Nikula's (2010) study of Finnish engineering students undertaking internships in Germany as industrial production workers. Before going, the students were critical of their English, comparing it negatively to NES norms, but after their stay abroad their 'discourses of deficiency' gave way to 'discourses of proficiency' (ibid, p263). Participants had used German at work but English in the accommodation they shared with students from a range of cultural backgrounds. Virkkula and Nikula describe their participants undergoing an 'identity shift', from learners to users, as a result of this experience (ibid, p264).

The social use of English was the focus of Kalocsai's (2013) study. While a 'small minority' of her exchange student participants in Hungary considered themselves to be English learners, they mainly identified as language *users*, and had positive perceptions of their English (ibid, p136). While NNES interlocutors were generally more co-operative, some NESs also learned to accommodate over time; those who did not were seen as being unwilling to join the Erasmus community (Kalocsai, 2009). Kalocsai's participants were comfortable with 'rejecting the hierarchical relationship and the identification with the NSs' (ibid, p35).

In contrast to the focus on social English use investigated by Kalocsai (2009; 2013), and Virkkula and Nikula (2010), Hynninen's (2013) research focussed on educational settings. Most of her participants in Finland choose an EMI course because they wanted to improve their English (ibid). Hynninen suggests that during guided group work, with an English instructor present to provide language support, students were 'both *users* of English whose purpose was to communicate in the group, and *learners* of English whose language use was monitored by the English instructor' (ibid, p227, emphasis added). This illustrates the impact of institutional language policy, which in this case appears to cast students as English learners through the presence of an English tutor. When students were carrying out group work without an English tutor, NNESs acted as 'language experts' even when an NES was present (ibid, p246). At the same time, NESs were sometimes cast as 'language regulators' by other students, but typically only for regulation of written English, such as on presentation slides (ibid).

The above discussion has highlighted three main influences on students' perceptions of their English: language education policy, real-life experience, and interlocutors. These are overlapping, rather than discrete, influences. Language policy, enacted through formal English language instruction and testing, may result in negative orientations as learners. However, these negative perceptions may be overridden by positive experiences of being English users. This is not to suggest that a student has to choose between being a learner or a user; identities are fluid (Mauranen, 2011). On EMI programmes, learner/user identities may be influenced by the interlocutors, the specific setting and the mode. These factors will also influence the amount of agency students have in making language choices (Dafouz and Smit, 2016; Baker and Hüttner, 2017). Hynninen (2013) and Karakaş (2015), for example, both found students to be more concerned about 'correctness' in written work, the focus of the penultimate section in this chapter.

3.4.5 Writing

As discussed in 3.1.3 above, the focus in EAP has mainly been on writing. This is not surprising, given that this is the main mode through which students are assessed, and given the importance of publication for academics (Mauranen, Pérez- Llantada and Swales, 2010). Moreover, the focus has largely been on NES writing (Jenkins, 2014) and as English spread as the language of academic publication, 'good writing' was equated with 'good English', with NESs called upon to proof read (Mauranen, Pérez- Llantada and Swales, 2010). However, contrastive rhetoric has demonstrated that differences in academic writing cultures tend to be most apparent at the level of text organisation rather than lexicogrammar, and in fact what counts as 'good writing' is not universally agreed (ibid., p238). Despite this, there is evidence that ENL continues to be privileged when it comes to publishing in journals (Lillis and Curry, 2010).

While Owen (2011) argues that 'language prejudices' faced or perceived by NNES scholars are commonplace, Hyland claims that evidence for this is lacking, calling it the 'myth of linguistic injustice' (2016b: 58). Hyland goes on to discuss the significance of levels of expertise, what Swales (2004) terms senior and junior scholars: the expertise here is not in 'standard English' but in rhetorical knowledge appropriate to the discourse community and the genre (Hyland, 2016b). Arguing that writing instruction therefore needs to be for NESs too, Hyland echoes the point made by Römer (2009: 99) that 'the native academic writer does not seem to exist.'

However, Gnutzmann and Rabe (2014) attributed variation in scholars' experiences not only to disciplinary differences but also to the presence of NES scholars. Thus the 'burden of being non-native' was heaviest for those in disciplines with 'language-as-data' and more NESs participating, such as History (ibid). In disciplines such as Biology and Mechanical Engineering, the 'experimental or statistical data' resulted in more rigid genres (ibid). While the disciplinary differences echo the findings of Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir (2013), more significant is that the fact that the engineers reported most reviewers and editors to be NNESs (Gnutzmann and Rabe, 2014).

Rozycki and Johnson report that non-canonical grammar in engineering articles was accepted by NNES reviewers, but still suggest students should aim for nativelike usage in Anglophone contexts (2013), perhaps revealing low awareness of how little 'Anglo' there may actually be in an 'Anglophone' setting such as an international university. International doctoral students in Maringe and Jenkins' study at a UK university reported anxiety caused by academics' failure to be open to variations in writing style, leading the authors to suggest that research is needed to identify what counts as 'good academic English' (2015: 625).

ELF research into written language is relatively new. WrELFA was completed in 2015. It consists of 1.5 million words from three types of academic texts, none of which have been professionally proofread or checked by an NES: unedited research papers, PhD examiner reports and research blogs (WrELFA, 2015). Little published work based on the corpus exists to date, but one example is Carey (2013), who used preliminary WrELFA data to look at the use of spoken and written chunks, concluding tentatively that spoken and written ELF appeared to be not too dissimilar.

Using her own data, Vetchinnikova (2015) also looked at chunks, or multi-word units (MWUs), but her focus was on how they are processed. Her main concern was to address the conflicting theorisations of language in ELF scholarship (see 3.3.2 above). Comparing patterning in students' writing with that found both in their own field and outside it, Vetchinnikova found that there was a closer match to their own field, suggesting that acquisition of MWUs was usage-based (2015). With regard to those MWUs which did not match standard English, Vetchinnikova's findings echo Mauranen's for spoken language: that users 'get them approximately right' (Mauranen, 2012: 144). Mauranen notes that while learners in pedagogical settings may be penalised for minor deviations, in 'real-life' second language use, these approximations 'must be discussed in other terms' (2012: 144).

Having discussed writing, I now turn to the final section of this chapter, pedagogy and assessment.

3.4.6 Pedagogy and Assessment

Finally in this chapter, I discuss relevant literature concerning pedagogy and assessment, both relatively new areas of research. A substantial amount of work has been carried out into raising awareness and changing attitudes for both students and teachers. Here I review some of the work with university students.

Baker (2012, 2015) discusses an online course for undergraduates in Thailand that used materials with a Global Englishes orientation, and incorporated an intercultural awareness approach. Baker's notion of intercultural awareness (henceforth, ICA), builds on scholarship in both IC and ELF to conceptualise the skills, knowledge and attitudes that a successful intercultural communicator requires (Baker, 2018). Although nation-based ways of thinking about language and culture may be present, ICA 'incorporates an understanding of the fluid, complex and emergent nature of the relationship between language and culture in intercultural communication through ELF' (ibid, 33). Baker suggests three levels of ICA, from basic to advanced, with the latter being of greatest relevance for ELF, as 'flexibility, dynamism and complexity are the norm' (ibid). It follows that ICA should not be understood as a prescriptive model of practices that can be used in all situations, since what counts as 'competent' IC depends on each particular interaction (ibid). The course was positively evaluated, and there was evidence of ICA among some participants. More recently, Fang and Baker have called for 'a more explicit and systematic approach to intercultural education in language teaching' (2018: 620). Their participants' EFL instruction in China lacked an intercultural communication component, meaning that they were ill-prepared for their study abroad. This was seen as one factor in some participants' limited intercultural development while studying in their respective host institutions (ibid).

In the Japanese context, Galloway and Rose (2018) report a Global Englishes course that aimed to prepare students for EMI higher education, as an alternative to EAP programmes that prepare students for study in ENL contexts. The authors suggest that such courses offer scope for building learners' confidence by making them aware of alternatives to ENL (ibid). Wang (2015b) and Fang (2016) have put forward proposals for Chinese university students. Wang (2015b) suggests providing information on linguistic diversity, using ELF data, and increasing intercultural encounters, while Fang's (2016) focus is on pronunciation for IC.

Work related to teacher education has also focussed on raising awareness. For example, Sifakis et al (2018: 157) discuss the notion of 'ELF-awareness' as a way of integrating ELF into EFL teaching. Like other scholars (e.g. Blair, 2017), Sifakis et al stress that teachers who wish to incorporate ELF into their practice must take into account their own contexts, including their learners' needs and attitudes, and be autonomous enough to be able to initiate change in teaching focus and materials. Change might include raising awareness of the variability of English and development of communication strategies and intercultural awareness (Sifakis et al, 2018). However, as Dewey (2012, 2018) has pointed out, teachers who are favourable to the idea of ELF may still struggle to implement it within the constraints of an education system that operates with norm-based frameworks. This leads to my final theme in this chapter, that of ELF-informed assessment.

McNamara (2012) has argued the need for a construct that takes into account the co-operative element of communication in negotiating meaning, rather than a focus on approximation to native speaker norms. Linked to this, Harding (2014: 194) calls for research into how 'adaptability' could be included in a communicative competence construct in testing, arguing that this would 'assess a test-taker's ability to deal with diverse, and potentially unfamiliar, varieties of English.' Although reference to "varieties" does not align with most ELF scholars views, the aspects Harding suggests reflect those seen in successful communication, such as negotiation and accommodation. Harding and McNamara develop these points, considering how competence might be articulated in rubric for a speaking test, but acknowledge that more research is needed to develop tasks and rating scales to assess ‘ELF-related strategic behaviour’ (2018: 579).

Leung, Lewkowicz and Jenkins (2016) focus their attention on tests such as IELTS and TOEFL. Not only do these tests measure proficiency against an ENL benchmark, as has already been pointed out, but there is a mismatch between what is valued in such assessment and the reality of oral communication in academic setting (ibid). As such they argue for the large-scale ‘fit for all’ tests to be replaced with ‘smaller and more bespoke assessments’ that can take into account the situated nature of language practices (ibid, p68). This could include shifting the focus from assessing NNESs’ accuracy to requiring NESs ‘to demonstrate an awareness of the nature of transcultural communication’ (ibid, p69).

As noted above, assessment is a relatively new area of research, and this is particularly the case for writing, with the publications cited above focussing on oral communication.

To sum up, in this section I have discussed users, domains and conceptualisations of ELF. Focussing on academic settings, I have presented empirical findings which show that accommodation skills and orientation to the interaction are key in determining its success. Related to this, I have discussed IC. Studies have shown that location, setting and roles may affect English users’ orientations, including to their own English. In terms of writing, I have discussed the challenges faced by NNES authors, and noted some evidence of flexibility in the English use that journals accept. The fields of pedagogy and assessment are comparatively new in ELF scholarship, and the focus to date has been on oral communication. Although the changed context of EAP and the global nature of English is beginning to be acknowledged by scholars in the field, ELF is largely seen as irrelevant in the UK. This is despite the internationalisation of higher education, as discussed in Chapter 4.

Chapter 4 Internationalisation of UK Higher Education

In this chapter, the aspects of language policy discussed in section 2.2 above are applied to the context of internationalised higher education in England, and linked back to earlier discussions of EAP and ELF. First, what is meant by *internationalised* higher education is explored, followed by an evaluation of three key concepts: *internationalisation at home*, *internationalisation of the curriculum* and *global citizenship*. Section 4.3 then turns to ISs, with a particular emphasis on literature related to language. The following two sections discuss mechanisms and agents of English language policy, and I finish with research looking at ISs' perceptions of their English.

4.1 Internationalisation of Higher Education

While it has been pointed out that the internationalisation of higher education is not a recent phenomenon (e.g. Rizvi and Lingard, 2010; Walker, 2014), Jones and de Wit make a distinction between earlier notions of 'international education' and the more recent 'internationalization of higher education' dating from the 1990s (2012: 36). The change in terminology reflects the increasingly central role that internationalisation activities play in academia (ibid.) in response to the processes of globalisation (Altbach and Knight, 2007; Maringe and Foskett, 2010). Thus, globalisation is seen as a driver of internationalised universities, as employers seek graduates with intercultural skills and global awareness (Rizvi and Lingard, 2010; Hénard, Diamond and Roseveare, 2012).

Interpretations of what is meant by internationalisation in relation to higher education vary (Montgomery, 2009; Caruana, 2010a). Knight suggests that, "To many, it means the inclusion of an international, intercultural, and/or global dimension into the curriculum and teaching learning process" (2004: 6), and categorises activities as either *internationalisation abroad* or *internationalisation at home.* The former includes recruitment of ISs, student and staff mobility, joint teaching programmes such as articulation agreements, branch campuses and research partnerships, while *internationalisation at home* refers to modifications made in the home context (Foskett, 2010). As this aspect is of particular relevance to my research, I take a critical look at this next, to identify the extent to which language policy and practice is addressed.

4.2 Internationalisation at Home, Internationalisation of the curriculum, and Global Citizenship

The term *internationalisation at home* (IaH), coined by Bengt Nilsson in 1999, referred to a way of internationalising the experience of non-mobile students and was also a response to a culturally diverse student body, meaning that 'intercultural studies and intercultural communication would have to play a strong role' (Wächter, 2003: 5). Foskett notes that implementation of IaH varies by context, but typically includes making changes to the curriculum, as well as to teaching and learning activities, the aim being not only to 'ensure international coverage and focus' but also to make the curriculum relevant to ISs (2010: 41). Such modifications have largely come to be known as *internationalisation of the curriculum* (IoC), a policy tool which is rationalised primarily as a means of developing global graduates of both home and international students (Ryan, 2004; Rizvi and Lingard, 2010). Other scholars place importance on IoC as a response to diversity in the student body and as a practice of inclusivity (e.g. Teekens, 2000; Caruana, 2011). Both aspects are explored here.

Jenkins finds it 'bizarre' that language issues are rarely included in discussion of IoC (2014: 166). Indeed, it is unusual to read arguments such as Teekens' point that students and lecturers must 'allow for differences in performance and time for expression' (2000: 32). Teekens' later recommendation that '*all* students are *required* to take courses that improve their international and intercultural competences' (2007: 10) is, however, echoed by Leask and Bridge's assertion of the importance of developing skills such as 'language capability' and 'intercultural competence' for all students (2013: 87). Nonetheless, although more inclusive assessment is called for (Leask, 2005; Leask and Bridge, 2013), there is no suggestion that this might include the type of English deemed acceptable.

Closely linked to IoC is the notion of *global citizenship*. Caruana, for example, describes an internationalised curriculum as being relevant to and empowering for ISs, 'whilst enhancing the global dimension for *all* students' who can become 'global citizens with global perspectives and cross-cultural capabilities' (2011: 2, emphasis in original). As defined by Killick, cross-cultural capability as an attribute of a global citizen includes ‘the ability to communicate effectively across cultures’, which ‘links directly to intercultural communicative competence’ (2011: 87). Killick’s near-conflation of cross-/inter-cultural suggests he makes no distinction between the two, in contrast to my position (see 3.4.2 above). Killick goes on to argue that there is no clear agreement that languages play an important role in intercultural communicative competence, further noting that because many UK home students ‘are only marginally competent in a second language, it is unrealistic (and distracting) to set this down as a necessary attribute’ (2011: 87). Other scholars, however, argue that foreign language learning is a crucial element of an internationalised education (e.g. Teekens, 2007; Dlaska, 2013).

For Killick (2011), there is a distinction between cross-cultural capability and intercultural communicative competence, with the former being specific to higher education and therefore considered in the context of the discipline and professional practice. Cross-cultural capability ‘is based upon an ethical stance in which the norms and values of others are critiqued from a position of respect’ (ibid., p88). Killick’s scholarship is indicative of the field in which ‘global citizens’ are defined by their concern for sustainability, social justice and equality, and their tolerance of and sensitivity to cultural diversity (Shiel, 2006; Bourn, 2010; Haigh, 2014; Lilley, Barker and Harris, 2017). However, outside ELF research (e.g. Jenkins, 2011, 2014; Baker, 2016), the injustice and inequality brought about by the value placed on ENL norms in HE has been mainly absent from these concerns. One exception is Trahar (2011), for whom ‘cultural capability’ includes issues surrounding English use between NESs and NNESs. And in fact, Killick’s stance regarding the relevance of language appears to be shifting: in a 2013 paper he suggests that an assessment requirement for presentations might be rewritten as ‘Students will be able to make a presentation analysing [xyz] which is *accessible to an audience of native and non-native speakers of English*’ (2013: 730, emphasis added), though he does not elaborate on how this accessibility might be assessed. Findings from ELF studies could usefully be incorporated here. Moreover, scholarship in the field of intercultural citizenship education offers broader possibilities for developing the linguistic aspect of global citizenship (henceforth, GC), as I outline in the following paragraph.

Intercultural Citizenship Education (henceforth, ICE) has its basis in language education, meaning that the role of language(s) is prominent (Byram, 2008; Byram et al. 2017). ICE draws together aspects of critical foreign language education, including intercultural communicative competence, and citizenship education (Byram et al., 2017). Through activity with people from different social groups, students engage in intercultural experience; crucially, they also analyse, reflect and act on this experience (ibid). Students' ability to do this is facilitated by two aspects of ICC, critical cultural awareness and being intercultural speakers (Porto, Houghton and Byram, 2018). Critical cultural awareness refers to 'an ability to evaluate critically and on the basis of explicit criteria perspectives, practices and products in one's own and other cultures and countries' (Byram, 1997: 53). An 'intercultural speaker' is someone who is able to view communication from the perspective of others, by virtue of knowing a foreign language (Porto, Houghton and Byram, 2018). This contrasts with Killick's (2011) view that languages are unimportant for GC, a view which appears to be reflected in the EMI GC programmes analysed by Aktas et al (2017), who found that in 17 of 24 institutions learning a foreign language was only optional.

Byram's 'intercultural speaker' is not simply someone who knows a foreign language, however. He or she is also 'consensus-oriented, supportive and open to negotiation, i.e. they negotiate meanings with others on equal terms departing from their own positionalities' (Porto, Houghton and Byram, 2018: 488). This emphasis on co-operation and negotiation echoes characteristics of intercultural speakers in ELF communication (see 3.4.1 above). Moreover, ICE scholarship seems to be starting to problematize the 'native speaker' as the model of an effective communicator, particularly in the case of English (ibid).

Although ICE appears to address the 'language gap' in GC, it is less well known in HE. While Fang and Baker's (2018) study (see 3.4.6 above) discussed ICE as a potential model for introducing intercultural education into language teaching, in its present form it would appear inappropriate for monolingual HE students. However, the monolingual approach apparent in many GC programmes, at least in Anglophone contexts (Aktas et al, 2017; Hammond and Keating, 2018), seems to be out of step with notions of 'global workers' (Hammond and Keating, 2018). It would therefore seem timely to revisit the employability skills offered by UK institutions' careers services (e.g. UoS, 2018a).

The preceding discussion demonstrates that the extent to which language is considered relevant in IoC and GC varies. It is not unusual for mention of language to be restricted to noting the challenges faced by international students in relation to English (Dlaska, 2013), and in the following sections, I explore this further.

4.3 UK International Students

In the UK, university internationalisation and increased numbers of ISs have commonly been understood as much the same phenomenon (Trahar, 2010). However, Maringe and Woodfield (2013) argue that the focus has shifted from IS recruitment to investigating ways of making teaching and learning more inclusive. In the remainder of this chapter, I examine this in relation to English language policy and practices.

In the introduction to their edited volume, Brown and Jones note that ISs have often been seen mainly as a method of generating income and as ‘needy of support in a kind of deficit model’ (2007: 2). They argue that their approach differs because it ‘situates the international student at the heart of the university as a source of cultural capital and intentional diversity, enriching the learning experience both for home students and for one another (…)’ (ibid). The two views of ‘international-students-as-problem’ and ‘international-students-as-asset’ still appear to exist side by side. That is, while ISs are recognised as useful for helping non-mobile local students to develop intercultural competence, they are still seen as problematic because of their difference, particularly when it comes to English. Even within Brown and Jones’ edited volume, ‘intentional diversity’ appears not to apply to English. For example, Brown and Joughin point out that HSs may also be ‘poor at expressing themselves’, going on to note that ‘occasional grammar lapses do not always result in communication being ineffective, since arguments are often easy to follow *even though something is clearly not written by a native speaker*’ (2007: 69, emphasis added).

Research in the field has paid little attention not only to language but to other aspects of learning. A meta-analysis of 497 journal articles published between 1980 and 2013 reveals that while 53.5% were concerned the overall experience, only 11.4% focussed on ‘issues related to teaching, learning, and incorporation of international elements in curriculum’ (Abdullah, Aziz and Ibrahim, 2014: 244).

The authors call for improved national and institutional policies to safeguard ‘academic, social and general well-being’ of ISs (ibid., p247). As Jenkins (2014) has argued, it is time to review language policy in this era of the international university.

As noted in Chapter 2, policies may not be overtly articulated. Jenkins (2014) found that most institutions had no explicit language policy, but that it was identifiable by considering practices such as the entry requirements and approaches to ISs’ English on degree programmes. This view of practice-as-policy, discussed in 2.2.1 above, along with Shohamy’s (2006) policy mechanisms and agents (see 2.2.2.1 and 2.2.2.2 above) serve as the framework for exploring English language policy in the sections below.

4.4 Assessment as a Policy Mechanism

This section considers assessment as a mechanism of language policy (Shohamy, 2006) beginning with the gatekeeping role of English language proficiency tests, and followed by assessment on degree programmes.

4.4.1 English Language Entry Tests

Testing services play a significant role in facilitating IS mobility, particularly into ENL countries (Brooks and Waters, 2011). McNamara argues that, given this gatekeeping role, ‘language testing faces an ethical challenge: language testers need to make their language tests as fair as possible’ (2004: 764). This is important not only in terms of policy for English language entry requirements, but also because, as Shohamy (2006, 2013) has pointed out, tests also have a wider impact on language policy. In the case of UK HE, this impact is seen in the provision of in-sessional EAP or AL classes, as well as in assessment. Yet, as I have already pointed out in 3.1.1 above, these tests use ‘nativelike’ as the benchmark against which NNES are judged (Jenkins, 2014: 104; Jenkins and Leung, 2014) as do pre-sessional courses which act as substitutes for tests. The relevance and equity of such a benchmark in an internationalised university is questionable, but remains unexamined even when ISs achieve lower marks than HSs, as I discuss below.

4.4.2 Assessment of English on content programmes

Increased IS recruitment has led to calls to review assessment practices to give these students the opportunity to achieve their potential (e.g. Henderson, 2011; Bailey, 2013). At the national level, it has proved difficult to identify factors which may affect ISs' performance because available data lacks detail. In an analysis of HESA (Higher Education Statistics Agency) statistics from 1995 and 2000, ISs were found to have achieved fewer 'good degrees' than HSs but as HESA do not provide first language data, language cannot be identified as a factor (Morrison et al, 2005: 333). Similarly, while the latest available data, for 2012-13, shows improved IS retention, language data was again absent (HEFCE, 2016).

Other researchers have also found some evidence that ISs achieve lower marks than HSs, at UG (De Vita, 2002; Crawford and Wang, 2014; Ianelli and Huang, 2014) and PG level (Kelly and Moogan, 2012). Whilst Thorpe et al (2017) found students entering via pre-sessional courses typically performed worse on their degree programmes than IELTS-entry students, other studies suggest the problem is one of unfamiliarity with the academic culture rather than language. This may be because IELTS scores are seen as an indication of sufficient English proficiency (Turner, 2004), which is perhaps unsurprising given that academic staff often have limited understanding of what an IELTS test score means (Hyatt and Brooks, 2009; Rea-Dickens, Kiely and Gu, 2011) and of its limitations as an indicator of abilities needed at tertiary level (Carroll, 2005). Crawford and Wang (2014), for example, believe that English is not an issue for the UGs in their study because the entry level is IELTS 7.

Such uncritical acceptance of IELTS as an indicator of readiness for university study is arguably both cause and effect of the fact that ENL is the preferred variety among subject tutors: as Jenkins (2014) found in her survey of 166 academic staff across 24 countries, most equated 'good' English with ENL. When this is the case, students' achievement of the requisite IELTS score may be seen as adequate in terms of their producing and understanding ENL. For example, Rea-Dickens, Kiely and Gu found that, for many of the admissions tutors in their study, 'meeting the IELTS requirement amounted to eliminating language as a learning and progression issue' (2011: 12). This contrasts with students' views of their readiness for study based on entering programmes with the minimum IELTS score (Blaj-Ward, 2017b; Harwood and Petrić, 2017) and with lecturers in Al-

Hasnawi's study, who felt that IELTS was "irrelevant" in terms of disciplinary language (2016: 291).

At the same time, when language is dealt with in assessment criteria only in general terms such as 'communicative effectiveness', the attention paid to English varies among lecturers (Hartill, 2000: 123). As Wingate has pointed out, although language accuracy may be only implicitly included in a category such as 'presentation, organisation or structure', it may be that lecturers focus on 'linguistic errors' because they are not able to 'recognise fundamental academic literacy problems that lead to unsuccessful student writing' (2018: 430). Assessment is not exclusively based on writing, however, and this lecturer explains her flexible approach to oral language use during assessed presentations:

> Considering … that we live in a multicultural community from an academic … and a social point of view, we know that we can't expect a perfect level of English from everyone, although we have to expect the same level of understanding … I have to be flexible to the fact that because you are oriental your pronunciation is not going to be as clear to me … Yes, there is an allowance for it and I think that they don't understand that.
>
> (Ippolito, 2007: 759)

The lecturer's final comment is noteworthy: students seem unaware of this policy. Similarly, lecturers in research by both Al-Hasnawi's (2016) and Jenkins et al (in press 2018) varied in the extent to which they focussed on language in students' written work. This highlights the need for transparent assessment, since ISs may feel unfairly treated if they are assessed in the same way as HSs. As this student in Schweisfurth and Gu's study put it, 'for local students it's easier because the use of language, and for us, for me is the third language' (2009: 468). This is a point that is not always appreciated at policy level; instead, as Turner points out, the role of language is 'underestimated, undervalued and marginalised in the institutional discourse' (2011: 4).

Time constraints are another aspect of concern for some ISs (Warwick, 2008; Jenkins, 2014; Jenkins and Wingate, 2015) with some institutions responding by allowing extra time in examinations (Pilcher, Smith and Riley, 2013). Permitting dictionaries may not benefit ISs if they have no time to use them (Jenkins, 2014). An alternative solution has been to replace exams with coursework (Barron, Gourlay and Gannon-Leary, 2010). The significance of these aspects should not be overlooked. While they are not concerned with the type of English considered acceptable, they may affect the English that ISs produce. For example, some students in Jenkins and Wingate's (2015) research felt that allowances should be made regarding English, to reflect the extra time taken for both reading and writing. Their assessment load also meant they were unable to attend in-sessional EAP classes (ibid). Next, I discuss the role of lecturers.

4.5 Lecturers as Policy Agents

As noted in Chapter 2, lecturer agency is significant in EMI HE. Whether or not there is an explicit English language policy, lecturers' practices may reveal implicit policy. Trahar maintains that the 'attitude of the academic is crucial' in whether ISs are seen as needing to 'assimilate with the dominant pedagogical approaches' (2010: 145). In this section, I examine how ISs have been positioned by looking first at lecturer (non-)accommodation, then at the lecturer's role in facilitating IC between HSs and ISs.

4.5.1 Lecturer (non-) accommodation to international students

Lecturers might accommodate through flexibility in how they respond to ISs' English use or by modifying their own language. However, it is not always straightforward to separate 'language' from 'pedagogy' or 'content', as this student's comment illustrates:

> I think she may get irritated to talk to us, because of our poor English. Her treatment toward students is different, like, how to talk to students, for example, she doesn't come around us while we are making some works in a class, for checking what we are doing. For British students, she often approaches them and looks at their works and speaks to them, whereas for Asian students, just walk through without any words.
>
> (Sovic, 2013: 96)

This student feels that the lecturer neglects some students because of their 'poor English', showing that pedagogy appears to be affected by language. The lecturer is unable or unwilling to engage with 'Asian students', so they do not receive the same amount of feedback – presumably on content – as HSs. This demonstrates one way in which issues related to language can affect both pedagogy and content.

In lectures, it is also difficult to separate lecturers' language from pedagogy and content, even when studies apparently make a distinction. For example, some research suggests that students' difficulties are caused by unclear lecture structure, without providing further detail (e.g. Beals, 2010; Song-Turner and Willis, 2011). Other studies primarily or solely ascribe ISs' problems with understanding lectures to their poor listening skills or limited vocabulary, and therefore recommend English support classes - with little consideration given to the lecturer's role in effective communication (e.g. Brown, 2008; Littlemore et al., 2011; Quan, Smailes and Fraser, 2013). In some cases, however, the issue is clear. Participants in some studies report difficulties caused by jokes, idiomatic language and speed (Hou and McDowell, 2014; Jenkins, 2014; Blaj-Ward, 2017b; Schartner and Cho, 2017).

There is now an abundance of advice on how lecturers can accommodate ISs. In 1994, Flowerdew noted that suggesting lecturers modify their style was unusual and pointed out transferring responsibility for comprehension from ISs to their lecturers might actually prove more cost effective than requiring students to attend EAP classes (see Fraser, 2011 for a similar comment relating to Australian universities). In the same edited volume, Lynch suggests speaking more slowly and clearly, and with a greater degree of redundancy (1994). Since then, calls for lecturer accommodation have steadily grown (e.g. Cammish, 1997; Gavriel, 1999; Sovic, 2008; Liu, 2013; Lynch, 2015; Lee and Subtirelu, 2015). Guidance for teaching ISs and/or developing a more inclusive approach has also become more common (e.g. Dolan and Macias, 2009; Scudamore, 2013; Quality Assurance Agency, 2015).

What is missing from all these publications is any reference to ELF(A) and IC scholarship (see sections 3.4.1 and 3.4.2 above). This is unfortunate, as there is much that could usefully be incorporated. Findings of relevance to lectures include signalling structure and significance, and increasing interactivity through questions (Mauranen, 2010; Björkman, 2013; Gotti, 2015). Findings with wider application include explaining idiomatic expressions, and using repetition and rephrasing to enhance explicitness and provide processing time (Kaur, 2011; Suviniitty, 2012; Konakahara, 2013). Despite this, some publications do align with ELFA findings, such as recommendations to explain idiomatic language (Dolan and Macias, 2009). Similarly, some lecturers report their own careful choice of vocabulary, slowing down, and/or reducing the use of humour (e.g.

Hennebry, Lo and Macaro, 2012; Ryall, 2013; Baker and Hüttner, 2017; Schartner and Cho, 2017; Jenkins et al., in press 2018). However, such adjustments are not always seen as desirable. Sovic (2013) reports a participant's comment that a tutor refused to slow down when asked by ISs because there were some HSs present. However, ISs are not an homogeneous group (Blaj-Ward, 2017b; Holliday, 2017; Baird and Baird, 2018), so assuming a proficiency hierarchy with HSs above their international counterparts is not appropriate, particularly when subject knowledge is taken into account. A key factor in understanding lecture content is students' previous knowledge of the subject area, which can help to decode terminology (Peters and Fernandez, 2013; Blaj-Ward, 2017b). Nonetheless, this is not always recognised by students and lecturers, with English proficiency being seen as the crucial factor. An IS in Blaj-Ward's (2017b) study, for example, complained about the lower language level used by lecturers trying to adjust for the less proficient ISs present. Lecturers in Barron, Gourlay and Gannon-Leary's study reported 'a slowing down of lecture delivery and a reduction of lecture content and level' (2010: 485), causing the researchers' concern of a lowering of standards. Similarly, this lecturer comments:

> We have made some changes, but part of me does this with reluctance … if they want a British degree, a British qualification, we shouldn't make it something which is not really a proper British qualification.
>
> (Hall and Sung, 2010: 57)

This sentiment is also apparent, albeit less explicitly, in publications which claim to be committed to internationalisation while simultaneously maintaining that only ISs should adjust. For example, Turner and Robson (2008) advocate staff developing competency in intercultural communication. This does not, however, appear to include adjusting their language: although they recognise that use of metaphor or vague language can cause difficulties there is no suggestion that lecturers should avoid these (ibid). Instead, ISs should be given language support, which will also enable them to communicate with HSs (ibid., p74). In contrast, Murray (2016b) argues that lecturers would benefit from linguistic training, particularly in how meaning is made and the role of social grammar. Raising their awareness of this would, Murray asserts, assist lecturers in adjusting their own language use (ibid).

Occasionally, the claim is made that HSs are needed to help ISs to improve their language (e.g. McMahon, 2011), which could arguably hinder efforts to bring HSs and ISs together if they are pigeonholed as 'helpers' and 'helped'. This is considered in the next section, which concerns the role of lecturers in facilitating IC among students.

4.5.2 Lecturers as facilitators of intercultural communication

It is sometimes assumed that the presence of ISs results in an 'international community' with its implicit suggestion that one's cultural awareness may be enhanced simply by studying alongside people from outside the UK (Al-Youssef, 2010) but it is inaccurate to assume that this means students of different backgrounds mix and automatically develop intercultural skills (Leask, 2008; 2009). There are varied reasons for this; for example, not all students see the relevance of GC or cross cultural capability (Bourn, 2010, Caruana, 2010b); and without student engagement, interventions designed to internationalise the curriculum or encourage IC will not be successful (Leask, 2009; Maringe and Foskett, 2010). Moreover, as I have discussed in 4.2 above, GC scholars and programmes often ignore the issue of language in IC.

Lecturers' attitudes and practices are crucial here, since these affect how internationalisation is brought into the student learning experience (Trahar, 2010; Sanderson, 2011; Trahar and Hyland, 2011; Ryall, 2013). Indeed, both ISs and HSs want lecturers to encourage students to mix (Ippolito, 2007; Harrison and Peacock, 2009), but for lecturers to do this effectively, a policy is not sufficient; also needed is 'an institutional culture that genuinely values cultural diversity' (Spencer-Oatey, Dauber and Williams, 2014: 6). Moreover, as Spencer-Oatey and Dauber argue, lecturers may need training in 'effective strategies for handling communication challenges' (2017: 231). This echoes the points made above that successful implementation of policy depends on its alignment with practices and beliefs (Spolsky, 2004).

Integration of HSs and ISs constitutes a significant strand of research (e.g. Gu, Schweisfurth and Day, 2010; Wang, 2012; Cotton, George and Joyner, 2013; Rienties, Alcott and Jindal-Snape, 2014). This often reveals that some HSs view ISs' students' English negatively (e.g. Henderson, 2009, 2011; Turner, 2009; Osmond and Roed, 2010; Wicaksono, 2013). Moreover, HSs may have concerns that ISs' English language proficiency will lower marks for group projects (e.g. Hyland et al., 2008; Montgomery, 2009; Elliot and Reynolds, 2014). Criticisms of ISs' English may even reveal a tendency to conflate it with poor intellect. For example, an NES student in Trahar's study finds discussions 'intensely frustrating', saying 'First of all, they cannot pronounce words correctly and, if they can't pronounce the words, how can they begin to understand the concepts?' (2007: 17; see Harrison and Peacock, 2010; Osmond and Roed, 2010 for similar comments). This is not to say that all HSs hold negative attitudes: some see working with ISs as beneficial, because it enables them to gain experience of working interculturally (e.g. Ippolito, 2007; Harrison and Peacock, 2009).

Some ISs find HSs difficult to understand, often due to their use of colloquialisms and jokes (e.g. Sovic, 2008; Wu and Hammond, 2011; Jenkins, 2014). HSs are also felt to dominate discussions (e.g. Welikala and Watkins, 2008; Cotton, George and Joyner, 2013). Some of Jenkins' (2014) participants felt that HSs lacked IC skills and were not deliberately trying to exclude ISs. Another factor is the levels of confidence ISs have in their oral communication skills, which is linked to opportunities to use English (Blaj-Ward, 2017a; Spencer-Oatey et al, 2017). As discussed above, interactions in ELF settings are likely to be successful when interlocutors engage in co-operative, accommodative practices. When HSs do not accommodate, it is not surprising that ISs find other ISs easier to communicate with, as Beaven and Spencer-Oatey (2016) reported in their UK-based study. Increasingly, calls for IC training for HSs are being heard (e.g. Sovic, 2008; Hedger and Wicaksono, 2015; Harvey, 2016: Thorpe et al, 2017) echoing those made by ELF scholars (e.g. Jenkins, 2000, 2007, 2014; Bjorkman 2013). The Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA)'s guide on supporting ISs indicates an understanding of the interlocutor factor seen in ELF research, as it suggests that institutions will:

> find it helpful to consider having in place training provision to support home students in developing intercultural knowledge and skills, **particularly on programmes with significant numbers of international students**
>
> (QAA, 2015: 9, emphasis added)

None of the above is intended to imply that *all* HSs are poor intercultural communicators in need of training, nor that they have the monopoly on judging others' English. While research has tended to focus on communication between

HSs and ISs, there is evidence of ISs negatively evaluating other ISs' English, particularly when it may affect grades (Ippolito, 2007; Hedger and Wicaksono, 2015; Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2017). What I have tried to show in this section is that lecturers have a key role to play in facilitating effective interactions between students. In the final section, I review research into IS' perceptions of their English.

4.6 International Students' Perceptions of their English

In Chapter 3, I explored how NNES students outside the UK feel about their English. Here, I bring the focus to ISs in the UK. Studies that refer to ISs' perceptions of their English often do so as just one aspect of the transition or adaptation experience. I briefly review this research, then turn to studies with a greater focus on language perceptions.

As noted above, English often comes up as a factor in studies on group work. A number of these include comments by ISs relating to their own English, typically expressing frustration (e.g. Ippolito, 2007; Hedger and Wicaksono, 2015) or lack of confidence (e.g. Osmond and Roed, 2010). Low confidence levels in using English is also a common theme in studies looking into ISs' transition experience (e.g. Brown, 2008; Wang, 2012; Liu, 2013; Spencer-Oatey, 2018). Researchers' recommendations to address this vary. While some suggest increasing the English entry level (e.g. Brown, 2007) or providing language support for ISs (e.g. Osmond and Roed, 2010), others argue that adjustments are needed by all students (e.g. Hedger and Wicaksono, 2015) or by lecturers (e.g. Liu, 2013). A further factor is the diversity of students, with the current dominance of Chinese students limiting their opportunities for intercultural engagement (Yu and Moskal, 2018) and causing complaints from both Chinese and non-Chinese alike (Spencer-Oatey et al., 2017).

To the best of my knowledge, only four UK-based studies have explicitly investigated ISs' perceptions of their English: Hennebry, Lo and Macaro (2012), Jenkins (2014) and two by Blaj-Ward (2017a; 2017b). In the first, postgraduates were asked to describe the demands of the course on their English, and to say how confident they felt about meeting those demands (Hennebry, Lo and Macaro, 2012). Participants described challenges in coping with the amount of reading, expressing themselves appropriately in writing and listening to lecturers, who they felt should make adjustments to facilitate comprehension. While the authors suggest that lecturers may require ‘further professional development’ to help them understand students’ needs (ibid., p227), there is no explicit recommendation that they adjust their language. This is somewhat surprising, given that four lecturers who were also interviewed described how they did exactly that, by, for example, slowing down and avoiding ‘figurative expressions’ (ibid., p222). Participants also found speaking in seminars particularly difficult, largely due to problems in keeping up with HSs (ibid.). However, instead of suggesting that HSs might benefit from IC training, the authors tentatively propose that institutions review how ISs are assessed as suitable for postgraduate study (ibid).

Rather different recommendations are made by Jenkins (2014). As part of a wider study, Jenkins conducted ‘conversations’ with 34 ISs (ibid., p168). Her aim was to explore the impact of students’ orientations to academic English policy and practice on their ‘academic identities and self-esteem’ (ibid. p72). While Jenkins’ participants’ views of HSs’ and lecturers’ English echo earlier studies, the way they talk about their own English does not (ibid). For example, one comments that some tutors ‘use some very difficult vocabulary’ (ibid. p175) and another that ‘Thai students have some problems about listening [to British students]’ (ibid. p178) but in neither case does the participant suggest their own English is at fault. This may be due in part to the researcher’s orientation to the topic, as evidenced by her findings concerning writing. While most participants described their writing as in need of improvement and were grateful for tutors’ corrections, Jenkins reports that the majority changed their opinions, to varying degrees, when they heard her views on ‘writing for an international readership’ (ibid. p182). At the same time, some still wanted their own English to be native-like, even if they were positive about ELF in theory (ibid). Jenkins suggests that her own openness may have encouraged her participants to speak freely too, perhaps acting as a catalyst, but feels this is perhaps unlikely to have fundamentally changed their opinions (ibid).

Jenkins calls for universities to incorporate a ‘genuine international perspective’ in responding to ISs’ language, to include linguistic adjustment by HSs and lecturers (ibid. p202). In addition, she argues that the unfairness of ISs having to meet the same deadlines as HSs needs to be addressed, as does the inadequate level of academic support given to ISs (ibid). Her recommendations contrast sharply with those of Hennebry, Lo and Macaro (2012), who are much more tentative, despite their similar findings. This is indicative of research into ISs in general, as seen above, but Ippolito (2007) is more closely aligned with ELFA scholars in her calls for fundamental changes to the ways in which UK universities respond to ISs, as is Blaj-Ward, whose research I discuss next.

Blaj-Ward (2017b) describes two projects conducted with ISs (though she uses the term 'EMI participant', p2), the 3LU project, in which 21 master's students were interviewed, and the AcLitT project, which focussed on undergraduates. Blaj-Ward emphasises not only the heterogeneity of her participants in terms of previous English learning and use, but also the 'nuanced, multifaceted picture of students' language development during university, on and off campus' (2017b: 4). Both studies explored participants' views of their English, with the focus being on 'language development through quality input and purposeful language use' (ibid. p124). This development is not evaluated through objective proficiency measures, but how participants feel about 'their performance (and other's response to this performance) in authentic communicative encounters' (ibid, p5); participants discussed not only formal learning scenarios, such as seminars, but also off-campus interaction (2017a; 2017b). Referring to the range of experiences in which participants use English to develop as 'confident communicators in globalised settings' (2017b: 18), Blaj-Ward notes that 'adhering to standardised norms' is not necessary for communication to be effective (ibid. p27). Her findings point to the role lecturers have to play in facilitating group work and seminars, and in being 'sensitive to ELF speaker needs' (ibid. p76). Blaj-Ward further notes that EAP support often fails to meet participants' needs, and that EAP practitioners could 'construct persuasive, evidence-informed arguments for language development to become everyone's business in a sector that places great value on communication' (2017b: 124).

To sum up, I began this chapter by examining key concepts in the field. IaH is seen as a way of internationalising the experience for non-mobile students, with IoC and GC being key aspects of this. However, most scholars in these fields overlook language, even when recommending that all students develop intercultural competence. I therefore discussed ICE, as it has a focus on language skills that is largely missing from GC. I have tried to demonstrate that language is in fact fundamental, particularly in looking at the responses to ISs, the focus of the second half of this chapter. English language entry tests remain largely unquestioned in their attachment to ENL, but there is evidence of flexibility in assessment on degree programmes. Assessment criteria may be open to interpretation, with the indistinct border between language and content facilitating flexibility. Lecturers' practices vary, but the relationship between language and pedagogy is not always explored. I discussed the abundance of guidance for institutions, but pointed out that it does not draw on research into ELF(A) or IC. Moreover, IC training is rarely recommended for HSs despite widespread evidence of communication difficulties between HSs and ISs. Finally, I reviewed the limited research looking at how ISs' feel about their own English.

The aim of my research project is look at the policies and practices in one institution, and to investigate the extent to which these affect ISs' perceptions of their English. In the following chapter, I outline my research questions and my methodological approach.

Chapter 5 Research Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by briefly summing up existing research into the link between language policy and students' perceptions, in order to set the scene for my own research and demonstrate how it contributes to this under-researched area. I then move on to discuss my research questions and the rationale for these. This is followed by a discussion of qualitative case study approaches which have informed my research design. I next elaborate on my setting and participants, as well as my own role as an 'insider'. In section 5.5, my approach to documents and interviews as research instruments is explained, and I conclude with limitations and considerations of trustworthiness.

5.2 Research questions

To explain how my research contributes to the field, I begin by summing up the main aspects that have thus far been investigated in relation to ISs in the UK.

As discussed in Chapters 3 and 4 above, the experience of ISs has attracted considerable research interest in recent years. Yet language is typically discussed as only one aspect of this experience, if at all. Moreover, the focus has rarely been on students' *perceptions* of their English, with Hennebry, Lo and Macaro (2012), Jenkins (2014) and Blaj-Ward (2017a, 2017b) being the only examples to the best of my knowledge. In UK universities, language policy research has mostly concerned the type of academic English *provision*, with what is meant by 'English' being unquestioned and ELF scholarship largely treated as irrelevant (e.g. Lynch, 2011; Wingate, 2015; Hyland, 2016).

Of the existing studies, it is that by Jenkins (2014) which has most in common with mine. There are, however, a number of important differences which I elaborate on briefly here, so as to make clear what my research adds to the field. Jenkins investigated academic English language policy and practices in 60 universities around the world (2014). As part of this study, she conducted 'conversations' (ibid., p168) with 34 international students at a UK university, the aim of which was to explore the impact of students' orientations to policy and practice on their 'academic identities and self-esteem' (ibid., p72). The scope of

Jenkins' study was wider than mine and her unstructured approach to interviews meant that she did not refer to any previous policy analysis she had done at the participants' institution. This contrasts with my more targeted interview approach, which was directly informed by document analysis not only at the institutional level, but also at Faculty, Academic Unit, Programme and Module level. Moreover, while Jenkins' participants were master's and PhD students, mine were all master's students (see 5.4.2 below). A third difference is that Jenkins talked to her participants once, whereas I interviewed each twice because I wanted to identify changes in their perceptions over time (see 5.5.2.3 below). Finally, my 'insider' status afforded me considerable knowledge of implicit practices of which another researcher might have been unaware. I discuss this status and its implications in section 5.4.3 below.

5.2.1 Research aims

I was interested in investigating not only how ISs feel about their English, but also the extent to which this is influenced by language policies and practices, if at all. My two main aims were:

to investigate the university's English language policy and practices, in terms of both entry requirements and practices on degree programmes;

to explore ISs' feelings about their own English, and the extent to which these are affected by their experience of studying at a UK university.

5.2.2. Research questions

1. What are the university's explicit and implicit academic English language policies with regard to postgraduate international students?

    a) To what extent do the English language entry requirements indicate that native-like English is expected?

    b) What policies and practices apply once students are undertaking degree programmes?

2. To what extent do the university's policies affect ISs' perceptions of their English?

3. In what ways and to what extent are ISs affected by different approaches to language policy and practices?

The first question (RQ1) seeks to explore English language policies as they relate to ISs. The words ‘explicit’ and ‘implicit’ reflect the fact that my approach to language policy is informed by Shohamy (2006, 2007), Spolsky (2004, 2009) and Tollefson (2011), all of whom emphasise the value of looking at practices as well as official policy, as discussed in Chapter 2. The first sub-question, RQ1a, concerns the extent to which entry requirements imply an expectation of native-like English. Document analysis of web pages is used to investigate this. The second, RQ1b, looks at in-programme policies and practices, identified from the literature as likely to include policies relating to in-sessional academic English classes and module assessment, and practices related to how lecturers respond to ISs’ English use. Informed by previous research, I aimed to look at not only lecturers’ language use, but at other practices such as how they managed intercultural group work. In focusing on implicit policies embodied in the practices of managers (e.g. policy makers, lecturers) rather than the managed (i.e. students), I draw on Shohamy (2006) and Tollefson (2011) to take into account the issues of agency and power that were ambiguous in Spolsky’s model, as outlined in Chapter 2 above. The aim here was to explore how students experienced practices, and in combination with the following two research questions, how these experiences affected their perceptions of their own English.

The second and third research questions are designed to investigate the impact of policies and practices on how ISs feel about their English, and whether different approaches affect this. RQ2 was formulated to facilitate an overall understanding of the extent of policy influence, with RQ3 allowing for exploration of any changes in perceptions as a result of changing practices or policies. As outlined in 5.5.2.3 below, I conducted two rounds of interviews on the assumption that participants may not have completed any assessments until late in the first semester, and therefore would discuss their confidence levels mainly in relation to oral English in the first interview. As well as discussing their experience of assessment in the second interview, I also expected to explore participants’ experiences of different lecturers as they changed modules.

In both RQ2 and RQ3, the focus is on the impact of policy and practices on perceptions, but as discussed in Chapter 2 above, beliefs, and the underlying ideologies which affect them, are also relevant here. Just as managers' beliefs affect their practices, so participants beliefs affect their perceptions. It is important to acknowledge this. In other words, it is not a simple matter of attributing participants' perceptions to their experiences of policy since they do not arrive as 'blank slates' with no existing beliefs. Having said this, the aim of my research was not to explore beliefs about English as an abstract concept, but participants' feelings about *their own English*. As noted in Chapter 1 above, discussion of participants' feelings was articulated in terms of confidence (see 5.5.2.1 below and Appendices 2, 3 and 4 for the use of this term in both the questionnaire and the interview guides). This is of interest since it is an under-researched area in the UK despite the fact that ISs make up a significant proportion of the student body, especially at master's level. Given that there seems to have been little progress in alleviating the problems faced by not only ISs but also their home counterparts and lecturers (see Chapter 4) it seems timely to take a different approach in understanding ISs' experiences. As discussed in Chapter 3, ELFA and intercultural communication scholarship provides valuable insights into how successful communication is achieved, but this has typically been overlooked in UK HE, with attachment to standard native English apparently remaining strong in relation to academic English.

5.3 Research Design: a qualitative case study approach

In order to investigate my research questions, I adopted a qualitative case study approach. Before discussing the nature of case studies in more detail, I first explain why I considered a qualitative methodology to be the most appropriate for my research project. In doing so, I discuss my alignment to the constructivist, interpretivist tradition of qualitative inquiry.

5.3.1 Qualitative inquiry: a constructivist- interpretivist worldview

In choosing to adopt a quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods approach, researchers are guided by their philosophical worldview as well as the research problem (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Creswell, 2014). Quantitative studies focus on measuring and analysing variables and the relationships between them (Dörnyei, 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). They are characterised by the view that standardised procedures result in findings that ‘describe the objective reality that is ‘out there’, independent of the researcher’s subjective perceptions’ (Dörnyei, 2007: 34). Consequently, a quantitative researcher aims to minimise bias and is concerned with the generalisability of their findings (Creswell, 2014; Flick, 2014). The views outlined above are generally associated with those working in a positivist paradigm (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). For my research, a qualitative approach is more appropriate, as I will discuss below.

Qualitative researchers are concerned with exploring the meanings that people give to social experiences, rather than with measurement and experimentation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Creswell, 2014). These meanings are understood as socially constructed, and take into account the close links between the researcher and the focus of the research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008). In contrast to the quantitative researcher’s emphasis on objectivity and eradicating bias, qualitative inquirers stress that research is value-laden (ibid). In the case of my research project, my close involvement in the research setting gives me an ‘insider perspective’. Attempting to keep myself out of the research would be futile. I made clear my motivation for this research project above (Chapter 1) and below I reflect in detail on my role (section 5.4.3).

A further distinction between quantitative and qualitative research concerns the researcher’s aims regarding findings. As noted above, quantitative researchers aim for generalisability. In survey research, for example, a sample selection is concerned with representativeness, so that findings can be generalised to a particular population (Dörnyei, 2007; Creswell, 2014). In contrast, qualitative researchers are concerned with the particulars and complexities of cases (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008; Creswell, 2014). I elaborate on this aspect of my research design in the section below.

5.3.2 A qualitative case study approach

Here, I outline why I have taken a case study approach in my research. I begin by looking at how scholars have characterised case study. I then examine what is understood by the ‘case’ and how it can be defined by establishing boundaries to separate it from its contexts. I end this section by discussing the in-depth nature of case study research in which multiple perspectives are drawn on.

5.3.2.1 The nature of case study research

The term ‘case study’ is widespread but understood in different ways, so it is important to make clear that case study *research* is distinct from case studies used as pedagogical tools (Stake, 1995; Merriam, 2009). Secondly, it should be noted that both quantitative and qualitative approaches are possible (Stake, 1995; Duff, 2008), but here I will mainly discuss qualitative approaches. Even within case study research, there is ambiguity. As Merriam and Tisdell (2016) point out, the term ‘case study’ is frequently used synonymously with ‘qualitative research’. At the same time, Stake (2008) notes that most researchers undertaking case study research choose not to label it as such. Stake goes on to say, however, that those who do use the term ‘case study’ often seek to highlight what can be learned about the *particulars* of a *single* case (ibid, emphasis added). Before looking at what can be considered a case, I briefly discuss below ways in which case study research has been defined.

Merriam defines a case study as ‘an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system’ (2009: 40). She also notes that there is confusion around case studies partly because ‘the *process* of conducting a case study is conflated with the *unit of study* (the case) and the *product* of this type of investigation’ (ibid, emphasis added). Indeed, Stake includes two of these elements when he notes ‘A case study is both a process of inquiry and the product of that inquiry’ (2008: 121). In contrast, Yin’s definition focusses only on the process:

> A case study is an empirical enquiry that
>
> - investigates a contemporary phenomenon (the “case”) in depth and within its real-world context, especially when
> - the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident
>
> (Yin, 2014: 17)

Although there are differences in the way researchers define or label case study research, there are a number of commonalities. As Duff (2008) explains, scholars usually emphasise four points: the need to bound the case, the significance of context, multiple perspectives, and in-depth analysis. Before discussing these aspects, it is necessary to consider what is meant by the ‘case’ in ‘case study’.

5.3.2.2 The case, its boundaries and its contexts

Stake is clear that while a person, group of people or an organisation can be a case, usually *reasons* or *policies* are not (2008: 120, emphasis in original). Yin makes a similar distinction, noting that case studies are usually of a person, or group of people, but may also be about an entity or event (2014). At the same time, however, Yin's definition above suggests that the case is a 'contemporary phenomenon' (2014:17), which seems incompatible with considering a person to be a case. I find Merriam's suggestion that a case 'could be a single person who is a case example of some phenomenon' (2009: 40) more appropriate for my research project. Duff (2008) also discusses the case and the phenomenon as separate but related. One further matter to be clarified is the distinction between a case and a unit of analysis.

Some researchers use the term *unit of analysis* (e.g. Duff, 2008: 102) or *unit of study* (e.g. Merriam, 2009: 40) more or less synonymously with *case.* Yin (2014) however, makes a distinction. He discusses two types of case study, holistic and embedded, each of which may be of a single case or of multiple cases (ibid). When a case study is holistic, Yin uses the term 'unit of analysis' synonymously with 'case' (2014: 50). In contrast, in an embedded case study, Yin refers to multiple units of analysis with one case (ibid). Merriam and Tisdell also contrast a comparative or multicase study with a single case study that has 'subunits or subcases embedded within' (2016: 40). Stake suggests that the decision to study several cases is likely to be made because the researcher feels that understanding these 'will lead to better understanding, or perhaps better theorizing, about a still larger collection of cases' (2008: 123). Along with selection of cases, researchers need to consider how to bound them, as I discuss below.

The need to bound cases is considered essential (Stake, 1995; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2014). This means that a researcher needs to identify the limits of what is relevant about that person by distinguishing between the case and its contexts. Indeed, if it is not possible to bound the case, then arguably the research would not be considered a case study (Stake, 1995; Merriam, 2009). Stake exemplifies this by saying that while a teacher may be considered a case, her teaching may not, for it 'lacks the specificity, the boundedness, to be called a case' (1995: 2). Yin suggests that a researcher's study propositions (2014: 29) should guide this bounding of the case. In other words, the researcher's working hypotheses, arrived at from a reading of the relevant literature, will prove useful in determining what lies within the scope of each case, and what lies beyond. As part of the process of delimiting the case, Yin advises researchers to consider time boundaries too, in terms of whether to include a complete life cycle of the case, or whether a specific part of the life cycle would be more appropriate (ibid).

Distinguishing case(s) from contexts does not imply that context is left out of the research. In fact, as noted above, scholars emphasise the importance of context (Duff, 2008). For example, Yin's definition refers to investigating a phenomenon 'in its real-world context' (2014: 17), while Stake notes that some of what is outside the boundaries of the case is 'significant as context' (2008: 120). He points out that there may be a number of contexts, such as historical, physical and cultural contexts (ibid). It may be necessary to describe these and how they interact with the case and the phenomenon (ibid). Duff (2008) suggests that the specifics of the case study will determine how much contextualization is required. What is important is that a researcher 'provides readers with good raw material for their own generalizing' (Stake, 1995: 102). I discuss this further in the following section, which focuses on two other features common to most case study research, that is, the in-depth nature of the investigation and the need for multiple perspectives.

5.3.2.3 In-depth investigation and multiple perspectives

As noted above, case study research is concerned with in-depth investigation and multiple sources of data and perspectives. But in-depth investigation still requires boundaries, as discussed above. In a collective case study such as mine, it is neither feasible nor desirable to attempt to investigate everything about each case, i.e. each person. Instead, the focus is 'pointed' (Berg and Lune, 2012: 326) in order to examine the phenomenon of interest. This focus is guided by the research propositions, as discussed above (Yin, 2014).

In case study research, as in most qualitative approaches, the need for multiple methods and perspectives is emphasised (Duff, 2008; Merriam, 2009). Referring to this use of multiple methods as triangulation, Denzin and Lincoln make clear that it is 'not a tool or strategy of validation, but an alternative to validation' (2008: 7). Similarly, both Stake (1995) and Silverman (2013) point out that the view of triangulation as comparing different methods for corroboration is problematic from the epistemological perspective of constructivism. Thus for my research, I adopted a multiple method approach in an attempt to add 'rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008: 7). I discuss reliability and validity in 5.8 below.

A further feature of qualitative research is the emergent nature of research design, meaning that it can respond to 'new details' (Dörnyei 2007: 37). In case study research the most commonly used methods are interviews, observation and documents, but it is ultimately the research questions that guide choices about data collection methods (Stake, 1995; Duff, 2008; Merriam, 2009). For my research, from the outset, I had identified document analysis and interviews as methods necessary to investigate language policy and students' perceptions, respectively. I also considered carrying out observations of lectures, but decided against this because my interest was not in observing practices. Rather, I wanted to explore how participants constructed the relationship (if any) between language practices as they experienced them and their own language. This is in line with previous studies into student perceptions by Hennebry, Lo and Macaro (2014) and Jenkins (2014), neither of which featured observations.

Finally, I would like to return to the issue of time. In 5.3.2.2 above, I noted Yin's (2014) advice regarding time boundaries in terms of investigating full or part life-cycles. Flick (2014) addresses the dimension of time in research design, discussing retrospective, snapshot and longitudinal studies. He notes that longitudinal designs need 'enough time between the moments of data collection to make the development and change visible' (2014: 129). For my research project, the aim was to explore each participant's perspectives three times, once in an initial questionnaire and twice in interview. The average time from the questionnaire to the second interview was 5.5 months, not sufficiently long to be called longitudinal. The timing of data collection was, however, designed to allow changes in perceptions to be seen, particularly as the taught portion of a master's course was on average 8 months, with module duration ranging from 3 to 12 weeks. Further detail about the nature and length of master's programmes is given in 5.4.1 below.

My research is a collective case study in which each case is an international master's student. The case study is bounded because it looks at one institution. I next elaborate on the setting and participants in my own study.

5.4 Setting and Participants

I begin this section by discussing the setting before moving to look at my participants. I end with an extensive discussion of the researcher's role.

Several factors affect the choice of a research setting. Any research project is limited by time and resources, meaning that a decision must be made as to whether to aim for width or depth (Flick, 2014). My study aimed for depth, in that there were 18 participants in one institution. I decided not to interview a smaller number of ISs from two or more institutions because I wanted to develop a deeper understanding of one setting, the university I work in. In Chapter 1 above, I explained my motivation for this research project. Added to this is the simple matter of practicalities such as access and travel costs (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983). As I am a part-time student with a job, it would not have been feasible to take time off to carry out fieldwork in other institutions. At the same time, because I work in the setting, in roles closely related to my research, it is vital that I reflect on and discuss my own subjectivity. I consider this in some detail in 5.4.3 below. First, I describe the setting and the participants.

5.4.1 The University

This research took place at the University of Southampton, a Russell Group university in the south of England. Its strategy goals include improving the student experience and increasing the numbers of ISs (University of Southampton, 2018b). Of its 24,600 students, 25% are international (University of Southampton, 2018c).

Given this figure, and the significantly higher numbers of ISs at PGT level in the UK (see 1.1 above), ISs may be in the majority, sometimes by a considerable margin. Thus, many students find themselves in a typical ELF context when they attend lectures and seminars, particularly if the lecturer is also an NNES. Before discussing the participants further, I provide some general information on how master's programmes are organised at the University of Southampton (henceforth UoS). Details of specific programmes, revealed through document analysis and participant interviews, are discussed in Chapters 6 and 7.

Full-time master's programmes are undertaken in one academic year, divided into two semesters. They are modular, which means that students taking the same degree will not all be taking the same modules. While there are core and compulsory modules, students can also choose from a range of optional ones. Some modules last for one semester (12 weeks), while others are shorter. Semester One runs from October to January, and is followed by a two-week examination period. Semester Two begins at the end of January, ending in early May. Three weeks of examinations then take place. However, not all programmes include examinations. In fact, there is considerable variation in both teaching and learning methods, and ways in which students are assessed. These points have implications for both lecturers and students in terms of interactions and working relationships, as discussed below and in Chapters 6, 7 and 8.

5.4.2 Participants

ISs on PGT programmes were purposively selected for this research. Silverman (2013: 150) notes that when the 'purpose' behind purposive sampling is theoretically defined, the term *theoretical sampling* is used. Mason argues that the aim is to construct a theoretically meaningful sample in that it 'builds in certain characteristics or criteria which help to develop and test your theory or your argument' (2002: 124). Similarly, Stake (1995) suggests selecting cases that provide the best opportunities for learning.

My reasoning for recruiting from PGT students was two-fold. Firstly, there are substantially higher numbers of ISs at master's level than at undergraduate level, as noted above. This increased the likelihood that NNESs would form a significant proportion of the cohort for each module. Secondly, master's rather than doctoral students were chosen for two reasons. Firstly, they regularly attend lectures and seminars, meaning they have the opportunity to interact with other students more frequently than doctoral students might, and with a wider range of lecturers. This would give them experience of communicating orally in academic contexts to draw on during the interviews. Secondly, master's students complete regular assessments, both written and oral.

In addition, I was aiming for a sample 'rich in relevant information' (Flick, 2014: 177), so I hoped to recruit students from a range of entry routes and disciplines. This was because my initial document analysis had revealed differences in overt policy according to these two parameters. In this way, 18 interview participants were recruited through an online questionnaire (see 5.5.2.1 below). Participant characteristics are shown in Appendix 1.

5.4.3 Reflexivity of the researcher

In section 5.3 above, I referred to the subjective nature of qualitative research and the need to acknowledge that, as the researcher, I am 'part of the social world' that I am studying (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983: 13). In fact, Hammersley and Atkinson argue that 'all social research takes the form of participant observation: it involves participating in the world, in whatever role, and reflecting on the products of participation' (ibid., p16). This reflection entails trying to understand how the researcher affects the research as an active participant in it (ibid., p18). Similar points are made by Duff (2008) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) regarding impact upon the context. In this section, I outline my familiarity with the research setting, noting the benefits this brings. I then consider the problems this leads to in terms of subjectivity and what Lincoln and Guba term 'distortions' (1985: 302).

When I started my data collection in August 2014, I had worked in the research setting as an EAP tutor for five years. This experience, together with the MA in English Language Teaching I had completed at UoS in 2008, directly inspired me to begin this PhD in 2010. In turn, being a doctoral student as well as an EAP tutor armed me with the credibility to introduce workshops on 'teaching international students' for lecturers in 2013. In these workshops, I aim to counter the deficit view of ISs as needing to improve their English, an ethos which is most apparent in the English 'support' classes that are offered by the department I work for. Drawing on ELFA scholarship, I provide guidance as to how lecturers can modify not only their teaching methods but also their language, in order to accommodate ISs. For two years to September 2016, I also co-directed a university-wide project, Intercultural Connections Southampton, broadly aimed at improving intercultural awareness among staff and students. These multiple roles have given me an insider perspective of considerable scope. My prolonged engagement (Lincoln and Guba, 1985: 301) has enabled me to learn a great deal about how the university functions in relation to English language and ISs. I have also developed a network of contacts across faculties, which was helpful in both distributing my questionnaire and clarifying language policies which were not explicitly stated on websites but which I was aware of through my work. My multiple roles were also a drawback, however, as discussed in the following paragraphs.

Firstly, it has been a significant challenge to keep my research project manageable. Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommend persistent observation of potentially salient aspects of the research, in order to focus on that which is relevant and set aside that which is not. Because I work in my research setting, and because my work is directly related to my research, potentially relevant topics regularly presented themselves, particularly through informal conversations with students and staff. Following up on this in literature searches expanded my knowledge but also threatened to overwhelm me at times. At the same time, although it is fair to say I had a broader understanding English language practices than if I had just been a doctoral researcher, I had to guard against assuming I knew more than I actually did about the university. In fact, I continued to discover there was much I did not know. For example, while I was aware of a range of assessment methods across the university, I had naively assumed that all master's modules lasted for a whole semester, as mine had done when I was an MA student, and that there were four modules per semester. While conducting the first few interviews, however, I discovered that some students had completed a module in just three weeks and were already working on their assignment. This was a useful reminder to follow Hammersley and Atkinson's advice to treat the setting as 'anthropologically strange' (1983: 8) to reflect on my taken-for-granted assumptions.

As well as trying to minimise distortions (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) arising from my assumptions, I considered the impact of my values. I noted above that my workshops aim to foster a more positive approach to working with ISs than simply viewing them as deficient English users in need of in-sessional EAP 'support'. My values are apparent here in my use of quotes around 'support'. This is the term used by the university, but because I dislike its connotations of remedial work, I do not use it in referring to the two in-sessional courses that I teach. During interviews, however, I was open to the fact that my participants may compare themselves unfavourably to NESs, seeing themselves as deficient and in need of such 'support', and not expecting or wanting the university to change to accommodate them. At the same time, I considered that participants may express these views because they knew I was an English teacher, and were ‘wanting to please’ or ‘saying normatively appropriate things’, something that Lincoln and Guba identify as another potential source of distortion (1985: 302).

It would have been unethical to try to hide my EAP teacher status, but I tried to minimise its impact. Firstly, even though it would have been relatively straightforward to ask my EAP colleagues to make their students aware of my questionnaire, I deliberately did not recruit participants this way. I wanted to try to minimise the risk of my being associated with ‘support’ classes. Similarly, I did not interview students from disciplines in which I was working as an EAP tutor. Having said this, it would be naive to assume that my status as an EAP tutor and NES would not affect the interview, since these are characteristics that are likely to affect relationships (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1985). I discuss this further in 5.5.2.3 below.

5.5 Research instruments and data collection procedures

In this section, I outline the two instruments used for data collection: documents and interviews. First, document analysis of webpages was used to confirm the language policy of the university with regard to English language. Following recruitment of participants, I reviewed pages relating to their programme of study to check for any specific requirements for entry level or continued English study. Further document analysis was carried out between the first and second interview, or after the second interview, depending on when participants provided course materials such as assessment criteria. The sequence of this data collection is shown in Figure 1 below.

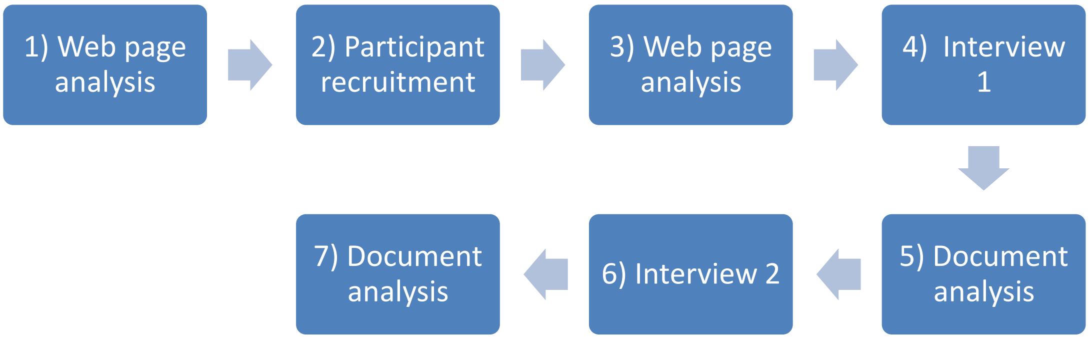


Figure 1 Data collection and analysis sequence

5.5.1 Documents

The term ‘documents’ encompasses a wide range of material, not only textual but also visual, and both public and private (Bowen, 2009; McCulloch, 2011). A number of scholars also distinguish between documents that have been produced specifically for the research, such as diaries, and those produced for other purposes, independently of the research project, such as strategy documents (e.g. McCulloch, 2011; Flick, 2014). The latter group have the advantage of being an unobtrusive method of data gathering, in that they are not affected by the presence of the researcher in the way that interviews are (Bowen, 2009; Merriam, 2009). Merriam suggests that this renders documents ‘objective’ (2009: 155), a point with which Flick disagrees. He argues that ‘unobtrusive’ should not be understood in the sense of unbiased since ‘documents are the means for constructing a specific version of an event or process’ (2014: 359). Thus it is essential to consider their authors, purposes and users, and to see them as ‘communicative devices produced, used, and reused for specific practical purposes’ (ibid., p363). Treated in such a way, documents are useful for providing data on the context in which a researcher operates (Merriam, 2009; Flick, 2014).

As Bowen (2009) notes, institutional documents have long featured in qualitative research, and language policy studies reflect this. Recent studies have used web pages (e.g. Jenkins, 2014; Wingate, 2015), internationalisation strategy documents (e.g. Al-Youssef 2010; Saarinen and Nikula, 2013) and institutional language policy documents (e.g. Cots, 2013). In line with these studies, I began with public webpages accessible to prospective students, following Flick’s (2014) advice on theoretical sampling. That is, I began with the page that appeared useful and chose further pages based on insights and questions arising from the first. I carried out further document analysis at stages 3, 5 and 7 of my research, as shown in figure 1 above.

Flick (2014) cautions that using documents as the sole method of data collection can be limiting, but suggests that used with interviews or observations they can be very instructive. A further disadvantage is that the content of public documents may be restricted (Merriam, 2009), a point made by Wingate (2015) in relation to her website survey on academic literacy provision at UK universities. In other words, what is made explicit in terms of language policy may be incomplete (Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 2011). This in turn links to issues of authenticity and accuracy, since public documents may have ‘built-in bias’ that the researcher may be unaware of (Merriam, 2009: 154). It is particularly important to bear this in mind when analysing websites, as they are typically created to portray a specific image, so taking the information at face value may prove misleading (McCulloch, 2004). In addition, web pages may only be available temporarily or may change, so it can be useful to save copies of important pages and perhaps revisit the website to check for changes (Flick, 2014). The intertextuality of documents can also present challenges in terms of the quantity of material (Flick, 2014). Indeed, Jenkins (2014) reported that considerably more time was needed for her university websites survey than originally anticipated. Merriam (2009: 150) points out that the researcher is ‘the primary instrument for gathering data’ and recommends that s/he should be systematic but remain sensitive to the data and open to new insights. Therefore, I carried out further website analysis following the recruitment of interview participants, as I wanted to look at programme webpages for any reference to English language or academic skills. By doing this after recruitment, I was able to limit the amount of data I analysed. Further detail of the pages selected and method of analysis is provided in Chapter 6.

5.5.2 Interviews

I chose interviews rather than focus groups because I wanted to investigate each individual student’s experience and perceptions, the extent to which these changed over time, and any relationship between policy and practice. Focus groups are not considered suitable for understanding individual experiences, since they do not allow the researcher to probe in detail (Berg and Lune, 2012; Flick, 2014). Moreover, when sensitive issues are under discussion, individual interviews are more appropriate (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Although focus groups have been used in studies that are similar to mine, these were either for different purposes, such as to develop questionnaires (Hennebry, Lo and Macaro, 2012) or for less sensitive topics, such as discussions of internationalisation (Henderson, 2009; 2011). Interviews were used in studies which have looked at perceptions of language or identity (e.g. Hennebry, Lo and Macaro, 2012; Jenkins, 2014).

As noted above, I used a short online questionnaire to recruit participants. I briefly elaborate on this below before discussing my approach to interviews.

5.5.2.1 Questionnaire

An online questionnaire (Appendix 2) was used to recruit participants and capture their perceptions at the start of their degree programme, in October. Other researchers have employed a similar strategy, such as Quan, Smailes and Fraser (2013) in their study of ISs' transition to UK HE.

A questionnaire was an efficient way to reach large numbers of students in a short space of time (Dörnyei, 2007). I aimed to collect questionnaire responses during the one-week induction period. Before induction week students would not have been contactable, and after it, they would already be experiencing language practices on their degree programmes. The questionnaire was not designed to be analysed separately; rather it was there to function as a prompt in interviews, to remind participants how they felt at the very beginning of their PGT programmes and invite them to elaborate.

The questionnaire began with four open questions concerning information about the respondent: their nationality, first language, name of degree programme and end date of degree programme. Question 1.5 was a multiple choice item asking respondents to indicate how they had met the English language entry requirements for their degree course. Section 2 of the questionnaire contained three items. The first, 2.1, asked the respondent to indicate how they felt about studying for their master's in English by choosing one rating from a 5-point Likert scale, on which 5 was labelled 'very confident' and 1 was 'very nervous'. Respondents were asked to rate the four skills of speaking, listening, reading and writing separately. This was followed by item 2.2, an open-ended clarification question asking respondents to explain their ratings. This served as a prompt in the interview to help the participant recall reasons for their confidence level ratings. Finally, item 2.3 asked respondents to provide an email address if they would like to take part in interviews.

56 questionnaires were completed but 4 were ineligible as they were outside the sampling frame (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011) for the following reasons: one was an NES, one had completed their study in 2013, and two were from the

Education School, in which I teach English (see 5.4.3 above). Of the remaining respondents who provided an email address, 18 were interviewed.

5.5.2.2 Qualitative Interviews

Qualitative interviewing is concerned with 'the construction or reconstruction of knowledge, rather than the excavation of it' (Mason, 2002: 63). I approached the interviews not with the intention of 'finding' knowledge, but from the perspective that the research interview is 'a process of *knowledge construction'* (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015: 57, emphasis in original). Similarly, Holstein and Gubrium advocate seeing interviews as 'active' and recognising the role that both participants, the interviewer and the interviewee, play in socially constructing knowledge in interview data (2003: 68). This approach is reflected in Talmy's discussions of interviews as social practice (2010, 2011). From this perspective, it is the interview itself which is investigated and 'data are conceptualized as accounts of phenomena, jointly produced by interviewer and interviewee' (Talmy, 2010: 139-140).

In contrast, when interviews are theorised as a research instrument, they are seen as a method for the investigation of truths and facts, with data being treated as reports (ibid). A researcher working in such as way uses highly structured interviews, which are effectively oral surveys (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Rather than gaining an insight into participants' perspectives, researchers instead obtain 'reactions to the investigator's preconceived notions of the world' (ibid., p109). Talmy agrees that this 'research instrument' view is evident in positivist research employing surveys or structured interviews, but argues that it may also be seen in other approaches that aim at uncovering 'reality' through 'open-ended or in-depth interview methods' (2010: 131). The difference, then, is in the approach rather than the type of interview (Mason, 2002; Talmy, 2010). A key distinction between the two approaches lies in the way 'bias' is treated.

A typical objection to interview research is that the results are not trustworthy because they are biased (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015). Indeed, traditional approaches advise researchers to avoid leading questions and to strive to eradicate bias in order to achieve 'interviewer and question neutrality' (Gubrium and Holstein, 2012: 33). This view results from a 'mining' approach to interviews which assumes that knowledge is buried and can be recovered uncontaminated (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015). But when knowledge is seen as co-constructed rather than as something residing in the participant which ‘the interview process might somehow taint’ (Holstein and Gubrium, 2003: 78), the concept of bias requires a different approach. Given the futility of trying to eradicate subjectivity, especially that which is subconscious, it should be acknowledged – and doing so may in fact contribute to knowledge construction (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983; Talmy, 2011). A presupposition that knowledge is socially constructed means that leading questions can be seen as a way to enhance reliability by verifying the interviewer’s interpretations of participants’ answers (Brinkmann and Kvale, 2015). Similarly, Holstein and Gubrium maintain that the ‘consciously active interviewer intentionally provokes responses’ (2003: 75). Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 115) suggest that making a question ‘lead’ away from one’s expectations can help to avoid simply confirming assumptions. I explain how I carried out the interviews in the following section.

5.5.2.3 Carrying out the interviews

In this section, I first outline the rationale for the timing of the interviews, followed by an explanation of how and where I conducted them.

Having recruited participants through an online questionnaire at the beginning of their programme in October, I then conducted two interviews with each participant, the first early in their programme (in November) and the second in semester two (in March). I had carefully considered the timing of both the questionnaire and interviews based on my experience in the setting and my reading of previous research. One of my aims was to try to identify any impact on perceptions from students’ experiences of *oral* communication as compared with *written* communication. I therefore wanted to talk to my participants a few weeks into their course, when they had experienced lectures, seminars and so on, but preferably before they had received grades for written work. In the second interview, I expected to revisit discussion from interview one, and to extend this to written work and feedback. In planning the timing of the interviews I also wanted to avoid vacations and times when I expected participants to be busy with assignments or examinations, to reduce the risk of attrition. At the same time, I was constrained my availability as a part-time researcher. Finally, I also had to allow sufficient time to transcribe the first interview before conducting the second. Interviews therefore took place over a period of 3-4 weeks each time, as shown in Table 1 below.

Table 1 Interview scheduling within semesters 1 and 2

Semester 1 29 Sept – 9 Jan; 12 weeks	**Interview 1** 4 – 25 November, weeks 6 - 9
Semester 2 26 Jan – 15 May; 12 weeks [Easter vacation 23 Mar - 17 Apr]	**Interview 2** 3 - 21 March, weeks 6 - 8

I adopted a semi-structured approach, because I wanted to explore 'particular lines of inquiry' (Richards, 2003: 64), that is, the effects of policy on perceptions. It was therefore necessary to ask participants about aspects of language policy. However, I did not want to use an 'interview schedule' because, as Richards notes, this can result in an 'eyes down' approach (ibid., p69), resulting in missed opportunities to explore participant responses. Instead, I used an interview guide (ibid.), allowing me to remain open to exploring other relevant points that I had not anticipated. This guide was based on my research questions, the participant's questionnaire responses and the results of my document analysis (see Appendices 3 and 4 for the interview guides). For the second interview, the guide was drawn up after preliminary analysis of the first interview. As recommended by Richards (2003), I scheduled time after each interview to reflect on it and make notes in my research diary. This also enabled the interview guides to evolve, in that I added points to raise with subsequent participants or in subsequent interviews. Furthermore, I did not adhere to the same order of topics for each interview; rather, I followed the direction of our discussion as it developed. This also meant that differing degrees of emphasis were given to topics, depending on the participants' experience and priorities. During the second interview, I revisited most topics for two reasons. Firstly, I reminded participants of what we had discussed as I had understood it, and gave them the opportunity to suggest changes to my notes. This was a form of informal member checking (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Secondly, I asked about their experiences and perceptions in the light of having different lecturers or classmates, given that they had by now changed modules.

In terms of the process of conducting each interview, I was acutely aware of the matter of power asymmetries. As discussed above (5.4.3) I was an EAP tutor at the time, and my participants were aware of this as I had included it in the participant information sheet. However, I sought to mitigate the effect this might have on participants by explaining that I was not interested in their English but in their feelings about their English. As noted above, I did not interview participants from disciplines in which I was teaching English. Moreover, I did not play the role of English teacher; for example, if a participant seemed to be seeking confirmation that a word choice was appropriate, I did not respond unless explicitly asked. I viewed each participant as a student taking a master's programme taught in English, and therefore as an ELF user rather than as a learner of English. It was mainly for this reason, as well as reasons of practicality, that I did not consider conducting interviews in participants' chosen languages. Because of my extensive experience of communicating in English with people of various levels of confidence and fluency, I felt prepared for ensuring the interviews were conducted in a mutually comprehensible way. Involving a co-researcher to conduct interviews in participants' L1s would have been impractical, as this would have required finding one person who could speak eight languages, including English. The alternative would have been to use several co-researchers, which would have weakened the validity of the data, as I would have had to rely on translations, and would have relinquished control of how questions were asked. This would have been unacceptable for PhD research.

My status as an NES is also relevant. In some interviews, I talked about my own challenges in using other languages, in an attempt to show empathy. Ellis and Berger note that researcher involvement can help participants to feel more comfortable in sharing information and can help to reduce the 'hierarchical gap' (2001: 851). Nevertheless, there were clear differences between me and each participant in terms of institutional status, age, gender, nationality and language expertise, which need to be considered (Talmy, 2010) for their effect on the relationship that emerged (Richards, 2003). Although I tried to communicate that these differences were not significant to me, they were apparent to my participants. For example, at the start of one interview, the participant asked 'Will it be difficult?' and I realised that I needed provide reassurance that the interview was not a test, and that my interest lay in perceptions, not performance, of English. In addition, after I had switched off the recorder, another participant asked for advice about an assignment. A third emailed me after the interview to correct their pronunciation of a particular word. Had the interviewer been someone else (as discussed above), it is possible that these three occurrences may not have happened. However, that they did does not invalidate the research. It simply means that instances such as these were borne in mind during the process of data collection, analysis and interpretation (see further discussion of this in 5.4.3 above).

The setting can also affect how an interview goes (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1983: 123). I used group study rooms at the university library on the main campus, rooms that are solely for use by students, rather than my office as a tutor. The aim here was to underline that I was meeting participants as a student researcher, not as an EAP tutor. In addition, I offered participants various time slots so that they could choose the most convenient for them. The private study rooms also ensured privacy and quiet. I provided water for each participant, and engaged in small-talk to build rapport before beginning the interview itself. Placing the recording device to the side, I began by asking general questions related to the participant's course, Southampton and so on, in order to relax them further. At the end of the interview I asked if there was anything further they would like to discuss.

One participant had to leave Southampton before the second interview, so this was conducted via Skype. Interviews lasted between 22 and 50 minutes, with an average length of 32 minutes. Each was recorded using an Olympus WS-831 digital voice recorder.

5.6 Ethical considerations

Participants were provided with information on the study, including their right to withdraw at any time (see Appendix 5 for Participant Information Sheet). They were assured that the data from their interviews would be stored securely, it would not be shared other than in an anonymised form and it would not be shared publicly until they had completed their master's programme. I emphasised that there was no risk that anything discussed in their interviews would affect their relationships with lecturers, their educational experience or their achievement on their programme. Participants formally agreed to participate, and to be recorded, by signing a consent form (Appendix 6).

5.7 Methodology limitations

The first limitation I will discuss is that of generalisability. I have adopted a case study approach in looking at a single setting with 18 interview participants, which makes generalising findings to other settings a challenge. This is because case studies, like qualitative research more widely, focus on the particular (Stake, 1995; Richards, 2003). Nonetheless, Mason (2002) argues that qualitative researchers should consider the wider resonance of their research, suggesting that *theoretical* generalization may be a more useful concept. She points out that *empirical* generalization, concerned as it is with the sample size and type, is usually not feasible, and is not common in qualitative research (ibid., p195). As outlined in 5.4.2 above, I used purposive sampling to construct a sample that would be meaningful in terms of my research aims. Two aspects of this will be explored in the results chapters, as at this stage it is too early make predictions. Briefly, the first is the potential for resonance with other settings, based on a 'detailed and holistic analysis of the setting' (ibid., p196). This is broadly similar to Stake's (1995) recommendation to provide enough detail to allow others to generalise. Mason's second point is that a researcher should be able to make some claims based on analytical rigour (2002).

A second potential limitation arises from the fact that I did not carry out a pilot study for my research project. Pilot studies are recommended both for practising technique and generating interview topics (Silverman, 2013). Here, I use 'technique' to refer to both questionnaire writing and interview question styles. As explained in 5.5.2.1, my questionnaire primarily an instrument for recruiting participants. Whilst it was also used to capture fairly crude data in the form of confidence ratings, these were not analysed separately but formed prompts for interview discussion. In terms of interviews, Silverman (2013) points out that 'better' technique does not necessarily result in richer data. One of the aims of practising technique is to try to avoid producing leading questions, but such questions are not considered problematic when working in a social constructionist model, as discussed in 5.5.2.2 above. Rapley advises that rather than worrying about interviewing technique too much, '[interviewers] *should just get on with interacting with that specific person'* (2004: 16, emphasis in original).

With regard to generating topics, I had drawn up interview guides based on my document analysis and informed by my understanding of the key issues both from the literature and as a result of my insider status. But they were guides, not schedules, because I was open to allowing the discussion to go where our conversation took it. Thus, it would have been of little value to conduct pilot interviews, given that participants have different experiences and take the conversation in different directions. Moreover, for researchers working in a constructionist model, it is considered less important to refine protocol design than it may be for those working in other paradigms (Silverman, 2013). As Rapley (2004: 16) points out, interview data is ‘the product of the local interaction of the speakers.’ As discussed above, my research does not aim to make generalisations about all PGT ISs. Moreover, had I wished to conduct pilot interviews, I would have needed to then wait a further year before carrying out my main study, because my study design was constrained by the life-cycle of PGT students, as explained in 5.5.2.3 above.

Finally, the researcher’s role must be taken into account. I have elaborated on this in 5.4.3 and 5.5.2.3 above.

5.8 Reliability, validity and trustworthiness

The concept of reliability has proved problematic for qualitative researchers (Mason, 2002; Flick, 2014). As Mason (2002) explains, in quantitative research the reliability of an instrument is judged by the degree of consistency in the results it produces. This, she argues, is ‘premised on the assumption that methods of data generation can be conceptualized as tools, and can be standardized, neutral and non-biased’, something that qualitative researchers would question (ibid., 187). For example, Gubrium and Holstein point out that ‘One cannot expect answers on one occasion to replicate those on another because they emerge from different circumstances of production’ (2003: 71). Given the subjective and interpretive nature of qualitative research, it is apparent that measuring reliability in the quantitative sense is not a realistic possibility. This does not mean, however, that issues of quality can be ignored. Mason (2002) suggests that researchers need to be transparent in providing accounts as to how data have been generated and analysed appropriately, honestly and accurately. I discuss this further in relation to validity and trustworthiness below.

Validity is judged by whether a researcher is explaining what she claims to be explaining (ibid.), or as Flick puts it, ‘whether the researchers in fact see what they think they see' (2014: 483). In 6.1.3 below I discuss how I ensured rigour and validity in relation to my document analysis. In terms of interviews, Brinkmann and Kvale (2015) suggest that validity can be enhanced during the interview process by continually and carefully checking the meaning of what is said. Dörnyei (2007) discusses member checking or respondent validation, which refers to asking participants to comment on themes or conclusions. Questioning how disagreements are to be dealt with, he points out that 'even though participants are insiders, this does not mean they can interpret their own experiences correctly' (ibid., p61). However, from a social constructivist perspective, it is not clear how participants' interpretations could be judged as 'correct' or not. It appears more useful to look at feedback from participants as additional data which can add to understanding (Silverman, 2013). Lincoln and Guba (1985) find informal member checking useful because it allows participants to challenge the researcher's interpretations or add further information to their responses. I used this technique during each interview, as well as at the start of the second interviews (see 5.5.2.3 above). For Lincoln and Guba, member checking is one aspect of trustworthiness, which I discuss next.

Trustworthiness incorporates credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (ibid). The first of these, *credibility*, can be achieved through prolonged exposure, persistent observation and triangulation (ibid.). I have discussed triangulation above (section 5.3.2.3), and demonstrated my prolonged exposure and persistent observation in 5.4.3. The term *transferability* replaces *generalisability.* In the latter, as discussed in 5.7 above, it is the researcher who is expected to demonstrate that findings have relevance in other contexts (ibid). In contrast, *transferability* refers to the idea that if a researcher provides sufficient detail, others can make their own judgements about the relevance of the results (ibid). Again, see 5.7 for discussion of this. In order to facilitate transferability judgements, I have provided detail of the setting and participants, along with my role, in 5.4 above. Moreover, in Chapter 9 below, I have drawn attention to the individual nature of the experiences of participants in this study (see 9.1.2 in particular), to highlight the difficulties of treating 'international students' as one homogeneous group.

Dependability can be achieved by leaving an audit trail (ibid). This entails providing adequate detail of both methodology and data, so that others can apply their own interpretation (ibid). I have detailed my methodology in the current chapter, and throughout Chapters 6, 7 and 8 below I have attempted to provide sufficient data to enable interpretation by others. Finally, *confirmability* may be demonstrated through the credibility, transferability and dependability of the research (ibid). In addition, Lincoln and Guba (1985) recommend researchers keep a reflexive journal concerning their own actions and feelings. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 165) suggest that this encourages an 'internal dialogue' which should help a researcher to avoid 'thinking as usual'. I did this immediately after each interview, and again before the second interview, and continued to use this form of reflection for data analysis.

In this chapter, I have detailed my research questions, design and methodology. I have also provided extensive reflection on my role in the research. In subsequent chapters, I present my data analysis.

Chapter 6 English Language Policy: Entry and In-programme

In this chapter, findings from document analysis are discussed. The data are used to investigate Research Question 1, 'What are the university's explicit and implicit academic English language policies with regard to postgraduate international students?' This is divided into two sub-questions, the first of which (RQ1a) is 'To what extent do the entry requirements indicate that native-like English is expected?' This focusses on the pre-programme policy regarding English language entry requirements, with the aim of determining whether there is an expectation that ISs wishing to undertake post-graduate taught (henceforth PGT) study have demonstrated proficiency in ENL. Documents analysed were obtained from the university's website.

The second sub-question (RQ1b) is 'What policies and practices apply once students are undertaking degree programmes?' The focus here is on in-programme policies, namely in-sessional English provision and assessment. Website documents were again a source of data, this time supplemented with assessment criteria provided by participants. As this sub-question was only partially addressed through document data, this aspect is further explored in Chapter 7, which presents relevant interview findings. Chapter 8 then addresses the remaining two research questions, concerning participants' perceptions of their English.

The chapter begins with my theoretical and analytical framework, which includes my approach to coding using Qualitative Content Analysis. Because of the complexity of my thematic framework, this is presented in two sections, English Language Entry Policy (section 6.2) and In-programme English Language Policies (section 6.3), directly before the findings for each section are discussed.

6.1 Theoretical Approach and Analytical Framework

6.1.1 A discursive, social constructionist approach

In Chapter 2, I discussed the impact of ideology on language policy and practice (e.g. Shohamy 2006, 2007; Tollefson, 2011). This is of particular relevance to RQ1a above, which looks at the gatekeeping role played by English language entry requirements. As Tollefson points out, historical-structural approaches to evaluating policies are concerned with their impact on '[t]he life chances of different social groups, the possibilities for undermining unequal power relationships, and social justice' (2011: 367). Researchers look at 'how policies are shaped by ideologies, and how *discursive processes* naturalize policies that are adopted in the interests of dominant ethnolinguistic groups' (Tollefson, 2002: 6, emphasis added). Lo Bianco explains why examining discourse is of central importance:

> The rhetoric, or discourse, that accompanies what is promulgated as policy is an essential component of the policy itself, critical to its interpretation and refinement, and interests and commitments of various actors must be included in any coherent account of language policy activity.
>
> (Lo Bianco, 2008: 168)

A focus on discourse means investigating how language is used to talk about language, especially the ways in which this influences what is seen as a problem (Lo Bianco, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2010). In the case of English, it is impossible to ignore what Milroy and Milroy (2012) termed the *ideology of standardisation* - that is, the socially constructed, common sense view of standard English as 'correct'.

Gergen suggests that '[s]ocial constructionism views discourse about the world not as a reflection or map of the world but as an artifact of communal interchange' (1985: 266). This demands a questioning of taken for granted knowledge, and an awareness that understandings of the world are historically and culturally situated (ibid). Moreover, prevailing knowledge is dependent on social processes of communication, and closely linked with other activities (ibid). Given these assumptions, Burr (2015) notes that social constructionists are particularly interested in language in social interaction. This is not to suggest that interaction is limited to oral communication. Written texts are of equal relevance, since they are written for someone to read. As Silverman (2014: 313) points out: ‘From a constructionist perspective, the role of textual researchers is not to criticise or assess particular texts in terms of apparently ‘objective’ standards. It is rather to treat them as representations and analyse their effects.’ In this chapter, I look at how ‘English’ is represented in language policy documents, and in Chapters 7 and 8, I explore the effects of this through discussion of my interview data.

Burr (2015) discusses social constructionist scholarship in terms of three broad types: micro, macro and a combination of the two. In *micro* approaches, the interest is on how interlocutors achieve their interactional goals, with the focus being on naturally occurring interactions (ibid). The field of discursive psychology is prominent within *micro* approaches, with discourse analysis and conversation analysis employed as methods. *Macro* approaches are interested in social structures and institutional practices, and the concept of power is of central concern, so critical discourse analysis is often used (ibid). The two approaches are not mutually exclusive, however, and can be brought together to take into account both the situated nature of interactions and the wider context (Wetherell, 1998).

Although a distinction is often made between discourse analysis and *critical* discourse analysis, Jaworski and Coupland argue that discourse analysis is always critical, except for the ‘blandest forms, such as when it remains at the level of language description’ (2014: 26). Similarly, Gee asserts that all discourse analysis needs to be critical because language is political, in the sense that practices, which language both enacts and gets meaning from, ‘inherently involve potential social goods and the distribution of social goods’ (2014: 10). Moreover, critical discourse analysis ‘foregrounds its concern with social constructionism and the construction of *ideology* in particular’ (Jaworksi and Coupland, 2014: 27, emphasis in original). The concept of power is prominent too, with researchers often interested in the language of those in power (Wodak and Meyer, 2009).

As I have discussed in Chapter 2 above, ideology, particularly in relation to the English that is valued, is of interest in my research. Power is also relevant, particularly in terms of how much choice or agency ISs have in, for example, attending in-programme English classes. I have therefore adopted a *critical* discourse analysis approach. However, I have chosen not to use the acronym CDA because of the various interpretations of this (Wodak and Meyer, 2009), some associated with specific methods (e.g. Fairclough, 2003, p209-210). To avoid my approach being misconstrued as a particular type of CDA, but to make clear that I take a critical approach, I refer to this as cDA with a small ‘c’, following Jenkins (2014). In the following section, I elaborate on my analytical framework in relation to document analysis, outlining how cDA is used along with Qualitative Content Analysis.

6.1.2 critical Discourse Analysis and Qualitative Content Analysis

As noted above, cDA is appropriate for working within a social constructionist paradigm as it facilitates understanding of how language is used to construct a particular reality (Rapley, 2007; Schreier, 2012). I therefore adopted a critical discourse analytic approach, using qualitative content analysis (QCA) (e.g. Mayring, 2004; Schreier, 2012) as the method. Qualitative, rather than quantitative, content analysis was appropriate because of the emphasis the former gives to both context and latent meaning (Mayring, 2004; Schreier, 2012). The same analytical framework was used for both document and interview analysis, but in this section I focus on documents.

As Rapley points out ‘documents are always engaged with a specific *local context*; as such, they are always read or used in a specific way, to do specific work’ (2007: 88, emphasis in original). This appreciation of context is what Berg and Lune call ‘situating the data’ (2012: 356). In the case of website analysis, this means taking account of where on a website a document is situated. One factor affecting this is the document’s intended reader, since documents are ‘recipient designed’ and ‘reflect implicit assumptions’ about who will read them (Atkinson and Coffey, 2004: 70). For this reason, it is important to consider both ‘authorship (actual or implied) and readership (actual or implied)’ (ibid).

An important aspect of context is intertextuality, that is, how documents are linked to other documents (Fairclough, 2003; Flick, 2014). As Atkinson and Coffey note, ‘[d]ocuments do not exist in isolation. Documentary reality depends on systematic relationships between documents. Analysis must take account of such relationships' (2004: 66). This includes relationships with documents that form part of the wider context, and thus help researchers gain an understanding of the 'contemporary meaning' of documents (McCulloch, 2011: 253). For Fairclough, authors' assumptions when writing a text are also part of intertextuality, given that 'what is made explicit is always grounded in what is left implicit' (2003: 17). This concerns manifest and latent content.

Berg and Lune define *manifest* content as 'those elements that are physically present and countable' and point out that when looking at *latent* content, 'analysis is extended to an interpretive reading of the symbolism underlying the physical data' (2012: 355). In other words, 'manifest analysis describes the content while latent analysis seeks to discern its meaning' (ibid). Sarantakos (2005: 300) suggests that latent level analysis is about uncovering the underlying meaning, and that researchers 'delve into the purpose of the communication and the underlying cultural patterns, attitudes, prejudices, norms and standards that are encoded in the message.' A researcher's task is to 'deconstruct and reconstruct' the message, to understand not only its latent meaning but also how the context affects the construction of meaning (ibid). It can be seen, then, that an understanding of the context is necessary for latent level analysis.

There are however limitations of QCA in regards to latent analysis, as it is typically restricted to describing only what is there (Schreier, 2012).). This contrasts with a critical discourse analytic approach, which looks at 'what is there and what is not there' (ibid) and at 'ways in which language is *not* used' (ibid, p47, emphasis in original). Rapley refers to what is not there as 'a silence' (2007: 112). When the 'silence' is something that is present in similar texts, and therefore might be expected, he refers to it as '*a noticeably absent feature of the text'* (ibid, emphasis in original).

In summary, a combination of cDA and QCA was used to examine documents, with a focus on context, intertextuality and both manifest and latent content. The aim was to uncover ideological assumptions about English that were portrayed through documents. Moreover, the extent to which students have agency, particularly in relation to in-sessional English provision, was examined.

Next I explain how I approached the coding of documents using QCA.

6.1.3 Approach to coding using Qualitative Content Analysis

Repeated reading of my dataset of language policy documents threw up unexpected and potentially interesting areas to explore, so I needed an analytic method that would help me stay focussed. The systematic nature of QCA (Mayring, 2004; Schreier, 2012) seemed an appropriate choice. Schreier's procedure for building a coding frame helped me to avoid becoming overwhelmed by the data because, as Schreier notes, QCA 'forces you to select certain key aspects and focus on these' (2012: 58). It is these key aspects which become the main and sub categories of the coding frame. This should not be taken to imply that QCA is a shortcut to data analysis. Indeed, Schreier suggests it is a 'linear procedure with cyclic elements' (2012: 41).

The first step in identifying main categories is to determine which parts of the data are relevant to the research focus (ibid). In QCA, it is crucial to get this right, because once segments of data have been categorised as not relevant, they are not analysed (ibid). For this reason, Saldaña (2016) advises novice researchers to code everything so that nothing is missed. For my document analysis, however, it was relatively straightforward to identify the relevant parts of my material by following Schreier's advice for those new to QCA. She suggests building a coding frame specifically for this purpose, in order to filter out the material which is not relevant (Schreier, 2012). In order to reduce the likelihood of excluding material which is in fact relevant, I followed Schreier's (2012) advice to define the *relevant* sub-category as broadly as possibly, and if in doubt, coded material to this category (see Appendix 7).

The next step is to reduce and summarise the various units of coding within a main category. This is done by generating sub-categories using one of three approaches: concept-driven (based on what you already know); data-driven (based on what is in your data) or a combination of the two (ibid). While Schreier refers to data reduction, Miles, Huberman and Saldaña (2014) prefer to think in terms of data condensation as they see 'reduction' as implying 'weakening or losing something' (2014: 12). Their view is that data condensation takes place throughout the lifespan of any qualitative project, beginning with the selection of a conceptual framework and research questions (ibid). Moreover, they argue that data condensation is part of the analytic process, rather than being separate from it, pointing out that researchers' decisions about what to code and how to categorise *are all analytic choices* (ibid, emphasis in original).

In my case, these analytic choices were not straightforward, even with the systematic nature of QCA. I repeatedly revisited my material in order to identify the main and sub-categories, making a number of changes based on Schreier's (2012: 71-77) four requirements of a coding frame:

- *Unidimensionality* - each dimension (that is, each main category) should capture only one aspect of the material.
- *Mutual exclusiveness* - a unit of coding (that is, a segment of data) can be assigned to only one sub-category.
- *Exhaustiveness* - each unit of coding can be applied to a sub-category.
- *Saturation* - each data-driven sub-category is used at least once so that no sub-category remains empty.

It is worth saying a little more about the criterion of *exhaustiveness.* It is possible to include a sub-category called *miscellaneous* for residual material that does not fit into other sub-categories, but this risks making the criterion of exhaustiveness almost meaningless (ibid). Therefore, Schreier advises coding to a *miscellaneous* sub-category sparingly, and to keep in mind the validity of the coding frame. In order to ensure consistent coding, I thought carefully about how to name and define the sub-categories. Because I was carrying out latent level analysis, conceptual definitions were used to enhance content validity, as Schreier suggests these are more useful than indicator words or examples for inferring meaning (ibid) (see Appendices 8 and 13).

Having built and revised my frame in line with Schreier's advice, I piloted it by applying it to other units of analysis. In terms of how much data to code, I aimed 'to achieve a balance between variability and practicability' (ibid, p.151). After piloting the frame, I applied it to the full dataset. To check for reliability, I revisited my coding after two weeks (Schreier, 2012; Silverman, 2013).

In terms of validity, Schreier suggests that face validity is relevant for inductive coding frames that aim to simply describe material, while for deductive coding frames, demonstrating content validity is necessary (ibid). For both the coding frames I used, the main category was inductive, with the sub-categories being deductive, so I looked at how to enhance both. For face validity, I reviewed any instances of high coding frequency to one residual category (such as *Miscellaneous*) to ensure the coding was appropriate. Similarly, I was alert to high coding frequency to one particular sub-category, considering whether that sub-category should be divided into two or more. At the same time, a high level of abstraction is a risk of summarising and reducing data, so in order to avoid losing too much individual information, I reviewed the number of categories (Schreier, 2012). In relation to content validity for the conceptual categories, Schreier suggests this is best achieved by 'expert evaluation' (2012: 189), so I sought the views of my peers regarding these.

In addition, I added rigour through deviant case analysis, that is, actively looking for outliers or anomalies which can strengthen findings (Rapley, 2007; Silverman, 2013; Miles, Huberman and Saldaña, 2014). Throughout the process, I maintained a journal to document my procedures and my reflection on these (Rapley, 2007; Silverman, 2013; Saldaña, 2016), also using this to record category definitions for coding. All coding was carried out manually. I did not use NVivo (as I did for interviews) because I had not yet received training in how to use it.

Having outlined my approach, I now turn to my analysis. Schreier notes that '[i]n *conceptual* terms, the complexity of your coding frame will depend on your research question' (2012: 63, emphasis in original). For my research, it made sense to build two separate coding frames, one each for RQ1a and RQ1b, because I analysed a separate set of documents for each. In section 6.2 below, I address RQ1a by discussing English language entry policy, first outlining my coding frame, then presenting my findings. In section 6.3 below, I follow the same sequence to discuss in-programme English language policy, which addresses RQ1b. Throughout the chapter, I use 'UoS' to refer to University of Southampton web pages.

6.2 English language entry policy

In this section, I outline my thematic framework for Research Question 1a before moving on to discuss my findings.

As discussed in Chapter 5, I followed Flick's (2014) advice on theoretical sampling by beginning with the page that appeared useful. I therefore started at the main ‘International’ page and clicked on the link labelled ‘entry requirements’, where the following information is found:

> International students need to demonstrate that they have sufficient knowledge of English language in order to be able to benefit from and participate in all academic activities at the University of Southampton.
>
> International students whose first language is not English are required either:
>
> - to reach a satisfactory standard in an approved test in English or
> - to have obtained a first degree from a university based in the UK that has been taught and assessed in English, or
> - to have been instructed and assessed in English and come from a country which appears on the list of those exempt from testing.
>
> (UoS, 2014a)

This indicates only three possible entry routes, with a linked page giving a detailed list of recognised tests and qualifications as well as more information on the third option above. However, a careful reading of this linked page revealed no reference to three further entry routes that I am aware of because of my insider status as a tutor at the university (see 5.4.3 above). I therefore conducted a search on the University website to find the information about these.

6.2.1 English Language Entry - Coding

Data in this section totalled 2550 words; Appendix 7 lists the documents analysed.

The coding frame for this dataset has the main category *Sufficient Knowledge of English Language.* This is a data driven category as it derives from the main statement on the ‘International/entry requirements’ page (see below). Data were coded to one of two concept-driven categories, *Native English* and *English,* since I wanted to find out the extent to which native-like English is expected of ISs. After piloting my coding frame, I added a *miscellaneous* subcategory for those parts of documents not concerned with English, such as course dates and fees (see Appendix 8 for code definitions).

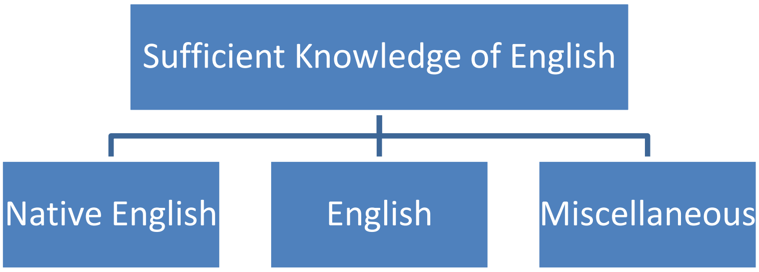


Figure 2 Coding Frame 1, English language entry policy

6.2.2 English language entry policy findings

The category *native English* is discussed first, followed by *English*.

6.2.2.1 Native English

In this section, I discuss language policy document data which indicate an expectation of native-like English. Because several documents may relate to one entry route, I present findings by referring to entry routes. I begin with the approved tests mentioned on the main International/entry requirements page.

Six tests of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) are listed (UoS, 2014b). These are: IELTS (International English Language Testing System); PTE (Pearson Test of English - Academic Version); Trinity ISE (Trinity College London Integrated Skills in English); Cambridge English: Advanced (CAE); Cambridge English: Proficiency (CPE) and TOEFL (Test of English as a Foreign Language). As I have already pointed out in Chapter 3 above, these tests have been criticised for their reliance on a construct of standard native English against which NNES candidates are assessed (e.g. Jenkins and Leung, 2017). Therefore, a latent level analysis results in this data being coded as *native English*.

In addition, there is a separate section called ‘Other English Language Tests’. This comprises one local test, the University of Reading’s Test in English for Education Purposes, and the University of Southampton’s pre-sessional English programme. As shown in Table 2 below, IELTS is explicitly associated with both entry routes.

Table 2 Other English Language Tests (UoS, 2014b)

University of Reading Test in English for Education Purposes (TEEP)	-	Pass at required IELTS-equivalent grade
University of Southampton Pre-Sessional English programme	-	Pass at required IELTS-equivalent grade

In 3.1.1 above I argued that pre-sessional programmes which serve as alternative entry routes to tests such as IELTS must also assess candidates' English in relation to native English (for example, Green, 2000). Here, there is an explicit statement that both of these two entry routes means passing with a 'required IELTS-equivalent grade.' Two further points are relevant. First, although the UoS pre-sessional English programme is listed in the singular above, there are in fact two types of pre-sessional: the summer programmes[5] and the year-round English for Academic Studies (EAS) (UoS, 2014c). Second, although IELTS is one of six EFL tests that ISs can take, it is the only one mentioned and is therefore used to signify all six types of approved test. This occurs elsewhere in documents related to entry requirements for pre-sessional programmes, as I discuss below.

The pre-sessional programmes are also given prominence in a 12-page promotional pdf available from the main International page. Its design as a marketing tool is apparent from the title *Realise your ambition. International Student Guide 2014* and the fact that it begins with four pages of selling points for the university and the city (UoS, 2014c). Information on English language courses, on pages 6 and 7, is provided before the 'Study Opportunities' page, indicating that this is aimed at students who will need to 'improve' their English before they can consider applying for a degree programme. The pre-sessional courses discussed on these pages are the *Summer Pre-sessional*

---

[5] In 2014, there were 11 variations of the summer pre-sessional programmes, 5 aimed at students hoping to progress to undergraduate study, and 6 aimed at prospective post graduate students.

courses in English for Academic Purposes (EAP) (page 6) and the *English for Academic Study (EAS) year-round Pre-sessional courses* (page 7).

IELTS is mentioned 14 times on page 6, with different scores cited depending on course length and type, all under the heading ‘normal entry requirements’. Only at the end of the page is there any indication that IELTS is not the only entry route, with the words ‘For a full list of English language qualifications accepted by the University of Southampton see:’ followed by a link to the appropriate web page (UoS, 2014c: 6). Following the details on page 7 regarding the EAS course, the final piece of information provided for both this and the summer pre-sessionals states:

> If you successfully complete one of the pre-sessional courses by achieving the grade required for progression to your chosen degree programme you will have met the University’s English language requirements and **will not need to take a further IELTS or TOEFL test.**
>
> (UoS, 2014c: 7, emphasis added)

Here the link between successful completion of a pre-sessional and IELTS or TOEFL is explicit, and it is notable that the other four approved tests are not named.

IELTS is again the only test named in a separate document outlining the English language entry requirements for the EAS course:

> The EAS course can accept applicants starting on 25 September 2014 with a level equivalent to **IELTS 4.5, with a minimum score of 4.5 or higher in each component.**
>
> (UoS, 2014d, emphasis added)

Finally, a further example of IELTS being the only named test occurs in the requirements for students who wish study at UoS as exchange or visiting students. In contrast to Erasmus Exchange students (discussed below), non-Erasmus Exchange and Study Abroad students are instructed to submit

> English language test results: **IELTS 6.5** or equivalent standard in other qualifications approved by our University.
>
> (UoS, 2014e, emphasis in original)

The preceding examples demonstrate the prominence given to IELTS, underlining the native-English bias implicit on entry requirement web pages aimed at prospective students. Analysis of the course aims for the pre-sessional courses sheds light on why this might be the case. The two relevant aims are:

- help you to develop the English Language skills you will need to follow a degree course or undertake research at a **British** university
- give you a chance to settle in to the **British** academic environment before starting your programme of academic study at Southampton.

(UoS, 2014f, emphasis added)

The use of the adjective "British" to describe the university and the academic environment implies a rather Anglocentric approach. The underlying message seems to be that ISs will be 'helped' to adjust their language to fit in with the native English policy of the university.

However, it is noteworthy that the EAS pre-sessional aims appear less Anglocentric:

> The course is designed to increase your confidence and fluency in language use in formal and informal **academic contexts** and will prepare you for the many different forms of interaction with **other speakers of English**, which will be a feature of your life both within and outside the **learning environment**.
> (UoS, 2014g, emphasis added)

Here, the adjective "British" is noticeably absent; rather, the "academic contexts" and "learning environment" are left unmodified. Moreover, the learning environment is recognised as one which will generate interaction with "other speakers of English". This use of "other" speakers rather than *native* speakers of English is striking when contrasted with the prominence of "British" in the summer pre-sessional programme aims. Given that both programmes aim to prepare ISs for study at the same university, this difference in word choice may result from the authorship of these documents. While the EAS aims seem to have been written by someone with awareness of the sociolinguistic environment of the university, with its substantial ISs body, the same seems not to apply to the author of the summer pre-sessional programme aims. However, regardless of how the aims are worded on the website, we have already seen that both courses use IELTS as a benchmark when it comes to assessment. The institutional policy appears to override the practices, if not the ideals, of the EAS programme manager, exemplifying the significance of status when it comes to the degree of managers' agency (c.f. Dafouz and Smit, 2016).

Next, I return to the third route on the main 'International/entry requirements' page, which states:

> International students **whose first language is not English** are required (…):
>
> - to have been instructed and assessed in English and come from a country which appears on the list of those exempt from testing.
>
> (UoS, 2014a, emphasis added)

The statement begins by referring to "International students whose first language is not English", which is perhaps an attempt to define ISs not by their country of origin, as would be the case for fee status, but by their first language. However, further information provided via the link to the Admissions pages confuses the issue:

> The Home Office defines the **following countries to be majority native-English speaking** and as such, nationals of these countries are **not required** to demonstrate their English language proficiency by **taking an aforementioned SELT** [Secure English Language Test].
>
> (UoS, 2014b, emphasis added)

As indicated, the designation of "majority native-English speaking" is determined not by the university, but by the UK government Home Office, which issues the university with a Highly Trusted Sponsor licence, permitting recruitment of students from specific countries outside the European Economic Area (UoS, 2014b). Of the 18 listed, six countries belong to the 'inner circle': Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, United Kingdom and United States of America (ibid). It might be assumed therefore that nationals of these countries are NESs, but for the fact that the beginning of the policy statement reads "International students whose first language is not English". It may be that some "nationals" of these countries may use English as an additional language, but it is hard to see how nationals of the UK or Ireland can be classified as 'international' students. This apparent contradiction may stem from the university's attempt to combine its marketing terminology ("international students") with its language policy ("whose first language is not English") and government regulations, which differentiate between students based their country of origin. The remaining 12 countries are all Commonwealth nations in the Caribbean and Americas (ibid, 2014b; Commonwealth, 2017), and are thus in the 'outer circle' in Kachruvian terms, but are nonetheless classified by the government as "majority native-English speaking" (UoS, 2014b).

An essential piece of contextual information is needed to shed light on this: the meaning of 'Secure' in Secure English Language Test (SELT), which refers to the test's acceptability for issuing visas. Thus IELTS, along with the other tests accepted as SELTs[6], fulfils two gatekeeping roles, serving both as a measure of language proficiency and as means of obtaining a visa to study (see also Saarinen and Nikula 2013: 142, on entry requirements having political implications). That no demonstration of English proficiency is required from prospective students in this category implies that these students are already considered to use native-like English, as indicated by the designation "majority native-English speaking."

In this section, I have presented a critical analysis of documents which imply an expectation of native-like English. This expectation is implicit in the range of approved tests available to prospective students, and is reinforced by the foregrounding of IELTS, the only test named in the majority of policy texts. The prominence given to IELTS sends a strong message of native English ideology, despite occasional indications that practitioners or managers may have a less restricted approach to English.

6.2.2.2 English

In this section, I analyse three entry routes: the pre-Masters programme, the Erasmus Exchange scheme, and an EMI degree from a UK-based university.

The pre-Masters programme introduction states that it is:

> an academically rigorous programme designed to equip international students with the **academic** and **English language skills** they will **need**

---

[6] Five of the six tests listed above are accepted as SELTs, the exception being TOEFL.

> **to get the most from** a University of Southampton taught masters degree. (UoS, 2014h, emphasis added)

Two points are noteworthy here. First, "academic skills" are given priority over "English language skills." Second, "get the most from" seems to imply that students may already have met the English language entry requirements. For clarification, I examined the document section identifying the target audience, which states that the programme:

> will suit you if (...) y**ou feel you need to improve** your **academic** English, study and research skills **before pursuing** masters level study (UoS, 2014h, emphasis added)

Here, although there is reference to improving English before beginning a master's programme, the agency appears to lie with the student, with the words "you feel" before "you need to improve". The adjective "academic" before "English" strengthens the implication that the student already has the required (non-academic) English language proficiency. This contrasts with pre-sessional courses, which explicitly state the English entry level in terms of IELTS scores.

Pre-sessionals also refer to the "required IELTS-equivalent grade" when it comes to passing the course, but the pre-Masters refers only to "successfully completing" the programme, with no reference to English (UoS, 2014h). Therefore, I looked at the "key aims" of the programme, which provide an indication of the programme content. It seems reasonable to infer a link between what is taught and what constitutes successful completion. The aims are:

- To enable you to develop the skills to address and resolve academic problems critically and reflectively;
- To engage you in research-led academic study related to the masters programme you intend to join;
- To enable you to develop the **academic English language skills** essential for success at masters level;
- To help you develop the necessary cultural and study skills for effective learning through the medium of English;
- To familiarise you with the **academic environment** at Southampton and introduce you to life in the UK.

(UoS, 2014h, emphasis added)

Three points are revealing here. First, “English” is listed in third position, after academic problem solving and engagement in research-led study. Second, it is not just ‘English’, but “*academic* English”. Moreover, the previous point refers to study “related to the masters programme you intend to join”, which alludes to the course content being discipline-specific. It may therefore be that it is *specific* academic English that is taught and therefore assessed.

Both the type of English implied and its position in the hierarchy contrast with the aims of the summer pre-sessional programme (see 6.2.2.1 above). In the latter, English is simply *English* without the modifier *academic,* and its position first in the list suggests its central focus on the course. In addition, in the final bullet point above, the pre-Masters environment is described as *academic* without the modifier *British* included in the summer pre-sessional aims. Table 3 below shows the comparison between the aims of the pre-Masters and the two pre-sessional courses.

Table 3 Comparison of pre-sessional and pre-Masters aims

Summer pre-sessional aims to	**pre-Masters aims to**	**EAS pre-sessional aims to**
help you to develop the **English** Language skills you will need to follow a degree course or undertake research at a **British** university	enable you to develop the **academic English** language skills essential for success at masters level	increase your confidence and fluency in **language use** in formal and informal **academic** contexts
give you a chance to settle in to the **British academic** environment (…)	familiarise you with the **academic** environment at Southampton	prepare you for (…) interaction **with other speakers of English** (…) both within and outside the **learning** environment

The contrast between the summer pre-sessional and the pre-Masters bears some similarity to the distinction made between EGAP and ESAP, while the EAS aims appear closer in spirit to ELFA. Analysing the aims alone is misleading, however, since elsewhere in policy documents the EAS pre-sessional, like the summer version, is explicitly aligned to native English through IELTS. This is not the case with the pre-Masters, which emphasises academic English, and implies an ESAP. While this could mean that performance is measured against standard native English (see 3.1 above), analysing the available pre-Masters documents together does not allow me to conclude that native English is expected from students entering via this route.

Turning next to the Erasmus Exchange programme, I noted above that non-Erasmus students are required to submit IELTS or other test results as evidence of English proficiency. This is not the case for those students in the Erasmus scheme, who do not need to do so because, they are told, 'your home University should nominate you [to study at UoS] only if your level of English is adequate' (UoS, 2014e). There is no further information as to how a student's home university might judge English as "adequate." However, there is further advice for students:

> Before you come to Southampton, you should therefore ensure that your level of English is **good enough** to be able to write essays, to express your opinions and to interact socially with other students. This is vital to ensure you get the most benefit academically and personally from studying in Southampton.
>
> If your English is **not of a sufficiently high standard**, your choice of courses may be limited.
>
> (UoS, 2014e, emphasis added)

Here prospective students are given an indication of why their English needs to be "good enough", both in terms of academic activities (write essays, express your opinions) and for personal and social reasons. Students are warned that if their English is not "good enough" – of a sufficiently high standard – their study options will be restricted, but how their English will be evaluated, and who by, is not made clear. In the absence of evidence that *native English* is expected, I have categorised this as *English*.

Finally, I return to the second route on the main 'International/entry requirements' page:

> International students whose first language is not English are required (…):
>
> - to have obtained a first degree from a university based in the UK that has been taught and assessed in English (…)
>
> (UoS, 2014a)

No further information is provided with regard to this route. Given the wide range of possible degrees, it was not feasible to investigate the extent to which native-like English is demonstrated by students with such degrees. Therefore, like the previous two entry routes in this section, this has been categorised as *English* because there is no explicit reference to native English and nor is there an implicit reference to this through association with IELTS.

To sum up, latent level analysis of website documents has revealed a disparity in terms of expectations of students' English which is dependent on entry route. For some ISs, demonstration of "sufficient knowledge of English" (UoS, 2104a) means proving their proficiency in *native-like* English, whereas for others it does not. This disparity is not apparent from the manifest content of website documents, but can be understood with knowledge of both the immediate context of the university and the wider context of the UK, and through intertextuality. Table 4 below shows the categorisation of entry routes available to prospective PGT students.

Table 4 Categorisation of entry routes as native English or English

Native English	**English**
Six EFL tests, including IELTS University of Reading TEEP test	
Two UoS Pre-sessional programmes (summer and EAS)	pre-Masters programme
EMI education in majority native-English speaking country	UK-based university degree
Non-Erasmus Exchange & Study Abroad	Erasmus Exchange

Eleven routes imply an expectation of native-like English, with IELTS the most prominent on the university's website. While three routes have been categorised as *English*, this should not be taken to imply that other varieties are accepted, merely that the document analysis has not provided strong enough evidence of *native English.* The table should also not be read as implying that equal numbers of ISs enter through each category of routes. My participants' entry routes reflected the university as a whole in that the majority demonstrated their "sufficient knowledge of English" with IELTS or completion of a pre-sessional course. Having discussed entry requirements, I turn to in-programme policies.

6.3 In-programme English language policies

In this section, I first outline my thematic framework for Research Question 1b before turning to findings. Three categories of in-programme policy were investigated: in-sessional English provision, guidance on assessment, and assessment criteria. Documents at institutional, faculty and/or module level were analysed, as shown in Table 5 below (see Appendices 9-11 for further detail).

Table 5 In-programme language policy document sources

	In-sessional English provision	**Assessment Guidance**	**Assessment criteria**
Institution	Centre for Language Study webpages	Quality Handbook	Quality Handbook
Faculty	Faculty web pages	none	Assignment criteria
Module	Module webpages	none	Assignment criteria

Figure 3 below shows the three categories as dimensions of coding frame 2.

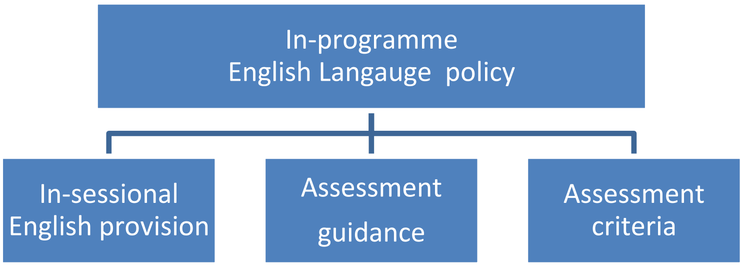


Figure 3 Coding Frame 2, main dimensions - In-programme English Language Policy

Categories within each dimension are shown in sections 6.3.1, 6.3.3 and 6.3.5 respectively. For the full coding frame, see Appendix 12.

6.3.1 In-sessional English coding

Data for this section totalled 2190 words; Appendix 9 lists the documents analysed.

I created a dimension of Coding Frame 2 for ‘In-sessional English provision’, taking as my starting point the following statement from the main International/entry requirements page:

> **Some students may also be advised** to complete a pre-sessional English language programme or **to attend support English language lessons during term time**, provided by the University's Centre for Language Study.
>
> (UoS, 2014a, emphasis added)

This statement raises two questions. First, do students have agency to decide whether to attend the “support English language lessons”, and second, what approach is taken in those lessons? I therefore created three categories, *Agency*, *Approach* and *Miscellaneou*s, with the latter used for aspects not related to agency or approach, such as timetable details. *Approach* was initially subdivided into *EFL, EAP* and *AL,* with EAP further divided into *EGAP* and *ESAP.* However, there were no instances of ESAP, and all instances of *EAP* were coded as *EGAP.* The final version of this dimension is shown in figure 4 below (see Appendix 13 for code definitions).

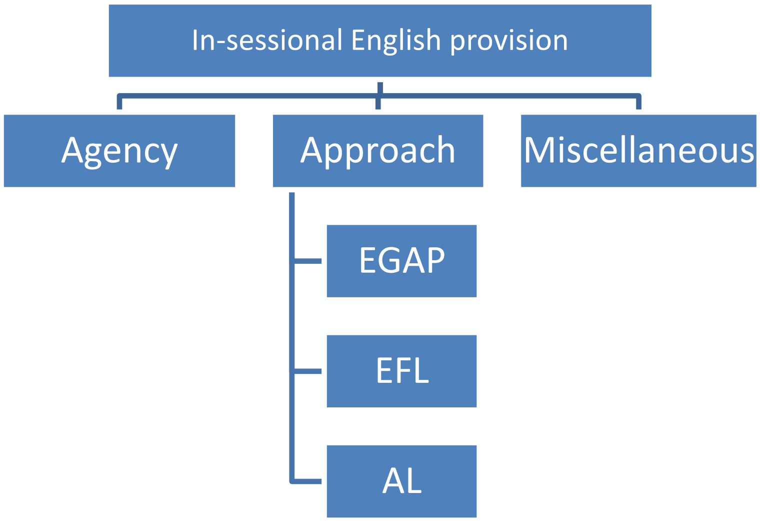


Figure 4 Coding Frame 2, dimension of In-sessional English Provision

6.3.2 In-sessional EL policy findings

I begin with *Agency,* followed by the three approaches: *EGAP, EFL* and *AL.*

6.3.2.1 Agency

In this section, I discuss findings relating to how much agency students have in deciding whether to attend the "support English language lessons" referred to above. Clicking on the link provided takes the reader to the following statement, headed "English for Academic Purposes support programme":

> The EAP skills support programme offers academic language support to international students who **need to develop their English language** and academic literacy skills during their studies. If **you want to continue to improve your English**, we offer the following skills classes, all of which are free of charge to international students registered at the University of Southampton.
>
> (UoS, 2014j, emphasis added)

The first sentence refers to "international students who need to develop their English" but what is not clear is who identifies this need. The second sentence, however, appears to give agency to students, with "if **you want** to continue to improve your English."

Agency is also seen on Faculty pages that alert students to the EAP programme. As noted in 5.5 above, after recruiting participants I looked at the International Student webpages for their faculties: Business, Law and Arts; Humanities; Physical Sciences and Engineering; and Social, Human and Mathematical Sciences. While Physical Sciences and Engineering had no tab for 'International' on its webpages, and no reference to English classes, the other three each displayed the following, under International/English Language Support:

> The University also provides English language support throughout the academic year. This can be particularly useful **if you find**, once your course has begun, that **you would benefit from extra help with English for academic purposes**.
>
> (UoS, 2014k, emphasis added)

Here again the choice appears to be students', with the words "if **you find** (…) you would benefit from extra help" but in this statement the suggestion is that help might be needed with not just "English" but "English for academic purposes." One other form of in-sessional English provision appears to be optional, Academic English Language Advising, which is "available" to "anyone wishing to learn or already learning a language" (UoS, 2014l).

In contrast, a number of master's programmes include compulsory, accredited 'skills' modules. Here, I discuss only those modules taken by my interview participants. In the Business School, five of the 23 available master's degrees included one or more skills modules, of which there were four types: Report Writing, Essay Writing, Presentation and Negotiation skills (UoS, 2014m). Two programmes in the faculty of Social, Human and Mathematical Sciences included Research Skills (UoS, 2014n) or Skills and Project Work (UoS, 2014o), both of which included elements of written and oral communication.

Having discussed agency, I next examine the approach taken by in-programme English and skills provision.

6.3.2.2 EGAP approach

Here I discuss data which indicate an EGAP approach. This is identified by analysing not only the content of classes but who provision is for. This second point is crucial, since in Chapter 3 above it was argued that EAP provision is typically aimed at ISs.

Beginning with the 'who', the EAP Support Programme is for "international students who need to develop their English language and academic literacy skills" (UoS, 2014j). It is noticeable here that "international students" is not qualified with 'whose first language is not English' as it is on the main International/entry requirements page (UoS, 2014a). Moreover, the inclusion of "academic literacy skills" adds ambiguity, since this could apply to all students, ISs and HSs alike. However, the next sentence refers to "improving" English, as opposed to academic English, which implies that the programme is indeed aimed at ISs. This is confirmed by the statement that follows:

> **Entry requirements:** Assumes IELTS 6.0 (TOEFL 560) or above
> (UoS, 2014j, emphasis in original)

On this evidence, it seems clear that the programme is aimed at ISs.

Analysis of the content outlined for each of the six courses included in the programme suggests that it is in fact largely "academic literacy" rather than "English language" that is on offer. For example, the "Academic Writing Skills" course includes "describing, classifying, comparing and contrasting, cause and effect", as well as "introductions, referring to other sources, reporting results, conclusions and reference lists" and, listed last, "aspects of grammar". Three other courses, "Writing your Masters Dissertation", "Writing your PhD Thesis" and "Critical Thinking", list content which could also be characterised as developing students' academic literacy (UoS, 2014j).

What is clear, however, is that 'academic literacy' here is used in the sense of 'academic study', as opposed to the plural ALs approach discussed by Lillis and Scott (2007) or Wingate's AL (2015; see Chapter 3.2.2 above). This is apparent through considering both intertextuality and context. These four courses appear in a programme called EAP Support, are aimed at ISs only and appear on a webpage linked from the 'International/English language support' page, so seem more closely aligned with an EAP approach. As to whether the provision is EGAP or ESAP, the only reference to discipline-specificity comes in a phrase that appears at the end of each unit outline, which states "[t]here will be opportunities to relate the content to work in your own discipline" (UoS, 2014j). While this may reflect an awareness of the greater relevance to students of discipline-specific classes, it appears to be an afterthought rather than embedded in the ethos of the programme, since there is no indication that courses are organised into discipline-specific groups. The EGAP approach is apparent too from the prominence of the word "support" in all introductory statements and the programme title itself, and seems to reflect an institutional ideology of ISs as in need of help, and of academic English 'as a kind of add-on to the more serious activities of university life' (Hyland, 2009: 9; see 3.1.2.1 above). This approach to ISs is explicit in another course included in this programme, "Seminar and Presentation Skills", the description for which is:

> This unit aims to develop all the skills involved in oral communication: speaking in academic contexts and participating in seminar discussions. There will also be **opportunities to practise your pronunciation!**"
>
> Presentation skills will also be included and there will be an opportunity to give a presentation.
>
> (UoS, 2014j, emphasis added)

Here, the specific reference to pronunciation with an exclamation mark seems to acknowledge and attempt to soften the rather euphemistic phrasing employed. That is, "opportunities to practise" may actually imply an expectation that ISs will need to improve their pronunciation. The mention of presentation skills in a separate paragraph is a further indication of this view, since it would be reasonable to expect ‘pronunciation’, or at least intonation, to be included as a presentation ‘skill’ for all students.

An EGAP approach is also seen in the ‘EAP Toolkit for International Students’, which is mentioned in the EAP Support Programme information (UoS, 2014j). This is an interactive, online resource available through Blackboard, the University’s virtual learning environment. Examples of topics covered include “Academic Writing”, “Reading and Critical Thinking” and “Grammar and Vocabulary for Academic Purposes” (UoS, 2014j). As there is no indication of discipline specifity, this was coded as EGAP.

Finally, the Academic English Language Advising service is also listed on the EAP Support Programme (where it is called Individual Tutorial Help) as well as on the main Centre for Language Study/English Language Support webpage. On the latter, it appears under the main heading “English for Academic Purposes Support/Other language support resources offered by the University.” Details are given on a pdf. Firstly, under the heading “Academic English Language Advising” the document outlines who can use the service:

> These sessions are **primarily** to advise **international students** about their academic English but **native English-speaker students may also use this service** for language advice or academic study skills support (e.g. essay writing help in English).
>
> (UoS, 2014l, emphasis in bold and underlining added)

Here, it is made clear that the sessions are mainly for ISs, with the implicit understanding that this means NNESs being apparent from the phrase “but native-English speaker students may also use this service”. Underlined in the above extract is what the sessions can be used for, and here the difference in wording is notable. For ISs, it is “academic English”, while for NES students, it is “language advice or academic study skills support (e.g. essay writing in English).” In the latter case, the qualification “in English” is there to distinguish this part of the document from an earlier section, “General Language Advising”, which concerns languages other than English. These are individual sessions so the content is not stated, but it seems that a holistic academic English service is anticipated for ISs, whereas specific study skills, which include essay writing, are likely to be needed by HSs.

Further information about the content is given in the second paragraph, beginning with an emphatic statement in bold pointing out what is *not* provided:

> Please note that this is not a proof-reading or language correction service. Instead, your language advisor will look at specific questions you may have about your academic spoken or written English.
>
> *(UoS, 2014l, emphasis added)*

The inclusion of "spoken" English underlines the earlier statement that this service is primarily for ISs. Based on the information provided, and the absence of any reference to discipline-specificity, it seems likely that an EGAP approach is taken.

In this section, I have presented analysis showing that most in-sessional English provision adopts an EGAP approach. There are however two other approaches evident, the first of which is the EFL approach, which I turn to next.

6.3.2.3 English as a Foreign Language (EFL) approach

Two types of in-sessional English provision reveal an EFL approach. The first is a reference to the Language Resources Centre, where there are materials "to help you with your English" (UoS, 2014k), with the word 'academic' being noticeably absent. It is similarly absent in a course named "Everyday English", which is described as including "listening, speaking, reading and writing", followed by:

> Topics will include grammar, **traditionally** 'difficult' areas such as idioms and phrasal verbs, vocabulary development with particular reference to collocation, and different registers and genres.
>
> (UoS, 2014j, emphasis added)

The first "topic" listed is "grammar", which contrasts with "aspects of grammar" listed as the final topic in the Academic Writing course discussed above. The comparison is pertinent because, like Academic Writing, this course is also offered as part of the EAP Support Programme. The inclusion of "traditionally" underlines the EFL approach apparent from the content of this unit, implying as it does that the "idioms" and "phrasal verbs" are likely to be those found in standard, native English. The Everyday English course has therefore been categorised as EFL.

Finally, I turn to data categorised as revealing an AL approach.

6.3.2.4 Academic Literacy approach

In section 6.3.2.1 above, I discussed the skills modules which are compulsory for students taking one of seven specific degree programmes, five of which were in the Business School. Website content suggests a discipline-specific approach, by referring to, for example, “the skills necessary to present a clear and concise *business* report” (UoS, 2014m, emphasis added). However, this data has not been coded as ESAP because these modules are compulsory for all students, not only ISs. Because HSs and ISs take the modules together, and they are delivered within the discipline, this data has been categorised as AL.

That no distinction is made between HSs and ISs for these modules is also apparent from the “Reading and Resources” section of the module overview. Here, students are referred to the university’s Academic Skills website and to the Study Skills Toolkit on Blackboard. The Academic Skills website includes guidance on skills such as academic writing and critical thinking, and appears to be aimed at all students (UoS, 2014p). The Study Skills Toolkit includes similar academic skills and can be contrasted with the EAP Toolkit for International Students, discussed in 6.3.2.2 above.

In summary, data presented here shows the predominant approach to be EGAP, with students having agency to choose whether or not to attend. Seven modules on specific degree programmes that take an AL approach were identified, each compulsory for both HSs and ISs.

I now turn to assessment of English in content modules, beginning with guidance for academic staff.

6.3.3 Assessment guidance coding

Document analysis in this section focussed on identifying whether any accommodation was advised for ISs, in terms of both procedure and expectations of English language. The main source for institutional-level assessment policy was the Quality Handbook. Five documents comprising 1147 words were analysed (See Appendix 10 for a list of documents). Definitions of codes are provided in Appendix 13.

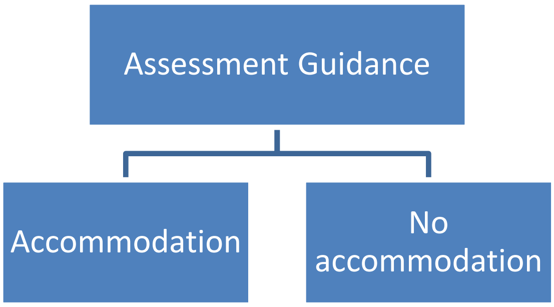


Figure 5 Coding Frame 2, dimension of Assessment Guidance

6.3.4 Findings: assessment guidance policy

I begin with *Accommodation*, followed by *No Accommodation.*

6.3.4.1 Accommodation

Indications of accommodation were found in all five documents. The first example concerns the policy regarding dictionary use in exams, which states that the only dictionary allowed is:

> a ‘direct translation’ dictionary (word to word) **only** showing English to Foreign language and Foreign language to English with no additional dialogue or explanation, context or grammar guidance.
>
> (UoS, 2014q, emphasis in original)

While this shows some accommodation, the usefulness of such a dictionary might be questionable (and see Jenkins 2014 on dictionaries in general being of little use without additional time to use them).

The three-page *Assessment Principles* document includes only one reference to “English.” This occurs as one of five aspects of section 1.1, “Assessment should be inclusive”:

> Assessment tasks and documentation setting out marking criteria etc should be **clear enough** for students **for whom English is not their first language** to **understand what is expected** of them.
>
> (UoS, 2014r, emphasis added)

Here, there is an explicit reference to English, in the context of acknowledging that NNES students may have different needs to NES students. Thus, there is an explicit suggestion of accommodation towards ISs, although there is no further advice as to how staff might accomplish this.

In the remaining data, neither ‘English’ nor ‘international students’ appear. However, there are implicit references to ISs in points concerning culture. Two of these occur in relation to breaches of academic integrity, in particular, plagiarism. The first is in a document on assessment in general, and begins:

> Issues relating to **academic writing skills**, including how to avoid breaches of academic integrity, and how to use references appropriately to the discipline, should be reinforced near assessment submission deadlines. In presenting such advice staff should be aware of **cultural differences** (where ‘plagiarism’ of learned scholars’ work may be considered desirable in students’ own work).
>
> (UoS, 2014s, emphasis added)

This point begins by highlighting the need to ensure that students are familiar with the concept of academic integrity and understand how to reference correctly, in the context of “academic writing skills.” It then focusses on one specific breach of academic integrity, warning staff not to assume students will understand what constitutes plagiarism, beginning by suggesting that “cultural differences” might be the cause of this. The implicit message here is ‘ISs students might plagiarise’ because conventions in their home education system might have been different, but by omitting to point out that this relates to *educational* rather than *national* culture, this message is in danger of reinforcing a stereotype. It may be that the writer was aware of this, as the remainder of the paragraph indicates:

> Staff should not assume that **all students, including those educated through the UK school system,** will necessarily understand the conventions of good academic writing skills, and that what **we** define as plagiarism is inherently ‘wrong’ – the expectation of what is acceptable at **HE level** in the **UK HE system** should be positively explained and reinforced.
>
> (UoS, 2014s, emphasis added)

Here there is an explicit acknowledgement that students “educated through the UK school system” might also lack awareness of what constitutes plagiarism. However, what follows in this long sentence suggests that the real focus is on

ISs. First, the use of the personal pronoun ‘we’ in “what we define as plagiarism” might be construed as ‘we British’, or it might index ‘we in higher education’, in contrast to secondary education. But perhaps it is both, as the phrase immediately following refers to what is “acceptable at HE level in the UK HE system.” The repetition of “HE” (higher education) seems superfluous, but the inclusion of “UK” underlines the contrast with other, non-UK HE systems. Nevertheless, I would argue that this whole paragraph may reflect a rather clumsy attempt to update guidance in the light of increased numbers of ISs, rather than intentional reinforcement of a deficit approach to them. I elaborate on my reasons for this below.

An almost identical paragraph appears in a separate document focussing on academic integrity, but with two slight differences. First, it advises that staff “need to be aware of, and explicitly address, cultural issues” (UoS, 2014t), rather than being “aware of cultural differences” (as above in UoS, 2014s). Secondly, the redundant “at HE level” discussed above is absent from this version, so it reads, “the expectation of what is acceptable in the UK HE system” (UoS, 2014t). These two points indicate a less tentative approach to plagiarism as a result of “cultural issues.” Moreover, there is an additional sentence:

> In advising students staff should ensure that the **language** they use, while appropriate to the circumstances, is **clear and unambiguous**; reference to the ‘need to find one’s own voice’ or work being ‘derivative’ may not always be picked up on by **students**.
>
> (UoS, 2014t, emphasis added)

Here, staff are advised to use “clear and unambiguous” language to facilitate student understanding. There is no explicit reference to NNESs or ISs here, and the examples given, “need to find one’s own voice” and “derivative”, are arguably open to being misunderstood by HSs and ISs alike. Since both documents carry the same date, it is not clear which was produced first. The fact that the paragraph discussed above is not the same in both may be a further indication of ad hoc updating of documents which have existed for some years, when the student body was less international. There are noticeable absences which also point to this conclusion, as I explain in the following section.

6.3.4.2 No accommodation

Here I discuss data categorised as showing no accommodation, beginning with document sections that omit to mention resources specifically aimed at ISs.

In the “Academic Integrity” guidance, just before the paragraph discussed above, staff are informed about the university’s “Academic Skills” website, which covers academic integrity, as a resource for educating students (UoS, 2014t). In addition, the “Information for Students on Assessment” document notes that students should be given information about the “study skills support” available (UoS, 2014s). Both the Academic Skills website and “study skills support” imply resources available for all students, but what is absent is any mention of resources aimed specifically at ISs, such as the EAP Support Programme and the EAP Toolkit, both discussed in 6.3.2 above.

A further example appears in guidance for staff on providing information for students, where the second of six points advises:

> Information should be presented in clear language which enables **all** students to understand what is expected of them.
>
> (UoS, 2014s, emphasis added)

In contrast to the similar point in 6.3.4.1 above, there is no explicit acknowledgement here of NNES students. Instead, staff are advised that language should be clear enough for “all” students. Similarly, a point relating to feedback on assessment suggests that it should be “clear and appropriate to the student’s level of study” (UoS, 2014t), when it might be reasonable also to include ‘the student’s level of English.’

The final data extract I discuss here offers further evidence of ignoring issues of language. In relation to monitoring students’ performance in assessment, the advice is that this should include taking note of “race, disability, gender and age, to ensure that assessment is not inadvertently culturally biased or otherwise disadvantaging particular groups” (UoS, 2014r). While IS’ achievements might be monitored in the “race” category, it seems surprising that there is no specific mention of language here, particularly given the earlier guidance in the same document with regard to language.

It worth noting that there is no guidance for staff regarding proof-reading, and nor is this discussed in the one document written for students (UoS, 2014u). Although the Language Advising service explicitly excluded proof-reading from its remit (see 6.3.2.2 above), neither students nor staff appear to be given advice regarding this.

In summary, while there is some evidence of accommodation towards ISs, this barely acknowledges language issues and instead focuses on cultural (mis)understandings of plagiarism. In the one case which advises the use of English that is sufficiently clear for NNESs to understand, there is no further advice as to how this might be achieved. Overall, the impression is that guidance designed for HSs has not, on the whole, been updated to reflect the increased numbers of ISs.

Finally in this chapter, I turn to assessment criteria to examine what these reveal about expectations in terms of ISs' English.

6.3.5 Assessment criteria coding

In total, 28 documents comprising 10,451 words were analysed. Two documents were institution-wide, but the majority (26) were provided by interview participants and relate to specific assessments. Some participants provided several documents while others provided none. In order to maintain participant anonymity, documents are identified only by assessment type, with 21 relating to written tasks and five to oral. Some criteria for written tasks were identical to others (C8, C11, C14 and C15; C21 and C26), meaning that in total there were 17 different sets of criteria. Appendix 11 provides further detail.

It is also worth noting the variation in terms of the type of assessment information given in each document. That is, in 17 cases, documents included only a short phrase summarising each criterion (such as "level of development of argument"), while in five cases there was just a grade descriptor with no criterion (such as "70-75%: clear basic understanding, good application with examples, plus evaluation with original creative ideas"). In this second case, each grade descriptor covered all assessment criteria, but criteria were not named. Finally, four documents included both the criteria and associated grade descriptors.

To develop my coding frame, I began with the two institutional level documents in the Quality Handbook. The first is a guidance note (UoS, 2014v) which refers to the second, named Table B (UoS, 2014w). The guidance note provides a rationale for the six assessment criteria detailed in Table B, noting:

> Table B provides a guidance framework for grading students' work at each level and will be a valuable means of ensuring consistency of grading across the University at each level.
>
> (UoS, 2014v)

At the same time, there is an acknowledgement that "students do not always fit into neat boxes and so **academic judgement** will always be needed in order to arrive at a suitable grade for a piece of work" (ibid, emphasis added). Therefore, Table B's function as a guide is emphasised, with the note that "some Faculties may wish to amend, add or delete categories" (ibid). The categories are:

1. Knowledge/content
2. Technical and practical competence
3. Critical Analysis
4. Organisation and communication
5. Presentation
6. Citation and referencing (UoS, 2014v)

My aim was to discover whether English was explicitly referred to in any of the criteria, and if so how it was characterised. In cases where English was not explicit, I aimed to find out whether its assessment might be implied in certain criteria. I therefore created a dimension of Coding Frame 2 for 'assessment criteria' with two sub-categories, *English explicit* and *English implicit.* After piloting this on my first document, I added a further category, *Miscellaneous.* The dimension is shown below.

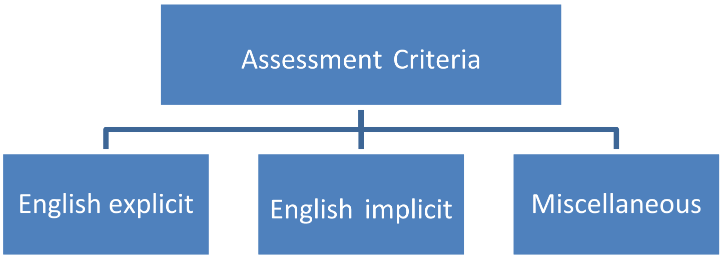


Figure 6 Coding Frame 2, dimension of 'assessment criteria'

Given the difficulty of separating "language" from other aspects such as "content" or "structure" (cf Baker and Hüttner, 2017), it is arguable that language proficiency is implicit in *all* criteria. However, detail provided in grade descriptors in Table B indicated a compartmentalisation of "communication" as separate from other criteria related to content. Examples from Table B were used to aid precise definitions of the *implicit* and *miscellaneous* codes (see Appendix 13).

6.3.6 Findings: assessment criteria

Discussion of data coded to *English explicit* is first, followed by *English implicit*.

6.3.6.1 English explicit

Only six of the 28 documents analysed include explicit reference to language, using the terms 'English' (two instances), 'language' (four) and/or 'grammar' (four). I begin with the examples that include 'grammar':

> Express ideas in good English. *You must be able to write clearly, using good grammar* (C4, italics in original, underlining added)
>
> Presentation and use of language (spelling, wordprocessing, grammar, register, etc) (C7, underlining added)
>
> Essay structure: language, grammar, presentation and accuracy of referencing (C21 and C26, underlining added)

It can be seen that "grammar" is included as an aspect of "English" in C4, and as part of "language" in C7. In contrast, C21 and C26 show "grammar" as separate from "language". Other differences are apparent in how elements of criteria are grouped. The example from C4 is solely concerned with "English", while C7 pairs "language" with "presentation". The third example, for documents C21 and C26, also pairs language with "presentation" but does so under the criterion "Essay structure". This already reveals some variation in *where* language is considered to 'fit'. Of the remaining two documents, C12 also places language in the "Presentation" criterion:

> Presentation: attention to purpose, clarity of expression, use of language/conventions (C12, underlining added)

In this example, the forward slash (/) suggests that "language" is interchangeable with “conventions”, and is different to “expression.” What the distinction is, however, remains unclear even after close reading of the descriptors for each of seven grades from ‘fail’ to ‘distinction’. At merit level, for example, “Clarity of Expression” is described as “Mostly well expressed”, while “Use of language/conventions” is “Clear and appropriate use of language.” The term “conventions” is not used in any of the descriptors.

The final example comes not from a criterion, but from a grade descriptor. In this document, C2, students were not provided with the full range of descriptors, only with guidance on how to “do well”. Here again, as with C21 and C26 above, “English” is located in “structure”:

> Well-structured layout: well written in clear English (C2, underlining added)

In order to “do well”, then, it is necessary to produce work which is “well written in clear English”, but how these standards are judged is not apparent. This example bears some resemblance to C4 above, which refers to “good English” and “good grammar”, along with the need to “write clearly”, compared with C2’s “well written in clear English”. In both documents then, “clear” and “good/well” are the standards to aim for, though how these are measured is not detailed. Although C4 provides seven descriptors ranging from “Very poor or absent” to “Excellent”, there is no further reference to “grammar” in any of these. The focus is on whether writing is “understandable” or “clear”, which may imply that standards of grammar impact upon this, given its prominence in the criterion description.

Although the six documents discussed here all include explicit reference to English, it is far from clear what is meant by the terms used. Consequently, there is a lack of transparency regarding how standards are judged. I turn next to documents in which English is implicit in criteria.

6.3.6.2 English implicit

In total, 16 documents included implicit reference to language, through a range of terms I explain below. I began with the institution-wide guidance framework in order to identify where language might be assessed implicitly. The criteria are:

> Knowledge/content
> Technical and practical competence
> Critical Analysis
> Organisation and communication
> Presentation
> Citation and referencing
>
> (UoS, 2014w)

For each of the six criteria there are eight grades, ranging from 0-24% to 80-100% (UoS 2014w). There is no explicit reference to English or language in any grade descriptor at any level. Implicit reference to English occurs in the category "Organisation and Communication." For example, achieving a grade in the 80-100% band indicates

> **Exceptional degree of competence** in communicating information, ideas, problems and solutions, contextualising knowledge and structuring/sustaining arguments.
>
> (UoS, 2014u, emphasis in original)

The level of achievement, "Exceptional degree of competence", applies to three skills: "communicating", "contextualising" and "structuring/sustaining". The first is of interest here, since it directly relates to language (hence the "Communication" half of the criterion name), whereas the second and third seem to be elements of "Organisation." For two lower grades, 50-50% and 60–69%, this descriptor reads "**Good** at communicating accurately and reliably (..)" (UoS, 2014u, emphasis in original). How "accurately" is to be interpreted is not clear, so I wondered if comparison with similar categories at module level might prove illuminating. However, only two of the 26 participant documents, C19 and C25, featured a criterion called "Communication". Document C19 concerns provides criteria for an oral interaction assessment, the first of which is "Listening and Communication", with the additional information, "How well did you listen and try to understand the discussion / suggestions / views of the other team members?" The emphasis here is on listening, rather than speaking, so the notion of 'accuracy' does not apply.

The other example is in document C25:

> Presentation of report and ability to communicate appropriately in writing
>
> (C25, underlining added)

In this case, communicating “appropriately” is coupled with “presentation”, but “appropriately” is not further explained and does not help with interpreting “accurately”.

There are no other instances of “communication”. However, two further documents implicitly refer to language through the terms “expression”, “articulates” and “writing”. These both occur in grade descriptors but are not included at all levels. In document C5, for example:

> Outstanding levels of accuracy, technical competence, organization, expression (for a grade of 80+, underlining added)
>
> Develops a focussed and clear argument and articulates clearly (60-69%, underlining added)

The other five grades do not imply that language will be assessed. Similarly, C6 refers to language only in the highest of seven grades (76-80%):

> Excellent, perfect writing and referencing (C6, underlining added)

Again, as with “accurately” above, there is no further indication as to what would make writing “perfect.”

Two other documents included a criterion for “style” (C9 and C18). In both cases, the assignment was a report, and other criteria related to specific sections such as “Outline of methods used” (C9) and “Analysis – linking facts to figures” (C18). “Style” was the final criterion in each case, and given the clear parallel with “academic style”, these examples were coded as implicit.

The final set of documents implied assessment of English through a criterion called “Presentation”. As noted above, most documents did not feature the “Organisation and Communication” criterion seen in Table B. However, many did include “Structure”, which could be considered equivalent to “Organisation”. The other criterion not clearly related to content that many had in common was “Presentation”. This was also present in Table B, but exactly how it differs from “Organisation and Communication” is not clear from grade descriptors. For example, in the highest band (80-100%), presentation is evaluated as “crisp, uncluttered, highly fluent, focussed and sophisticated, and in an appropriate format” (UoS, 2014w) but what is meant by “crisp”, “highly fluent” and “sophisticated” is opaque. Analysis of the seven other bands revealed only a decrease in the number of adjectives used, so that for the 60-

69% band, for example, presentation is "crisp, uncluttered, sophisticated" but not "highly fluent" or "focussed".

Based on Table B, it seemed reasonable that, at module level, language could be implicit in criteria called "Presentation" or "Structure." In order to help my coding, I therefore applied decision rules (Schreier, 2012). If there was no explicit reference to English, and no reference to 'communication', I looked for instances of 'presentation' mentioned separately to 'structure'. If the two were not separate, it was not possible to conclude that 'presentation' implied 'language' as opposed to 'structure', so this was coded "miscellaneous." The following example illustrates this. Document C17 provides assessment criteria for a report, divided into seven categories. The first six relate to specific content, while the seventh states:

> Clear and concise presentation of findings (C17, underlining added)

There is no reference to "structure", so this was coded as miscellaneous. A contrasting example is document C3, with the following two separate criteria:

> Clearly presented – rigorously argued and focussed analysis
> Well structured with appropriate introduction and conclusions

The separate criterion of "well structured" meant the "clearly presented" criterion was coded as implying assessment of language. Five other documents had identical criteria to these (C8, C11, C13, C14, C15), while a further three also distinguished between the two criteria (C1, C10, C20).

In common with the six documents discussed in 6.3.6.1 above, there was considerable variation in the terminology used in the 16 documents coded to *English implicit.*

In summary, analysis of assessment criteria indicates that, typically, English seems not to be assessed explicitly, appearing as a criterion in only six of 26 documents. Language is not included in Table B, but may be implicitly assessed under the criterion of "Communication." However, despite Table B's role in "ensuring consistency of grading across the University at each level" (UoS, 2014v), only two other documents include this criterion. Thus, even the implicit assessment of language seems open to a range of interpretations, since it seems that assessors' "academic judgement" (UoS, 2014v) may be employed much of the time, with criteria serving only as a guide.

6.4 Summary

In this chapter, I have discussed two aspects of language policy: entry requirements and in-programme policies. Of the 14 entry routes available to PG ISs, 11 were found to imply an expectation of native-like English. These include six EFL tests, the most prominent of which is IELTS, one test offered by another university, and two types of UoS pre-sessional programmes.   The other two routes are determined by a student's country of origin. Study abroad students who are not eligible to participate in the Erasmus exchange programme are required to submit results of an approved test, while nationals of 'majority native-English speaking' countries who have completed EMI education do not need to provide a test result. The three routes for which it was not possible to conclude that native-like English is expected were: the UoS pre-Master's programme; a UK-based university degree and participation in the Erasmus Exchange scheme. These 14 entry routes appear to constitute two policies, one in which native-like English is required and the other in which it is not. As this is never stated explicitly, however, these policies can be considered to be implicit (c.f. Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 2011).

In terms of in-programme policy, I explored three areas. The first concerned in-sessional English and skills provision, and it was seen that the dominant approach was EGAP, in line with Wingate, 2015. This is perhaps not surprising, given the expectation of native-like English apparent from most entry routes, as ISs continue to be characterised as learners of English (c.f. Hyland, 2013) There was, however, no indication that attendance was compulsory, suggesting that ISs have agency (c.f. Dafouz and Smit, 2016; Baker and Hüttner, 2017) in choosing to participate or not EGAP as optional is line with existing research (e.g. Schmitt and Hamp-Lyons, 2015) There was no evidence of ESAP on either the Centre for Language Study or faculty webpages, yet I am aware, as a result of my 'insider' status, that this provision exists. Because this information is "noticeably absent" (Rapley, 2007: 112) from the website, ISs would be aware of it only if informed by their department[7]. Participants were asked about this in interviews. With regard to 'skills' provision, seven accredited modules were discussed. Each was part of a specific degree programme, indicating some discipline-specificity, and all were compulsory for both HSs and ISs. Thus, there was some evidence of an AL approach to provision, in which ISs were not seen as deficient in comparison to HSs (c.f. Lea, 2004)

The second and third aspects of in-programme policies concerned assessment. Guidance documents revealed little accommodation towards ISs, with almost no acknowledgment of the challenges of studying through English, in line with Turner's (2011) point on the marginalisation of language. Assessment criteria findings revealed that language was rarely explicitly referred to in documents issued for specific assignments, and was only implicitly included in a criterion called 'communication' in others, including institution-wide descriptors available to academics. These are intended to serve as a framework for ensuring consistency, but the range of terminology seen in documents analysed here, along with the differing emphasis placed on language, suggests that consistency may not be easy to achieve. Although content modules assess subject knowledge, the role of language in communicating that knowledge needs to be acknowledged, and transparency of criteria is necessary for students to understand how they are being assessed. Instead, the policy here seems to be implicit (c.f. Shohamy, 2006; Tollefson, 2011).

To conclude, documents discussed here indicate an expectation of native-like English at entry and in-sessional provision that takes a predominantly EGAP approach. For content lecturers, there seems to be no guidance concerning how to respond to English when assessing work by ISs, and little in the way of advice on adjusting their own use of language. Aspects of in-programme policies were discussed in interviews, and findings are presented in Chapter 7. How the enactment of policy, in the form of language practices, affected my participants' views of their English is the focus of Chapter 8.

---

[7] From 2017, the website has included reference to discipline specific EAP, but this was not the case at the time of data collection.

Chapter 7 Interview findings: in-programme practices

This chapter presents discussion of interview data relating to in-programme practices. These findings supplement the document findings discussed in Chapter 6 above, which were only partially successful in addressing Research Question 1b, ‘What policies and practices apply once students are undertaking degree programmes?’ Here, discussion is restricted to participants’ experiences of practices. Links between these experiences and participants’ feelings about their English are examined in Chapter 8, to address Research Questions 2 and 3.

Four specific aspects of practices were investigated through interview data. The first was whether in-sessional EAP provision was optional, and whether ESAP classes were offered. Secondly, the extent to which English was evaluated in both oral and written assessment was explored. The third and fourth aspects relate to the absence of pedagogical guidance for lecturers, as document analysis revealed that guidance was limited to language use in assessment briefs. In interviews, I therefore sought to understand two specific aspects of lecturer practices: whether participants felt lecturers accommodated by adjusting their own English, and whether lecturers facilitated IC among students.

The chapter begins with my analytical framework, followed by an explanation of how I approached interview transcription and coding. My thematic framework is then presented before the findings are discussed.

7.1 Analytical framework

In Chapter 6, I discussed my approach to document analysis using both QCA and cDA. For interview data, I adopted the same broad approach, but with two adjustments. In terms of content analysis, I did not feel Schreier’s (2012) systematic approach to QCA was appropriate for the interview data for two reasons. Firstly, before beginning transcription I had a list of *a priori* codes based on the interview themes, so this was my starting point. Secondly, it seemed that Schreier’s concept of *mutual exclusiveness* would not be appropriate for interview data. As noted in 6.1.3 above, *mutual exclusiveness* means that a unit of coding (that is, a segment of data) can be assigned to only one sub-category. For interview data, however, I anticipated that a segment of data might be relevant to more than one sub-category, for example ‘group work’ and ‘assessment’. I elaborate below on how I coded the data.

In terms of cDA, for the interview data my focus was on lexical choices, particularly in relation to evaluative statements (Fairclough, 2003: 172). Interpretation of lexical choices was tentative, however, as it was apparent that some participants found it difficult to express themselves, with several explicitly referring to their limited vocabulary or doubts about a particular word.

The notion of assumed values was also relevant. These, Fairclough states, ‘depend on an assumption of shared familiarity with (not necessarily acceptance of) implicit value systems’ (2003: 173). This was particularly useful in relation to language ideology and NNESs and NESs. In order to examine values, data were analysed in terms of both manifest and latent content to investigate not just what was said, but also what the underlying meaning was (Sarantakos, 2005; see 6.2.1 above). Similarly, as with document analysis, intertextuality was relevant, particularly in looking at relationships between participants’ first interview and their second, and when participants referred to assessment criteria, whether explicitly or implicitly.

7.2 Transcription and coding

As noted in Chapter 5 above, there were two rounds of interviews, approximately 3-4 months apart. Interviews in round one were transcribed before the second round took place. Before beginning transcription, I read through notes I had made after each interview to remind myself of the overall sense I had of each participant. For each round two interview, I read both the post-interview notes and the transcript of the participant’s first interview. I transcribed onto a template with headings taken from my interview guide (see Appendices 3 and 4 for interview guides). I aimed for a full transcription of all relevant data (Bryman, 2016), so exercised caution in leaving out parts. I did this only when I was confident that the data was not relevant, such as discussion of what a participant thought of the city. Even in these cases, I made brief notes on the transcript about the omitted data in case I later wished to revisit it.

I chose not to transcribe prosodic features such as pauses and emphatic stress for two reasons. Firstly, some of my participants were very hesitant speakers, so I felt that transcribing pauses might tell me nothing more than they were searching for a word. Secondly, as Jenkins (2007: 210) has pointed out, interpretation of prosodic cues could only be regarded as 'suggestive', given my lack of understanding of prosody in my participants' L1s. This meant I was unable to evaluate how this might affect the way they spoke in English. Transcription conventions are presented in Appendix 16, and participant information in Appendix 1.

During transcription, I made notes in my research diary about emerging themes within the main interview topics, adding to these as I read through completed transcripts. I then uploaded the transcripts to NVivo 11, using the main interview topics as *a priori* categories. The transcription template mentioned above enabled data to be organised on NVivo according to these categories, so that I was able to view what all participants had said about, for example, 'lecturers'. I stored transcripts on NVivo separately for interview rounds one and two, so that for each participant, I was able compare the comments made in their first interview to their second. These main topics functioned as structural codes in that they were a way of organising data before moving onto 'more detailed coding and/or analysis' (Saldaña, 2016: 98). For some themes, concept-driven, deductive sub-categories were added, such as 'general' and 'specific' as categories of 'in-sessional EAP'. I again read through transcripts, re-coding data as necessary, if, for example, a participant's response to a question about 'group work' resulted in an answer about 'lecturers'. As coding, reading and reflection progressed, data-driven codes were created, such as 'students accommodation', 'students social' and 'local people', as it became apparent that communication outside class was significant in shaping participants' perceptions. This process resulted in 17 main themes with 60 sub-categories for the first round of interviews, and 19 main themes with 66 sub categories for the second round. Although each round of interviews was coded and analysed separately, most themes were the same, since I revisited aspects of policy and experience (see 5.5.2.3 for further discussion). However, there were significant differences in the amount of data coded to each theme, with Assessment being discussed mainly in the second round, for example.

I then moved on to second cycle coding to look for patterns and links (Saldaña, 2016). At this stage, I retained most structural codes, but lumped, subsumed or split some. Others were set aside if they were not helpful in addressing the research questions. I then re-coded data relating to perceptions to 'positive' or 'negative' within structural codes. Again, NVivo was extremely useful in enabling different layers of coding, as well as efficient retrieval of data for specific codes. For the data presented in the current chapter, I focussed on participants' experience of practices, creating sub-categories of the relevant main codes (see below), resulting in four main and 13 sub-categories (Appendix 14). In Chapter 8, which looks at impacts on participants' perceptions, seven main codes were used, with a total of 19 sub-categories (Appendix 15).

7.3 Thematic Framework

For the first two main categories discussed in this chapter, I coded to relevant sub-categories used for document analysis (see 6.3,1, 6.3.3 and 6.3.5 above). For **In-sessional EAP Provision**, discussed in 7.4.1 below, these sub-categories are **general, specific** and **agency**, and for **Evaluation of English in Assessment** (7.4.2), the sub-categories are **English explicit, accommodation, English implicit,** and **English absent.** The third category **Lecturer Accommodation: own use of English** (7.4.3), is coded to **accommodation, non-accommodation** and **intelligibility**. Finally, **Lecturer Facilitation of Intercultural Communication in Group Work** (7.4.4) is coded to **communication smooth, communication difficult** and **miscellaneous.**

7.4 Findings: in-programme policies

7.4.1 In-sessional EAP provision

In 6.3.2.1 above, I noted that students appeared have agency in deciding whether to attend classes provided as part of the EAP Support Programme. This was indicated on both the main International/entry requirements webpage and on faculty International/English language pages. I also pointed out that the availability of ESAP was not apparent from these webpages. I therefore asked participants whether they had been advised or obliged to attend classes, and whether these were EGAP or ESAP.

Eight participants were aware of the **EGAP** provision and all confirmed that it was optional. In terms of **ESAP**, eight participants knew about this, with six confirming it was optional and one, Patti, saying she was advised to go. The remaining participant, Cindy, explained that for her it was compulsory because her pre-sessional grade was 1% below a pass, but she had been given 'special considerations' due to missing part of the reading exam. Cindy was studying in the Business School, as were Patti and six others of the eight who were aware of ESAP provision. This provision is usually optional, but any student who fails the Essay Writing Skills compulsory module (see 6.3.2.1 above) may compensate by attending ESAP (Leah, 2015).

The interview data therefore confirms the website findings that most students have **agency** regarding EAP classes. Of the18 participants in this study, only five attended EGAP classes, three of whom also joined ESAP classes. Five others went to ESAP classes only. The reasons for this, and links with participants' perceptions of their English, are explored in Chapter 8 below.

7.4.2 Evaluation of English in assessment

In Chapter 6 above, we saw that of the 26 assessment criteria documents provided by participants, only six include explicit reference to English. In 16 documents, English is implicit in categories such as 'presentation' or 'communication', while four documents do not include even an implicit reference to English. Document analysis also revealed that the university's Quality Handbook acknowledges the need for "academic judgement" to be used "in order to arrive at a suitable grade" (UoS, 2014v). Given the lack of explicitness in criteria, it seems reasonable to expect that this judgement also extends to English. This is supported by the finding that, although lecturers were advised to accommodate in respect of making tasks and criteria clear for NNES students (see 6.3.4.1 above), there was no documentary evidence of guidance for assessing NNES students' English.

In order to gain an understanding of lecturers' assessment practices, criteria were discussed in the second round of interviews. Not all participants provided criteria, and, as noted in Chapter 6, documents have not been linked to specific participants, so as to preserve anonymity. The aim, then, was not to clarify each document in turn, or to discuss each piece of assessment, but rather to gain a picture of what participants felt was being assessed, and whether they perceived lecturers to be accommodating in terms of the English expected of them.

7.4.2.1 English explicit

Five participants talked about criteria that **explicitly** referred to English. These typically included the terms 'grammar', 'spelling' and 'language', confirming document findings. As noted in 6.3.6.1 above, 'language' was ambiguous, but one participant explained the lecturer had clarified this as referring to the use of academic vocabulary. What interview data also add to these findings is participants' perspectives on how the policy is enacted through practices, as the following exchange with Pax demonstrates. Immediately prior to this, Pax had explained that he felt more confident about his writing than before. This, he said, was because he had received a much higher score than other students for the 'grammar' and 'language' criteria. This prompted me to seek an explanation of a comment he had made a few turns earlier:

Example 7.1

INT yeah you said on the pre-sessional you thought 'mm my
writing's not that good' why did you think that
PAX I think it's the way that as you point some lecturers who are
XXX when you feel it's language you have **different**
parameters and you analyse in a different way how to um
measure the ability of the **but for this guy their field are**
different so I assume that they mark high if they can read
without any any problem and they understand all the things
you write in an easy way because they mark that a lot **they say**
like err 'if we can't read what you write you will have a low
mark because I'm not going to spend **a lot of time trying to**
understand what are your ideas' and that, so

13 INT yeah so it's more about whether they can understand it
14 they're not - did they put any comments on your essay
15 PAX yeah err sometimes they wrote me like 'this **article** is here
16 instead of that' but just few things and sometimes I'm still
17 having that problem with '**people are people is**' so that kind
18 of things **little things** it's not something **a specific grammar**
19 you should change this or rephrase that

In line 3, the term "lecturers" is potentially ambiguous, but that Pax means pre-sessional EAP tutors is apparent from his use of "but" to contrast with "this guy" to refer content lecturers (line 6). "Their field are different" supports this interpretation. Pax's understanding is that EAP tutors and content lecturers "have different parameters", with the latter being concerned with clarity. Indeed, he says lecturers have explicitly stated that they will not spend "a lot of time trying to understand" (lines 11-12). In order to understand how lecturers apply the criteria of 'grammar' and 'language' in practice, I asked Pax if they wrote any comments on his assignment. Pax then gives examples about the use of articles (line 15) and subject-verb agreement ("people are people is", line 17) but he evaluates these points as "little things" (line 18) when compared to "a specific grammar", the implication being the latter is something a pre-sessional tutor might write. During further discussion of his assessment criteria, Pax confirmed that only two assignments were assessed for 'grammar' and 'language', and that these were both marked by NES lecturers.

This extract illustrates how interviews provide a more detailed understanding of how assessment criteria are applied. Two of the other four participants who had English explicitly assessed confirmed that the lecturer was an NES, and that, like Pax, they had other assignments set by NNES lecturers in which there were no explicit criteria for English. While Sandi thought this might be due to NNES lecturers' inability to "judge" language, Eveline suggested it was because they could empathise. This is discussed in the next theme.

7.4.2.2 Accommodation

Only three participants discussed lecturers accommodating in terms of their expectations of students' English. One was Pax, whose lecturers would not spend “a lot of time trying to understand” (see lines 11-12 above). Given the subjective nature of “a lot”, it is difficult to say how much lecturers are willing to accommodate other than that it is less than “a lot”. It is therefore useful to contrast this with Eveline’s experience. The following exchange took place immediately after I asked if she had received any feedback about her language.

Example 7.2

1 EVE all the teachers that I had they told us that ‘we understood
2 that the **majority** of them erm are erm **foreign** students so
3 we will not be’ I don’t know how can I say ‘**we will not be so**
4 **rigid during the correction** of your essay or your group
5 work’ but by the way they suggest us to spell to check on
6 the **spelling** about our words and use the **vocabulary** and
7 similar suggestions of course
8 INT [ah ok do you
9 EVE [and **on the other hand** I had just one English teacher no
10 one or two English teacher I don’t remember so it has been
11 easier for me because the other teacher were from I don’t
12 know [region], [country], [country] so it was **completely**
13 **different** because **that teacher can understand** your
14 problem and the difficulty you can have during I don’t
15 know during learning English or writing in English because **it**
16 **is not the most important feature** that they take
17 into consideration while they are assessing your work
18 INT yeah and so did you notice I think it’s very interesting that
19 they specifically said we’re not going to be too strict
20 about the language erm was that
21 EVE because I believe that is a clear is a clear statement a
22 clever statement because **I think you cannot assess**
23 **students just basing everything about the language**
24 it’s not possible because you need to understand
25 that you can you need to go behind the the structure ok
26 INT yeah that’s really good did you did the **British tutors** say
27 the same thing or

28 EVE **of course no**
29 INT no ah
30 EVE XXX (laughing) and I remember that the man spoke **very**
31 **fast** so at the beginning it was like for me I don't know a
32 dramatic situation because I was like '**oh my god** what
33 he's trying to saying' I I didn't **I didn't understand**
34 **anything just few words** so I had to be very er really
35 concentrated about his mouth and err his err I don't
36 know it has been **terrible**
37 INT mm so when he did the assignment feedback was he
38 more critical of your English than
39 EVE no **thanks god** because we had a group work that count
40 for err 60% of the overall grade so **we were lucky**
41 because I worked with **English people so they checked**
42 **the grammar**

Eveline begins by explaining that "all the teachers" indicated they would "not be so rigid" because most students were NNES ("foreign"). The implication is that lecturers will be more flexible in what they accept, so long as basic checks have been carried out in terms of spelling and vocabulary (lines 5-6). However, in line 9 her use of "on the other hand" implies that not "all the teachers" indicated their willingness to accommodate. Eveline continues by saying that she had "just" one or two English teachers so it has been "easier" because the other lecturers were NNESs. Eveline's experience of these lecturers was "completely different". Her use of the high intensity adverb "completely" emphasises the contrast she experienced between how NESs and NNESs approached assessing her English. NNES lecturers are able to empathise, and do not see English as "the most important feature." In her next turn, Eveline makes clear that she agrees with this approach. I then ask about British tutors, as Eveline had hinted at their different approach in lines 9-11. Her response is an emphatic "of course no", indicating she did not expect any accommodation from this lecturer. Why is apparent from her next utterance (lines 30-31) when she explains that this lecturer spoke "very fast" and she was unable to understand more than a few words. Eveline's strong reaction to this is clear from her use of “oh my god” and the high intensity “terrible.” It seems that Eveline’s experience of how the lecturer spoke resulted in her expecting no accommodation in terms of assessment of English. For this reason, Eveline was relieved to have worked with “English people” who could “check the grammar”, as indicated by both “thanks god” and “we were lucky” (lines 39-42).

Both Pax and Eveline differentiated between NES and NNES lecturers, with the former seen as being more **explicit** about assessing English and less willing to **accommodate**. Although Eveline’s assessment criteria made no explicit reference to English, she anticipated that her NES lecturer would pay attention to this. One other participant, Flint, also had a mixed experience in terms of **accommodation**, saying that some lecturers were concerned about grammar while others took into account that he was an IS ` and therefore perhaps “ignore the grammar problems.” Unlike Eveline and Pax, he made no distinction between NES and NNES lecturers. Next, I turn to English being **implicit** in assessment criteria.

7.4.2.3 English implicit

Seven participants felt that English was **implicit** in assessment criteria. In the following exchange, Patti and I are looking at documents while we talk.

Example 7.3

1 INT this one doesn’t have anything really about **English or**
2 **language** I mean maybe **‘argument is clearly structured’**
3 so it’s interesting to see the variation in assessment
4 criteria
5 PAT for us **we think that’s basically the same very similar**
6 INT very similar yeah and some of them write comments like
7 ‘**language could be improved**’
8 PAT even though they don’t write ‘language’ it would still be uh
9 some like ‘**if what you write we can’t understand it can it**
10 **could influence your mark**’

In my first utterance, I comment that there is no explicit reference to English, but that perhaps it may be implicit in the phrase “argument is clearly structured”, mentioning the variation in criteria. Patti’s response is that students do not see any difference. She elaborates on this in response to my next comment, which echoes a point she had raised earlier in the interview, saying that she had received feedback that her language could be improved (line 7), Patti responds that even if the word “language” is not explicitly stated, there is still the threat of losing marks for writing that lecturers cannot understand. Patti was one of five participants who also had criteria in which evaluation of English was explicit, and it may be that this has affected her interpretation of marking policy. I return to this issue after the final section.

7.4.2.4 English absent

Two participants talked about criteria that they felt did **not refer to English**, even implicitly. One assignment that Gaia discussed did in fact include criteria such as ‘clearly presented’ and ‘strong structure’, which have been analysed as implicitly referring to English in 6.3.6.2 above. However, Gaia did not see these criteria as including English, and felt that there should be explicit evaluation of English, commenting:

> but he never comment on any English errors, the grammatical errors

As far as Gaia is concerned, her English has not been assessed, something that disappointed her. This is discussed further in Chapter 8.

The other participant, Tabora, said this about writing a 4000 word essay:

> it wasn’t stressful experience because there’s no mark on language

Tabora felt that her subject meant that language was not particularly important, hence there was no assessment of English, something that she was relieved about.

In summary, there seems to be variation not only in assessment criteria but also in how those criteria are applied. How this inconsistency affected participants is discussed in Chapter 8.

7.4.3 Lecturer accommodation: own use of English

In this section, I present findings relating to lecturers’ own use of English in order to determine whether any accommodation was taking place. Participants were asked about their experience of understanding lecturers. Since a number of factors might affect this, a lecturer's intelligibility cannot be taken as firm evidence that he or she has accommodated, any more than non-intelligibility demonstrates a lack of accommodation, but tentative conclusions can be drawn. Because my research focus is linguistic, aspects such as participant motivation and lecturers' teaching approach were not discussed during interviews. However, as I was interested in any differences between NNESs and NESs, participants were asked about the nationality of their lecturers.

There was considerable variation between participants concerning how much they said about lecturers. Some simply commented that they could understand all their lecturers with no difficulty, whereas others elaborated on why this was, and talked about individuals. Others focussed their attention on just one or two lecturers that they had problems understanding. Overall, participants talked less about lecturers in the second round of interviews, and discussed fewer examples of unintelligibility, as indicated in Table 6 below.

Table 6 Lecturer intelligibility in first and second round interviews

	1st round of interviews	**2nd round of interviews**	**Both interview rounds**
NES Intelligible	16	11	27
NNES Intelligible	9	11	20
Total Intelligible	**25**	**22**	**47**
NES Unintelligible	11	2	13
NNES Unintelligible	9	2	11
Total Unintelligible	**20**	**4**	**24**
Total Intelligible and Unintelligible[8]	**45**	**26**	**71**

The figures show that, although there were only four examples of unintelligibility in the second round of interviews, compared with 20 in the first round, the total number of times that lecturers were mentioned also dropped from 45 to 26. This was partly due to most participants talking about assessment much more in the second round of interviews, leaving less time for discussion of other topics. It may also reflect participants' growing familiarity with subject knowledge and experience of listening to different accents, as these were two of the main reasons cited for lecturers being intelligible or not.

---

[8] Each participant was counted a maximum of once in each category (NES Intelligible/Unintelligible and NNES Intelligible/Unintelligible) because some did not specify the number of lecturers, when saying, for example, "all lecturers are ok".

Similarly, the findings relating to the numbers of NESs compared to NNESs should be viewed tentatively. Of the 18 participants, 16 discussed both NES and NNES lecturers, but the ratio of each was not consistent across semesters. One participant, for example, talked about three NNES and two NES lecturers in his first interview but only one NES in his second. Therefore, the emphasis is on what participants said about lecturers. Data were coded to one of three categories: accommodation, non-accommodation and intelligibility.

7.4.3.1 Accommodation

Data were coded here if participants talked about lecturers making adjustments *because of* the presence of ISs. Five participants talked about accommodation, with most referring to appropriate speed. Three discussed NES lecturers, one NNESs and one both NESs and NNESs. For example, Flint commented:

> I think the **local teacher is** very they are **very care careful about the international student they talk not too fast**

Bixa and Athena were the only two participants who also mentioned lecturers' patience in interacting with ISs, with Bixa saying:

> but the tutors I think they are more aware of this problem so they know that when they are speaking they **they slow down** and **sometime they ask that is everything clear and when they talking with us** I know that they know about this problem **they let you speak so they don't interrupt you when you are talking and they let you finish your sentence** even though you sometime need take time to finish it

Here, Bixa is referring to both NES and NNES lecturers, and she explains that they all speak slowly, sometimes check understanding and are patient in giving ISs time to speak. Similarly, Sandi explained that one of her lecturers spoke more slowly, and periodically checked students could understand him. This example differs to Bixa's in that Sandi's lecturer, who was an NES, accommodated after he had been asked to do so. In the other four cases, it is possible that these lecturers simply happened to speak slowly, but these data have been coded here because participants felt that adjustments were made deliberately. In cases where lecturers were described as intelligible but with no suggestion of accommodation, the data have been coded to the intelligibility category below. Next, I turn to examples of non-accommodation.

7.4.3.2 Non-accommodation

Data were coded as non-accommodation only when participants described lecturers as difficult to understand *because they did not adjust their speed, pronunciation* and/or *language.* When there was no suggestion of a failure to accommodate, data referring to unintelligibility were coded to 'intelligibility.' There were only two examples of participants discussing non-accommodation. The first was Sheldon:

Example 7.4

1 SHL I think I think maybe **British people is a little difficult to**
2 **understand than from other countries** because I think from
3 other countries **they try to pronounce well I mean better**
4 **than British guys** so (laughs)
5 INT (laughs) **I think you're right** other people have said that
6 sometimes people say we eat our words
7 SHL yeah **maybe because they are English so they are always**
8 **assume that people can understand them like they can**
9 **understand English**

He begins tentatively, modifying "difficult" with "a little" in talking about the intelligibility of British lecturers compared with those from other countries who "try to pronounce well." Sheldon's use of hedging devices (I think, maybe, a little) and nervous laughter at the end indicated to me that he felt apprehensive in saying this, perhaps because I am also British. I therefore laughed and gave reassurance with "I think you're right" (line 5) in order to help him feel comfortable. In his next turn, he then elaborated on why he thought British lecturers do not modify pronunciation in the way that NNESs do. Although he used "maybe" as a hedge, he then made a more definite statement, saying they "always" assume they are intelligible because they are English.

Sheldon's speculation as to why British lecturers are more difficult to understand can be contrasted with the experience of another participant, Pax. Here we have an example of a lecturer explicitly refusing to accommodate when asked:

> like one girl raised the hand in one lecture and she said 'can you speak slowly please because you're speaking too fast and all of us can't understand what you're saying' and the guy was like 'no you are here in the British system **you chose to study in an English university so you at least you must have the skills to understand and if you can't, then record the lecture** and go to your house and listen as many times as you can **because I'm not going to stop my lecture because you can't understand**' we were like {shocked face} ok (laughs)

Here, Pax explains that one of his fellow students asked the lecturer to slow down because no one could understand him. The lecturer refused, suggesting that students should record the lecture and listen repeatedly. The reason given is "you chose to study in an English university". This response has echoes of the lecturer quoted in Hall and Sung's (2010) study who was reluctant to make changes that would lead to students attaining something that was not a "proper British qualification" (see 4.5.1 above). This is the only example of a lecturer explicitly refusing to adapt to his audience, and contrasts sharply with Sandi's experience of an NES lecturer who did slow down when asked to (see 7.4.3.1 above). The fact that both were NESs underlines the point made earlier, that it is not possible to generalise about NES or NNES lecturers.

I now turn to the final theme, Intelligibility.

7.4.3.3 Intelligibility

Data were coded here when participants discussed lecturers being either intelligible or unintelligible, but did not explicitly link this to accommodation or non-accommodation. Five sets of data fall into this category: when no reason is given; speed and clarity; the impact of subject knowledge, participants' own weak listening skills, and/or accent.

In 12 cases[9], no reason was given for a lecturer's intelligibility, but for unintelligibility, reasons were always provided. Table 7 shows the number of cases in the two categories, with further explanation provided in the relevant section below.

Table 7 Lecturer (un)intelligibility by reason

	Intelligible	Unintelligible	Total
Speed and clarity	11	8	19
Subject knowledge	18	N/A	18
Listening weak	N/A	5	5
Accent	6	9	15

Speed and Clarity includes instances of participants talking about lecturers being unclear or mumbling. There were 19 cases in this category, 11 referring to intelligibility and 8 to unintelligibility. Athena illustrated the effect of speed:

> I think **he's English** he lives in [city] and he like **he speaks in a very fast way** and **sometimes very difficult** to follow him like **the Canadian teacher** she is **more** err **understandable** for me and err like **the other English teacher** he he's a bit old so he speaks like erm **slower** maybe or he has he definitely has a different accent from the other one I guess he's from he lives in [county] so it's err it can be sometimes like **you understand them in different levels**

Athena compares three NES lecturers, two of whom are intelligible, while the first is "sometimes very difficult to follow" because he speaks "very fast." In contrast, the Canadian lecturer is intelligible but no reason is given, while the other English lecturer speaks "slower" and has a "different accent". The implication is that the third lecturer is more intelligible than the first though this is not stated explicitly. Instead Athena's response is nuanced, as she acknowledges that she understands her lecturers "in different levels." This extract also demonstrates a combination of factors may contribute to intelligibility; here Athena mentions accent as well as speed. Before discussing

---

[9] The number of cases does not correspond to the number of participants because several participants gave multiple reasons for (un)intelligibility.

'accent' further I turn to the category Subject Knowledge, which was mentioned almost as many times as speed and clarity.

Subject knowledge refers to cases in which participants referred to their depth of subject specific vocabulary or subject knowledge in assessing the intelligibility of lecturers. For consistency, all 18 cases were coded as 'intelligible' because participants typically referred to knowledge as a condition of intelligibility. This is illustrated in the following comment from Kiki.

> err yes **if I preview it it's o**k but if I didn't preview err prepare for it when the lecture starts I always read through the handouts so I have mm even in [L1] I think it's difficult to understand but **most of the lecture's contents are familiar with me to me because I studied [subject]**

Kiki indicates that subject knowledge is conditional with her utterance, "if I preview it it's okay". She then mentions what happens if she has not prepared, saying she reads the handouts at the start of the lecture, before completing the result of not having prepared "I think it's difficult", saying this would also be the case in her first language. She ends by commenting that she has studied the subject before, so "most of the lecture's contents are familiar."

A contrasting example of how experience influences participants' views of lecturers came from Faben. In his first interview, he described any difficulties in understanding one NNES lecturer as resulting from his own lack of subject knowledge. However, in his second interview, disappointed with his marks from the same lecturer, Faben criticised him for his poor English. This shows the need to keep in mind that the very individual nature of participants' perceptions depend on a range of factors, some of which may not be shared with a researcher.

The category **Listening weak** refers to the five cases where participants blamed their own weak listening skills, or suggested that they were still trying to adjust. One example of the former came from Flint, who played down difficulties caused by his lecturer's accent, saying these were only minor, and stressing that the lecturer was "very professional". Flint is Chinese, and felt this to be the cause of the problem:

> in fact **I think it's not the teachers' fault** yeah I think it's just the maybe **my fault or** maybe **other Chinese people fault** we are as a

> matter of fact **I think Chinese people speaking English is not good than other countries**

Flint's view ("I think") is that the teachers (lecturers) are not at fault, but that he is. Although he uses "maybe" to hedge this idea, Flint then elaborates by saying that in his opinion ("I think") Chinese people do not speak English as well as other nationalities. Patti's comment illustrates adjustment:

> mm mostly ok but one from I'm not sure whether she from [country] or [country] but we can barely understand her voice **but** it's in the beginning **maybe we're still trying to adjust** ourselves

Patti's use of "barely" shows the severity of the problem, but she follows this with "but", noting that her module has only just started, so "maybe" she and the other students are still trying to adjust. It is noteworthy that, in her second interview, Patti felt her listening had improved because she could understand another NNES lecturer without needing time to adjust.

Accent was mentioned in 15 cases. In six, participants found the lecturer intelligible because their accent was familiar or they shared the same L1. In the remaining nine cases, a lecturer's accent was blamed for intelligibility problems. Four participants explained that they had become accustomed to the accent with time, but the problems experienced by Pax were not so easily resolved. He explained that he found one lecturer "really difficult" to understand and had to record the lecture and listen to it again at home, saying:

> sometimes the the **pronunciation** of the word **sound in [language] not in English** even I know ah that's that's an English word but with an [language] pronunciation

Here, Pax explains that even though he knew the lecturer was speaking English, sometimes it sounded more like a word in the (NNES) lecturer's first language. Pax went on to say that, because of these intelligibility problems, the whole class complained to the programme director about this lecturer.

In summary, there is little evidence that lecturers accommodated to their students in terms of their own use of language. Whether a lecturer was intelligible or not seemed largely a combination of luck (in cases where an accent was familiar) and participants' own proficiency and confidence, concerning both subject knowledge and English.

I turn next to the second aspect of lecturer practices, which concerns group work.

7.4.4 Lecturer facilitation of intercultural communication in group work

In this section, 'group work' refers to both assessed group projects and informal group discussions. The aim was to find out whether lecturers were encouraging students of different language backgrounds to interact, and/or facilitating IC. It became clear, however, that most lecturers had little opportunity to integrate NESs and NNESs, since there were so few NES students in their modules. In some cases, even encouraging interaction among NNESs of different language backgrounds was challenging, due to the high numbers of Chinese students. For example, two Chinese participants worked in all Chinese groups, and in four other groups, only one member was not Chinese.

All participants except one said students chose who to work with, while only seven said that lecturers sometimes decided. As this section is concerned with lecturer practices, it is the data relating to those seven participants which are discussed here. Further discussion of group work, and how it affected perceptions of English, is in Chapter 8.

None of the seven participants said that lecturers facilitated communication, so the success of communication was determined by students. This was coded to 'communication smooth' or 'communication difficult.' Two participants did not discuss communication, so data was coded to 'miscellaneous.' One was in an all-Chinese group, so English was not used, while the other, in a mainly Chinese group, voiced her frustration about the number of Chinese students on her programme. I return to both these participants in Chapter 8 below.

7.4.4.1 Communication smooth

Three participants discussed positive experiences. Cherri felt that both NES and NNES students were equally patient, while Flint felt that most people could understand him, though perhaps some of the "local" students might have difficulty because “my pronunciation, maybe my grammar is not very good.” Regarding his understanding of local students, he said that one spoke very fast, so that no-one could understand her, but that most other students spoke more slowly and “care” about international students.

Bixa noted that, although the lecturer decided the group members, the only two NESs were placed in the same group. This did not concern her since she preferred working with other ISs because of their shared approach, which she attributed to their similar language ability:

> Yeah I’m still actually (laughs) **I’m still actually having trouble working with British people** I always go with international students, I think the problem with the that we have is the **same** so **we all know that we have problem with writing, we have problem with speaking** and we still don’t know **we don’t like talking about what we do a lot** we go home do our part and then meet and just share this work

Bixa’s comment that she, like other ISs, “don’t like talking about what we do” links to the way she thinks British students work, which involves discussion, as is clear from the rest of her turn:

> but I notice **I don’t say it’s wrong** way I just think it’s about the education system err maybe **in the UK they like to talk about things more** than just everyone do their own work **so I still feel more relaxed working with international students** but I would like to try **once** doing what British do but **I don’t know if I’m going to be able to** do this

Bixa is careful to point out that she is not judging the British students (“I don’t say it’s wrong”). She recognises that she feels “more relaxed” working with other ISs, and although she would like to try “once” to work the way British students do, she is not sure if she would be able to. I have coded Bixa’s comments in this category because most of her experience was with ISs, with whom communication went smoothly. What she said was echoed by another participant, Tabora, who is discussed in the following section.

7.4.4.2 Communication difficult

Two participants talked about problematic communication. In Eveline’s case, this concerned other ISs. Eveline, who was not Chinese, worked with Chinese students who found her difficult to understand. Her solution was to write on a white board during their project meetings. She had no problems with understanding them.

Tabora had two experiences of working with HSs. Her first, which had been positive, was in a group project in which students chose the other members, but here I discuss the second, for which the lecturer put the group together. Tabora was in a group of six, four of whom were HSs. She did not know these students because they were taking a different degree programme. Asked how it was going, she replied “just try to be quiet” and then explained:

> I don’t know I try to just work really I don’t know err I think err I’m sorry **for that English people they talk too much** and they work less than the others (laughs) so in the meeting we talked like 45 minutes we just talking and we didn’t do anything actually so I don’t like that I’m like ok I’m pragmatic person so **let’s just start work this is just a lot of talking it is nothing important and so they discuss if this is a door or not a door** (laughs) so I was thinking maybe because you are from err **different background** or even **not just background different [subject**] perspective because they are [degree] so {Tabora explains the two different approaches, theirs being more general, hers more specific} so maybe just start it doesn’t matter **if this is door or not door** the matter is work or not work so

Like Bixa, Tabora felt that the HSs were too talkative, and she too seemed reluctant to criticise them, at least initially. This is apparent from her hesitation (marked with several uses of “I don’t know” and “err”), followed by an apology (“I’m sorry for that”), before saying “English people talk too much”. She felt this was preventing the project progressing, saying she wanted to just “start work”, while the others were arguing about terminology (“if this is door or not door”). Tabora reflects that the different approaches might be related to background, not only cultural but in terms of the discipline. She does not relate the problems to language, even after I tell her that research shows that some HSs dominate discussions. However, much later in the interview she returned to this topic, saying that she would like to be more confident about her language so that she could have told the group members to “just stop talking please and let us work”. It became clear that the experience of working in this group impacted Tabora’s confidence quite significantly, and I discuss this in detail in Chapter 8 below.

In summary, there was no evidence that lecturers facilitated IC, even in the two cases outlined above which would have benefited from intervention.

7.5 Summary

In this chapter, participants' experiences of practices were discussed, with the aim of supplementing document analysis to enhance understanding. Firstly, in relation to in-sessional EAP classes, findings confirmed that EGAP classes were optional, so students had agency in deciding whether to attend. Almost half the participants were aware of ESAP provision, which was also optional for most. Only one individual was required to attend, as a condition of progression from the pre-sessional course. These findings support earlier research that shows EAP provision is typically optional (e.g. Schmitt and Hamp-Lyons, 2015).

The next area examined was the evaluation of English. In twelve cases, participants felt that their English was assessed, either implicitly or explicitly, while two felt it was not. Five participants discussed assignment criteria that made explicit reference to English, with three saying that these were issued by NES lecturers. The same three participants had been given other criteria that did not explicitly refer to English, all of which were issued by NNESs. Linked to this, there was little evidence of lecturer flexibility in terms of their expectations of students' English. Only three participants reported lecturers articulating their approach to language, one of whom distinguished between NNES and NES lecturers, saying the former had directly stated their flexibility. This does not necessarily suggest that lecturers were not accommodating, particularly as there is some evidence in other research of lecturers' flexibility this area (e.g. Ippolito, 2007; Al-Hasnawi, 2016; Jenkins et al, in press 2018). Given that the vast majority of assessment criteria (22 of 28) indicated implicit or no assessment of English, it may be that lecturers saw no need to inform students how they would assess English.

As noted in Chapter 6, the university's Quality Handbook acknowledges the need for "academic judgement" to be used "in order to arrive at a suitable grade" (UoS, 2014v) but from the data presented here, this policy appears to have resulted in inconsistency in the extent to which English is evaluated. This is potentially confusing for students, particularly if they have several sets of criteria that are worded and interpreted differently.

The final two sections looked at lecturer practices. Little evidence was found that lecturers adjusted their own English, with only five explicit suggestions that this was the case. As noted above, this does not mean that lecturers were not accommodating, just that the evidence for this was limited. In the same way, while some of the lecturers described as intelligible may have been accommodating, this is only speculative. The tentative nature of these findings is also due to the fact that some participants felt that understanding was their own responsibility, which may explain why they did not discuss lecturers adjusting. Similarly, comparisons between NESs and NNESs can only be tentative since, as noted above, participants did not discuss equal numbers of each. These findings only partially support earlier research by Jenkins (2014) that lecturers do not accommodate and nor is it possible to agree with calls by Carey (2010) and Jenkins (2014) that training is required only for NESs. What is apparent, however, is that more experience appears to alleviate problems. Although lecturers were discussed less in the second round of interviews, only one participant mentioned difficulty with a lecturer’s accent, and none commented on inappropriate speed or problems due to insufficient subject knowledge. Several individuals said their listening had improved, or that they had become used to an accent. Most participants had at least some of the same lecturers in both semesters, so it seems likely that they had developed familiarity with their accents, as well as with subject matter. Indeed, participants referred to the importance of subject knowledge in understanding, in line with points made by Peters and Fernandez (2013) and Blaj-Ward (2017b).

The second aspect of practices concerned facilitation of communication in group work. There were no examples of this, which is perhaps unsurprising given the limited evidence of lecturers adjusting their own language and the lack of diversity in modules. This indicates a gap in policy, which in some cases resulted in problems for participants. This finding supports points made by Leask (2008, 2009) that simply mixing students does not guarantee they will develop effective IC skills, and that lecturers may benefit from training (Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2014).

In Chapter 8 below, I examine the ways in which these policies and practices impacted on participants' perceptions of their English.

Chapter 8 Interview findings concerning participants' perceptions of their English

The focus of this chapter is on participants' perceptions of their English. I discuss ways in which policy and other aspects of participants' experience affected how they saw their English, in order to address RQ 2, 'To what extent do the university's policies affect international students' perceptions of their English?' and RQ 3, 'How much do international students' perceptions change as their experience of the university's language policies or practices changes?'

My analytical framework, transcription and coding process were discussed in 7.1 and 7.2 above, but it is worth reiterating that I analysed data from the first and second round of interviews separately. I begin with a discussion of my thematic framework before presenting findings for each theme in turn.

8.1 Thematic Framework

Data were coded to seven main categories, and in each category, the focus is on links between this and participants' perceptions of their English. This is not intended to suggest that aspects of policy and other experiences influenced perceptions in isolation, as will be apparent from discussion of the themes below, where I frequently draw attention to the entangled nature of experiences, beliefs and perceptions. At the same time, it was not feasible to discuss all of the potential factors in every case and still maintain a coherent presentation. Moreover, doing so would have resulted in losing sight of the research focus, which is the extent to which policy affected perceptions.

Only two non-policy themes, Previous English Experience and Speaking Socially, seemed sufficiently significant to be discussed as separate categories, but other factors are incorporated into discussion where relevant. These include participants' level of disciplinary subject knowledge and their beliefs about English. Doing this was part of my attempt to resist what Holliday calls 'packaging and repackaging to produce a finely coherent text in which the ragged edges of the original social setting are clipped off and disposed of' (2007: 165). An important point to note too is that the relationship between perceptions and experiences was not one-way. For some participants, for example, how they felt about their oral English affected the way they experienced social interaction.

The main categories were: **Entry Route, Previous English Experience, Speaking Socially, In-programme English Provision, Group Work, Lecturers** and **Assessment.** At the beginning of each section below, I outline the sub-themes within each of these main categories.

8.2 Links with perceptions

In the following sections, examples presented are not intended to be representative of all participants, rather, they are meant to illustrate one (type of) positive or negative effect. Other than being defined as ISs by the university's language policy, the 18 individuals had little in common beyond being master's students. Their diverse experiences and beliefs resulted in different reactions to policies and practices, which in turn affected each individual's level of engagement with themes below. In this chapter, I have not used tables to summarise the numbers of participants who reported, for example, positive or negative effects. I felt that doing this would risk a quantitative reading of data which would be misleading. It is more meaningful to understand *why* a participant was, for example, positively affected, rather than simply to count that person as one of ten who were.

8.2.1 Entry route

Ten participants entered via a pre-sessional course, six with IELTS, one with a UK university degree (Barbet) and one as an exchange student (Eveline, who had also undergone EMI education). Four others were EMI educated but not from an "approved" country, so entered via IELTS (Athena) or a pre-sessional (Cindy, Bixa and Tabora). Below I discuss **positive** and **negative** effects of the pre-sessional, then of IELTS. Barbet and Eveline are discussed in 8.2.2.1 below.

8.2.1.1 Pre-sessional courses

Of the ten participants who entered through a pre-sessional, eight referred to its **positive** impact. Two discussed oral skills, with Cherri saying she felt better about speaking on the pre-sessional compared with on her master's course, because her classmates were the same level as she was. For Tanga, the benefit came from having been obliged to speak English, whereas on her master's she had few opportunities to do so. The other six talked about writing. Bixa, for example, valued the attention given to her writing by her tutor, saying:

> **[the pre-sessional course] helped a lot** because I did a lot of assignment during the pre-sessional and every time I sit with the English tutor he was telling me that err because I have trouble using the linking words like 'moreover', 'furthermore' a lot and now **I'm trying to not use it but I still don't feel confidence** doing like a paragraph without using them yeah I feel like something is missing and yeah I don't know why I I err but **he was talking to me about that a lot like don't use the linking word a lot err try to use more vocabularies** because you sometime just repeat the same vocabulary

Here, Bixa discusses two aspects of her writing that her pre-sessional tutor had given her feedback on, her overuse of linking words and repetition of vocabulary. This specific feedback meant she felt she knew how to improve her writing, even though it was challenging, as the comment "I'm trying to not use it but I still don't feel confidence" indicates. The overall effect of the pre-sessional course was, however, very positive, as indicated by the phrase "helped a lot".

Five participants indicated **negative** impacts, four related to speaking. Both Sheldon and Pax referred to a tutor who had said "British" pronunciation was preferable to "American." Sheldon had consequently begun working on his pronunciation every evening, trying to make it "more British". Pax, on the other hand, initially appeared not to take the tutor seriously. However, in his second interview, he acknowledged that it had affected his confidence, causing him to question whether his pronunciation was "adequate" after noticing that one of his lecturers pronounced 'advertisement' differently to his way of saying it.

The other two participants mentioned fluency, with Kiki saying that the pre-sessional's focus on reading and writing had not enabled her to develop her spoken fluency. Tabora, who had attended the year-long EAS pre-sessional, felt that her fluency had suffered significantly as a result of having to interact with students who were less proficient, as the following exchange demonstrates.

Example 8.1

1 INT ok so how was the EAS course did you enjoy it
2 TAB I really enjoyed it and it was really interesting and helpful in
3 many ways like academic writing and other things but in
4 other way **I have problem with my speaking** err so I was err
5 I was thinking **that I was more fluent speaking English**
6 before the academic course the academic year course then I
7 thought why it’s happened to me that I do a lot of ‘uh-uh
8 -uh’ after the academic year course which is not an expected
9 result then I thought no it’s just my thinking the problem
10 it was that before I was speak with err **international**
11 erm **platform of English not native** so because of that now
12 **I’m afraid a little bit** but also my sister told me (…)
13 ‘your English become really bad compared with your
14 speaking before’ then I realised that the **worst thing** about
15 the academic year is they just put **different background**
16 and **different nationality** and **different speaking** specially
17 **my class** was **ten ten Chinese** and me and **one Kazakh**
18 **so I have to interrupt my speak so they can understand**
19 **it** and all the course work was about talking together
20 and discuss things together **so this affect my speaking**
21 INT yeah yeah because they were not as fluent as you
22 TAB yes and mm so before it was - I have a lot of problems in in
23 grammar and err those things but err **at least it was**
24 **more fluent than now**

Here, Tabora explains that the course was useful for academic writing, but had a strongly negative impact on her speaking. She initially attributed the deterioration in her fluency to the fact that she was speaking “native” English, which made her nervous (“now I’m afraid a little bit”, lines 11-12), compared with previously using “international platform of English” (lines 10-11). However, on reflection, Tabora realised that the problem was due to her interlocutors’ relative lack of fluency. She commented that the “worst thing” about the EAS course was that students of different backgrounds and speaking abilities were grouped together, and in her case, working with ten Chinese students and one Kazakh meant that she had to “interrupt” her speaking so that they could understand her (lines 15-19). This was a particular problem because there was an emphasis on discussion on her course. It is apparent that Tabora values fluency highly when she says she had “a lot of problems in grammar and those things” but “at least [my speaking] was more fluent than now.” This may be due to her experience of using English to run her business, when successful communication was more important than being grammatically ‘correct.’

Just how strongly this experience affected Tabora became apparent later in the interview. It deterred her from attending EAP classes because she anticipated the same lack of fluency from other students. When she elaborated on this, she said her English had been “destroyed” and suggested that students on the EAS should be streamed into different levels. The conversation continued:

Example 8.2

1 INT mm yeah because then you find that you’re slowed down
2 by the people who are slower at speaking and you feel your
3 speaking got worse because of it
4 TAB yeah it was **destroyed**
5 INT that’s really sad ‘destroyed’ that’s a really strong word
6 TAB I think no not destroyed but **I don’t feel confident** for my
7 speaking

This was the second time Tabora had used the high intensity emotive verb “destroyed”, and my reaction was to draw attention to it. Tabora then retracted it, saying instead, “I don’t feel confident”, but she had already made clear how strongly she felt about this. Her strong feelings became more apparent in her second interview, when she talked about problems working with a group of British students. This is discussed in 8.2.5 below.

8.2.1.2 IELTS as entry route

Six participants entered their master’s programmes via IELTS, with five achieving a higher score than the minimum 6.5 required for most programmes. In contrast, most participants who entered via a pre-sessional course were likely to have achieved the equivalent of IELTS 6.5. Several participants talked about having taken IELTS multiple times, eventually joining a pre-sessional when they were unable to achieve the necessary score. This difference is significant because in some cases, it may have affected not only how participants felt about their own English, but also how they reacted to others. These points are discussed further below. The six and their scores were:

Table 8 Participants' IELTS Scores

Participant	**Overall IELTS score**
Athena	7.5
Gaia	7.5
Faben	7.5
Lola	6.5
Patti	7.0
Sandi	8.0

Table 8 shows Lola was the only individual who entered with the minimum score. She was rather **negative** about IELTS, saying it was not adequate preparation for master's study:

> I think that IELTS don't prepare you for - I think it's just like just it's you need to prove that you know **certain English** but I think for **academic purpose it's better an English course**

In Lola's view, IELTS was just "to prove you know certain English". She was able compare because, although she had achieved the required IELTS score, she had chosen to attend a pre-sessional course at another university. She was the only participant who entered with IELTS to have done this.

Positive links with IELTS were made by Patti, who said she felt more confident in listening and reading because these were here highest scores in the test. Two other participants' confidence levels appeared implicitly linked to IELTS. In her pre-interview questionnaire, Athena rated herself as 'very confident' in listening, reading and writing, but only 'average' for speaking. While she had achieved an overall IELTS score of 7.5, her score for speaking was 6.5, the lowest of her 4 scores by a whole band. In interviews, her main focus was on improving her speaking, particularly pronunciation. This is discussed further below.

Similarly, the skills at which Sandi rated herself as least confident, speaking and writing, were also those for which her IELTS scores were lowest. For her, the difference was more marked, as she had achieved the maximum 9 in both listening and reading, compared with 6.5 in speaking and writing. Although the scores and confidence levels seem linked, Sandi's pre-interview questionnaire comment was that she was "nervous" about the productive skills as she lacked "professional language." In interviews, however, her strongest concern with speaking concerned pronunciation, and in this respect, her ENL orientation was clear. I return to this below.

In summary, positive links with the pre-sessional course were apparent for eight participants, with five referring to negative impacts. All related to the productive skills, speaking and writing. Connections between IELTS and confidence levels were less striking, but in three cases appeared linked to scores. Next, I turn to Previous English Experience.

8.2.2 Previous English experience

This category includes previous experiences of both learning English and using it, such as during EMI education, with 14 participants indicating a link between previous English experience and their current perceptions. Although this theme is not linked to policy, it is relevant for two reasons. One is that previous experience in terms of academic English and subject knowledge is likely to impact upon confidence levels and the second concerns views on ENL, since education is one way in which 'the ideology of standardisation' (Milroy and Milroy, 2012) can be spread (see 2.2.1.2 above). While previous English learning and use were not discussed in depth, for some participants there were indications of a relationship between this and their preference for NES interlocutors and achieving native-like spoken English.

Data concerning IELTS is also included here, since all 12 participants who did not enter via that route had also taken the test. Of those 12, however, only three referred to IELTS' influence on their perceptions. I begin with this before turning to other aspects of English experience. In both categories, I divide effects into **positive** and **negative**.

8.2.2.1 IELTS as previous English Experience

Two participants indicated that IELTS had impacted **negatively** on their confidence in speaking: Eveline, whose entry route was as an exchange student, and Barbet, who had obtained an undergraduate degree from another UK university. Neither were required to demonstrate English proficiency to begin their studies. Eveline did not explicitly link her confidence levels to IELTS, but its effect was implicit by analysing her interview data in the light of her pre-interview questionnaire. She had taken the test only two months before her first interview, and said this:

> obviously it wasn't good I had 6.5 but the reason why I had this grade is because when I had the speaking section er erm the teacher asked me about football ok I don't know anything about football neither in my language I can I can swear you really it was **terrible** for me and I said just **stupid** stuff ok I know that the teacher doesn't have to evaluate the content of what I'm saying but I was **very nervous** and it was a **disaster**

It is clear that Eveline is disappointed with her overall IELTS score of 6.5, beginning as she does with "obviously it wasn't good", and continuing with a string of high intensity, negative adjectives and nouns (terrible, stupid, disaster). Her reference to being "very nervous" partly echoes her questionnaire, where she noted, "To be honest I have encountered huge difficulties regarding speaking maybe because I'm nervous during some conversations." As she had taken IELTS only two months before, she may have had this in mind when writing the comment. The "huge difficulties" she mentions, however, related her accent, which she described as "strong". She felt that the way to improve this was to use NESs as models:

> I think that when you listening an English people an English person it's different from a foreign person because you listen and you say ok **how I pronounce** the word is **completely different from is she pronouncing so I can improve** my pronunciation

With this comment, Eveline indicates that the way NESs, specifically English people, pronounce words serves as a model. If she notices a difference between her pronunciation and theirs, she can "improve." Asked if it was important to her to try to sound more like an English person, Eveline replied emphatically "yes it's **very** important because my accent is strong ok." When

Eveline found that other students had problems understanding her during group work, she again blamed her accent. This is discussed further below.

Barbet also discussed IELTS' **negative** impact on her speaking. As I was switching on the voice recorder at the start of her first interview, Barbet commented that it seemed like an IELTS test. She explained that she had taken the test three times before she began her undergraduate degree, saying, "I really hate this." When I asked why, she explained as follows:

Example 8.3

BAR because the speaking test looks like difficult to me and we
have the IELTS teacher – no, the **English speaking teacher**
in our university in [C1] and he said 'your speaking English
is horrible' (laughs)
INT did he that's a really bad teacher wow
BAR and every time I only got 5 score for the speaking part and my
speaking English teacher told me if I took the IELTS exam he
would give me 5 score so err

It is interesting that Barbet has formed such a strong negative view of IELTS, given that it seems to have been her English teacher in her home country who initiated her lack of confidence by telling her that her spoken English was "horrible". Although she first referred to an "IELTS teacher", she immediately corrected this with "no, the English speaking teacher", but the association with IELTS was apparently made at the time, with her teacher telling her that he would score her speaking as a 5, the score she then achieved three times. IELTS is clearly the focus of her hate, rather than her teacher. Even my shocked injection of "that's a really bad teacher wow" elicits no response, as she continues to talk about IELTS.

It is worth noting the time lag between Barbet taking the test in her home country some three or four years previously (as she had completed a UG degree in the UK) and making this comment. Her association remains strong despite this long period of time, and contrasts with Eveline's very recent experience affecting her negatively. But this negative association only holds for speaking, as later in the interview Barbet said that she felt confident about her reading for two reasons: because of the practice she had on her UK UG degree, and because of her IELTS score. Tanga also felt **positive** about her reading because of the practice she had undertaken in preparation for IELTS.

Participants' level of practice in academic use of English was relevant in relation to other previous English experience too, as can be seen in the following section.

8.2.2.2 Other English experience

Four other participants mentioned **positive** influences of previous English learning and use, all related to having had practice. Pax, for example, had considerable experience of reading in English for his UG degree. Sandi felt confident in her English more generally, because she had excelled at school, so was excused from the classes as the level was too low. Instead, she had private, individual tuition, and from the age of 15, her English teachers had been NESs. This may partly explain her ENL orientation, noted in 8.2.1.2, and which is further discussed below.

In the same way, for ten participants, **negative** influence was linked to a lack of practice. For six of these, the concern was about writing, specifically academic style and/or vocabulary, as this comment from Sheldon illustrates:

> um in case I mean in term of academic writing the **writing is always my worst one** because of I think because of **the style the way we use in [L1] is quite different** than here so I don't know I think oh I'm sorry one reason is my vocabulary **my academic vocabulary is quite weak** so even I have so many ideas but I don't know how to express I don't know how to write so I think this is the reason

Here Sheldon explains that he feels least confident about academic writing, saying, "writing is always my worst one". The adverb "always" adds emphasis to Sheldon's view, and this is not only because the style is "quite different" to that in his L1 but also because his "academic vocabulary" is "quite weak."

The remaining four participants who were **negativel**y impacted by their lack of experience discussed speaking and/or listening. Athena, for example, said this:

> yeah yeah it's mainly the speaking and like when I when I came to the UK because like I used to listen to the BBC a lot like the English website but when it comes to like talking to **normal people** with **different accents** I would rate my listening 4 (laughs) not 5 (laughs)

Further questions confirmed that by “normal people”, Athena meant students, lecturers and local people, both NESs and NNESs. Although her education had been entirely through the medium of English, Athena recognised that, in some respects, her experience was limited. Moreover, she disliked the influence of her first language on her accent, attributing this to the type of school she had attended. Although it was an EMI school, speaking was mostly in her first language, and Athena’s view was that some tutors did not speak English well. Athena thought of NESs as more desirable than NNESs as interlocutors because,

> I guess I guess it will affect like err how my English would improve err because like when you when you listen to like **“correct”** {indicates speech marks with fingers} **English** it’s somehow you **your language improves** you acquire vocabulary **you correct your pronunciation but** when you are **mainly communicating with non-native speakers I think** it **wouldn’t be as useful**

Here Athena mentions both vocabulary and pronunciation, but the use of “correct” with pronunciation reflects her dissatisfaction with her own accent. She also makes a clear contrast between “correct” English and NNES English, using “but” to signal this. Her negative evaluation of NNESs’ English is mild, and she makes clear it is her opinion (“I think”), but negative nonetheless. When I later asked her why she had used speech marks around “correct”, she said it was to highlight pronunciation “because I guess it’s my main issue.” Her concern with her accent was such that she asked for the recording of our interview so that she could listen to herself and identify aspects to improve.

Like Athena, Tanga was concerned with developing native-like competence in speaking, though her focus was on fluency as well as accent. Tanga, who is Chinese, said her Chinese English language teachers did not “pay attention” to students’ spoken English, but in any case:

> Chinese people’s spoken English they have their accent pronunciation so if they told me we all speak the same

What Tanga is saying is that she did not want to be taught to speak like other Chinese people. Her negative evaluation of the way they speak was underlined in her second interview when Tanga said that some of her current lecturers “use Chinglish”, and defined this in terms of pronunciation. This comment came when I asked about the intelligibility of lecturers, so it is quite revealing that Tanga focussed instead on evaluating their accents by using the pejorative term “Chinglish.”

In summary, the impact of previous English experience was more negative than positive. As with Entry Route, impact was seen mainly on the productive skills of writing and speaking, with the latter in some cases linked to an ENL orientation. For these first two categories, there was little change in perceptions from the first to the second round of interviews. This is not surprising given their focus on pre-programme experiences. In the remaining sections of this chapter, I look at in-programme experiences, with changes in perceptions discussed where relevant.

8.2.3 Speaking socially

This is the second non-policy category, and concerns experiences of using English outside the academic context. This includes interaction with other students socially and in accommodation, as well as with non-students, such as in shops, at social events and at work. I begin with **negative effects** linked to **NES interlocutors**, followed by **positive effects.**

8.2.3.1 Negative effects – NES interlocutors

In the first round of interviews, three participants felt **positively**, with Pax, for example, saying he was confident about his speaking and listening because he was using English all time. For Cherri, confidence was dependent on her feeling relaxed, which was linked to both her interlocutor and the topic. In contrast, there were seven examples of **negative** influence, six of which were related to NESs. Two participants, Eveline and Barbet, specifically talked about difficulties speaking by phone, while three others said simply that they felt nervous about speaking to NESs due to having had little experience of this. The remaining two individuals discussed experiences in their accommodation. Lola felt more comfortable talking to NNESs, as the following exchange shows:

Example 8.4

1 LOLA No I think that [my confidence level is] about the same I
2 think speaking is **very difficult** because you don’t have

time to think it’s just like you have to go and then make
you understand and it has been **difficult** here because
everybody has a different accent so sometimes I I can’t
follow everything so I just prefer to talk with **someone**
who doesn’t speak English as first language
like me because they speak a little bit slower if I try to
speak with a British I I can’t follow their words (laughs)
I just sometimes I just prefer to speak with Indians
or Saudi Arabians or people who speak **a little bit** not
like me that has **not a very strong English pace too** so

INT mm because they’re in the same position as you
[because they understand what it’s like

LOLA [yes **and they have more patience** because they know yes
I’ve tried so they are patient that they try to understand me
but for example **for someone who speak English like a**
first language it’s so natural for them that they if they
don't understand they just leave (laughs) it’s just
like they are less patient

INT has that been your experience [or is that just what you
expect [I mean have you had any experience of that

LOLA [yes
[no I think that has been my experience because for
example I’m living with seven XXX person and **I prefer to**
talk with the one who is **from India** than the one who are
from the United States or from here because the United
States the man who is from the United States and the man
who is from here **they speak very fast** so sometimes I just
like no I don’t know (laughing) and the other thing is that
like is just like that your XXX and your you have vocabulary
but related with your career for example so in a social life
in a daily life for example living for me is very difficult
because I don’t know the name of everything for
example in the kitchen I don't know the name of the
instruments that I use so I just try to look at the faces just t
try to know what they are looking at (laughs) ah and then

40 I understand

In this example, Lola explains that she has difficulty with the range of accents, so she finds it easier to communicate with other NNESs because they speak “a little bit slower” (lines 4-8). Not only do NESs speak too fast, but Lola also finds them less patient when they are listening to her, saying, “it’s so natural for them that if they don’t understand, they just leave.” Lola is not strongly critical of NESs’ apparent lack of accommodation. First, although she suggests NNESs are “slower”, this is modified with “a little bit” (line 8). She also implies NESs are less patient because speaking English is “so natural” for them. At this point, I checked that Lola was referring to a specific experience, rather speaking hypothetically. She confirmed she was speaking from experience by talking about the American and the British man, who spoke “very fast” (line 29). It is notable that Lola intensified “fast” with “very”, in contrast to her use of “a little bit” earlier. It may be that she felt more comfortable criticising specific speakers rather than NESs in general, given that I am an NES. Lola also added that communication difficulties may not be solely because of the interlocutor, but were also caused by a gap in her lexical knowledge in relation to daily life (lines 33-35). This demonstrates that perceptions are not affected just by *who* participants’ interlocutors are, but also *what* they are talking about.

Lola’s reaction to negative experiences with NES interlocutors can be contrasted with that of Sandi. The exchange below follows a question I asked in reference to a comment Sandi had made earlier about her accent:

Example 8.5

1 INT so why are you worried about your accent
2 SAN I don’t know because I like the way British people speak
3 (laughs) so maybe that is why and **some of my friends from**
4 **Halls they sometimes laugh at me** because when I’m at
5 home I’m lazy to speak and I can speak worse (laughs) and
6 **they say that my accent is very strange** it’s very soft or
7 I don’t know they laugh like
8 INT but these are [these are international friends
9 SAN [and my voice yeah
10 INT oh ok but they’re from Asia and different countries

11 SAN yeah they're from different countries but **the one who**
12 **laughs the most he's Canadian** so he's quite (laughs)
13 INT ah ok and **does that matter to you more because he's**
14 **a native speaker of English** [or is he is he from
15 SAN [**of course**
16 INT does it, 'of course' ok
17 SAN **if Greek guy told me then I would like (laughs) 'can you**
18 **hear you'** (laughs)

Here, Sandi explains some of her friends in Halls (of Residence, her accommodation) sometimes laugh at her accent, saying it is "very strange" (line 6). She confirms that they are ISs, but focuses on the Canadian as the one who "laughs the most" (line 12). I ask if his opinion matters more to her, a question that can be seen as leading her to agree with me, but as I started to check whether he was from francophone Canada ("or is he from", line 14), Sandi interrupts to say "of course." Before I have asked her to elaborate, Sandi comments that if a "Greek guy" commented on her accent, she would find this this laughable. Her phrase "can you hear you" indicates that she thinks he would be in no position to judge *her* accent, given his own.

Sandi was concerned with the judgements of only an NES because of her ENL orientation. Following the exchange above, she said she found American English easier to understand than British English and after a brief exchange about this, the conversation continued:

Example 8.6

1 INT ok so it seems important to you like the native speaker
2 thing like a native speaker judges your English says it's
3 funny that matters to you more
4 SAN yeah
5 INT so is it important for you to try to sound like a native
6 speaker is that one of your goals or do you not mind
7 SAN **it would be nice** but I don't know what to do to achieve
8 it maybe I need to talk more to native speakers to
9 then it would influence me to **imitate** it
10 INT why do you you said it would be nice why would it be nice

11 SAN I don't know **I just like it** (laughs)

In this example, I begin by confirming that an NES's judgement matters to Sandi more, and then ask if it was important to try to sound like an NES (line 5). Sandi's reply seems quite understated, as she uses the weak adjective "nice" and does not modify it with, for example, "really". However, it seems that she has thought about this goal, as she continues by saying she is not sure how to achieve this, concluding that she may need to "talk more to native speakers" as this would "influence me to imitate it." When I ask why it would be "nice", Sandi simply says she just likes it. In her second interview, Sandi commented that she still had no opportunities to speak to British people. Asked if this concerned her she replied,

> no I feel ok but it's just not **improving** my pronunciation and that sort of thing but **it's ok**

Here, Sandi indicates that she feels talking to other NNESs is not "improving" her pronunciation, suggesting she can only do this by speaking to British people, echoing Athena's comment above. While she does not seem particularly concerned ("it's ok"), this indicates that her ENL orientation has not changed through spending time with ISs during her study.

8.2.3.2 Positive effects

For several other participants, however, NESs seemed to become less influential. There were two reasons for this. First, a minority of participants who previously saw NESs as more desirable as interlocutors now recognised the value of interacting with other ISs. These included Flint, Sheldon and Gaia. Second, some individuals had gained confidence over time, as this example from Tanga illustrates:

> For me I think the most important thing is my erm **attitude** um I'm not very nervous than before err because err um err in the past I think er speaking especially er my poor speaking (laughs) when I talk to **people** I feel nervous because I'm afraid they can't understand what I mean umm but err actually I think um although I speak very low err speak slowly umm **they can also understand me** (laughs)

The “people” here that Tanga is talking about are staff in shops. She explains that she has become less nervous about speaking because she realised that people do understand her. Similarly, Barbet and Gaia explained that their experience of speaking English with mainly NESs at work had increased their confidence. Perhaps the clearest example of confidence gain came from Eveline, who went from feeling nervous speaking by telephone (see above) to having a successful telephone interview for a position at Buckingham Palace.

For most participants, experiences of speaking socially improved their confidence as time went on. All seven for whom it had negative associations in the first round of interviews said they felt more confident in the second round. Only two participants talked about reduced confidence in speaking, Cindy and Patti, both of whom were Chinese and commented on the lack of opportunities to speak English. I have discussed both Lola and Sandy in some detail above in part because their nervousness about speaking to NESs seems to have affected their feelings about giving presentations in English, as I discuss next.

8.2.4 In-programme English provision

Next, I turn to the impact of in-programme English provision. Following 6.3.1 above, this was characterised as taking one of four approaches: AL, ESAP, EGAP, and EFL. Each is discussed in turn, looking at both **positive** and **negative** effects.

8.2.4.1 Academic Literacies

Only the first type of provision, AL, was compulsory. Of the five participants who attended this, three discussed its **positive** impact on their confidence in academic writing, as they now understood more about was expected of them. **Negative** reactions came from Lola and Sandi, who had each given a presentation as part of their module. Both said they felt nervous doing so. However, neither related any negative feedback from their lecturer or course mates. It seemed that giving a presentation was not the cause, or not the only cause, of their nervousness. They were nervous to begin with, perhaps in part due to the experiences outside their academic environment discussed above. They had both declared themselves “shy”, and Sandi also explained that she would be nervous giving a presentation in her native language. Given this situation, it is arguable that having to give a presentation in English, particularly so near to the start of their programmes, did little to build their confidence in speaking.

8.2.4.2 English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP)

In terms of ESAP, which eight participants commented on, four indicated a **positive** impact on their writing confidence. One of those, Cindy, was the only participant for whom the classes were compulsory, due to her pre-sessional result (see 7.4.1 above). Talking in her second interview, she said the classes were useful as they focussed on research skills and dissertation writing rather than “just writing.” This contrasts with three of the four participants who attended only one session. Kiki, Bixa and Pax felt it was a repeat of what they had been taught on the pre-sessional course, and therefore did not see it as worth spending time on, preferring instead to focus on assignments. The fourth, Barbet, who had entered with a UK University degree, said that the first ESAP session was useful, but the pressure of completing her assignments meant she did not attend further classes. In fact, Barbet felt less confident about her writing, compared with her pre-interview questionnaire, because she was finding essays and reports at master’s level to be challenging. Yet she was unable, or unwilling, to attend ESAP classes as a way of helping her to cope with the challenge. For these four students, ESAP had a neutral rather than negative effect.

8.2.4.3 English for General Academic Purposes (EGAP)

Three participants commented on EGAP courses, two of whom attended only one or two classes. Sheldon felt it repeated the pre-sessional course, and Athena saw her Dissertation Writing class as repeating the ESAP course she had attended. Athena also attended the Seminar and Presentation Skills course, and talked about the **positive** effect this had on her speaking skills. As there were only three students, she received “very personalised feedback” from the teacher, as well as practice. As noted in Chapter 6 above, ‘opportunities to practise your pronunciation’ were offered in this course, and as we saw in 8.2.3.2 above, Athena was particularly keen to improve her accent. Patti felt more positively about her writing after learning about critical evaluation and academic style on her course.

8.2.4.4 English as a Foreign Language (EFL)

The final theme in this section is EFL provision. Three participants attended Everyday English, with one, Tanga dropping out after one session saying she did not have time to attend more. Trudy described the **positive** effects the course:

> I think it's quite useful and there are **lots of people from other countries** and the tutor is quite passionate to let us do some group works to speak English

Trudy's reference to "lots of people from other countries" may reflect the fact that she is Chinese, as were most of the students on her master's programme. She was therefore pleased to have some chances to speak English. In fact, in her next utterance she said that she wanted to learn some "native English" so that she could feel confident in using "idioms and sayings" appropriately, saying she wanted to be more "native like". Trudy was planning to be an English teacher, which may have affected her perceptions.

In contrast, for Athena, the other students were seen as a **negative** influence:

> it's **nice**, but since we are quite a large group - it's like 30 students in class yeah - and we all have like different levels and you practise with like whoever's sitting next to you, and **I personally find it difficult** when like when I talk with someone whose English is maybe erm **less better** than me it's sometimes difficult to communicate and it's like you you start like you stop and you try to rephrase what you are saying and **you personally start to communicate in a less** like **fluent way** so it can be **challenging** sometimes

Although Athena starts by describing the course as "nice", this is followed by "but", signalling a switch from a positive to a negative evaluation. She continues by explaining that the students' English proficiency varies ("we all have like different levels"), and when she tries to communicate with someone who is "less better", it becomes difficult because she has to rephrase what she is saying, which implies that her interlocutor does not understand her. The effect of this impacts negatively on her fluency.

Athena's concern that speaking with less proficient interlocutors was damaging her fluency echoes that of Tabora, discussed in 8.2.1 above, but is expressed in a less direct way. While Tabora used the high intensity emotive verb "destroyed", Athena sought to soften her criticism. This can be seen from the use of hedging devices, "maybe", "sometimes" and "it can be" (underlined above), as well as her lack of intensifiers with the adjectives "difficult" and "challenging". She also emphasises that this is her opinion with "I personally find it difficult." It is also noticeable that she says "less better", perhaps in an effort to avoid using the negative-sounding "worse". Additionally, Athena uses "like" seven times in this utterance. While "like" has been seen as a hedging device by some, in Athena's speech here, it appears to signal approximation (e.g. "like, 30 students") or function as a focusing particle (e.g. "like different levels") (see Fuller, 2003 for a discussion of the function of "like").

Athena's less direct criticism may have been because she was aware that I was an English teacher in the department which organised this course. It may also have been due to politeness to the other students, given that they were her contemporaries, whereas Tabora had talked about an experience which had happened several months previously. While Athena's concern was expressed less directly than Tabora's, the impact was comparable. In the example above, Athena was referring to a five-week course, in contrast to Tabora's year-long experience, but she made similar comments about students on her degree programme (discussed below), indicating that this was not a short-term issue. Her frustration seems linked to the fact that being fluent was a particular concern, as indicated by the comment on her pre-interview questionnaire:

> because my English is **very good** but **not that good when it comes to speaking**, mainly because I try to focus on **pronouncing every word right** and **this affects my fluency** and sometimes make me stutter while speaking

As this comment shows, Athena's particular concern is with speaking, especially pronunciation and fluency. This may be attributable to her previous education and IELTS, as discussed in 8.2.1.2 and 8.2.2.2 above.

In total, there were ten indications of the positive impact of in-programme English classes, eight of which related to writing skills and two to speaking. While there were only three instances of negative impact, all related to speaking, there were also seven examples of participants dropping out of courses because they did not see them as useful when they were busy with assignments.

8.2.5 Group Work

As pointed out in 7.4.4 above, 'group work' refers to both assessed group projects and informal group discussions. However, there was very little data concerning informal discussions since all but three participants took part in assessed group projects, and tended to focus on this. Of the remaining three, Tanga said there was no discussion in her modules.

When discussing group projects, a range of factors other than English were made salient by participants, including age, personality, work experience, previous experience of group work, disciplinary background and cultural differences. Whilst detailed discussion of these factors is beyond the scope of this project, their significance should not be ignored, and is noted where relevant in the following sections. Findings here are categorised as **negative effects**, **positive effects**, and **English absent.**

8.2.5.1 Negative effects

For six participants, group work had a negative effect on their confidence. Three participants, Bixa, Faben and Gaia were disappointed with marks and/or feedback, so they talked about this rather than the process of carrying out the group work. These examples are discussed in the Assessment theme below. In this section, I focus on Tabora.

In her first interview, Tabora had talked about a positive group work experience with a British student, saying she felt they had the same "cultural thing" in that "we love to speak and give background about everything before we start work on it." However, Tabora's view about working with British people changed when she encountered problems on a different group project. In 7.4.4.2 above, I discussed her complaints that British students talked too much and were slow to begin working – in other words, it seems that what she valued about working with a British student in the first group project was precisely what she found annoying in the second. There are, however, other factors, two of which Tabora made explicit. First, the problematic group comprised six people, which Tabora felt was too many. The second was that the four British group members were from a different discipline, and she acknowledged that this might affect their approach. She was initially reluctant to ascribe the difficulties to language, but towards the end of her second interview she said that she would like to be more confident so that she could have told the over-talkative group members to "just stop talking please and let us work" (see 7.4.4.2 above). But her lack of confidence affected her in other ways too, as Example 8.7 shows.

Example 8.7

INT Last time we talked about English being like **a tool for international communication** and it's not about trying to be like a native speaker in pronunciation or other things it's more of a communication tool do you still think like that

TAB Yes **but** I hope I can be **better** so to be more confident and I got invitation in London conference but I didn't do it because I don't feel I'm confident enough to do it

INT what to give a presentation

TAB yes so I just give it to one of the guy in my group work and he just travel and XXX

INT oh ok

TAB yes so maybe now I'm thinking of yes it is better to feel confident so you can work and you can attend conference and

INT but is that about your English or is it about you I don't know

TAB I think it is about my English **I'm very confident of myself** but **I'm not confident about my language and communication** so maybe this

INT so would you worry that people wouldn't understand you or would you worry that if people ask you questions at the end you might [not get them or

TAB [I'm worry about err I'm not feeling confident because **I know I'm not a native speaker or not good in English** so maybe because just that so

INT mm well a conference is quite a scary thing to do

TAB yes so **maybe now for me the English is more than access tool** (laughs)

In her first interview, Tabora had spoken about using English as a tool in relation to running her business in her native country. When I ask her if she still felt the same way, her response is “Yes but”, and she explains that she had declined an invitation to present at a conference because she did not feel confident in doing so (lines 6-7). I probe a little more to find out if her lack of confidence is solely related to language, and she confirms that it is, emphatically stating “I’m very confident of myself” (line 16). When I try to find out which aspect of giving a presentation she is worried about, Tabora directly ascribes this to not being a “native speaker”, although she immediately adds “or not good in English”, and concludes that maybe now English is “more than access tool”. This is quite a significant shift for Tabora, from seeing herself as a competent English user to now questioning whether she is good enough to function in an ENL context. It demonstrates the influence of policy, beginning with the EAS course which “destroyed” her fluency (see 8.2.2.1 above) and ending with the NES group members who dominated and left her questioning her competence.

While Tabora’s experience of group projects began positively and ended negatively, for some other participants the reverse was true. They are discussed in the following section.

8.2.5.2 Positive effects

Eight participants referred to positive effects of group work, with two of these concerning informal group discussions. Here I discuss Kiki’s comments with reference to an assessed group project.

Kiki, who was Chinese, worked with five other students, three from Thailand, one from Nigeria and one from Eurasia. She had become friends with the Thai students on the pre-sessional. There were a number of Nigerian students in her module, and she thought of them as NESs, saying they “sounded British” because they had taken their UG degrees in the UK. However, when asked how the communication had gone, Kiki made a distinction between Nigerian and British students.

Example 8.8

1 INT do you find [the Nigerians] easier or more difficult to

2 understand than British students
3 KIKI easier
4 INT so they seem easier
5 KIKI yeah because they are **international** students
6 INT ok but you said you thought they sound just like British
7 students
8 KIKI yeah they're um they're but **maybe** they are **more patient**
9 yeah
10 INT ah ok **because** they're also international
11 KIKI yeah and one of them is **our representative** of our lecture of
12 our course and they also has **work experience** yeah most of
13 them ah maybe in my group only I don't have work
12 experience

Kiki confirms that the Nigerian students are easier to understand, saying this is because they are "international" (line 5). When I query this, Kiki explains that they are more patient, but hedges this with "maybe." Although Kiki seems to agree with my suggestion this is because they are international, her "yeah" is followed by two other factors: one is the course representative, and they have work experience (lines11-12). Later in the exchange Kiki talked about the Eurasian student, saying his English was "better" than hers, but she found him less co-operative and more domineering than other students in the group. Kiki used the word "aggressive", but said this was not quite the word she was looking for. Overall, the experience was positive and helped Kiki to feel more confident about her English. In her second interview, Kiki explained that she had worked with the same group, and was much less tolerant of the same domineering student, attributing his behaviour to "cultural differences." However, unlike Tabora, Kiki's confidence was not affected by this.

Like Kiki, Flint, who was also Chinese, talked about cultural differences. Initially he had seen NESs as key to improving his English, and linked difficulties understanding one NES to his own poor listening skills. By the time of his second interview, although he had gained confidence from socialising with HSs, he felt communication was easier with ISs from a similar cultural background to his and felt more positively about his oral English. Eveline blamed her accent when Chinese students were unable to understand her (see

7.4.4.2 above), but another group work project, which involved successful work with three HSs and one who “even if she wasn’t English, she spoke English perfectly without any problems”, left her feeling more confident.

Pax and Sandi also referred to difficulties communicating with Chinese students, but unlike Eveline, they gave no indication that this had affected their confidence. However, I mention this here because it relates to the lack of diversity in some modules: as noted in 7.4.4 above, two Chinese participants, Cindy and Barbet, had no choice but to work in all-Chinese groups. In the following section, I discuss how this affected them.

8.2.5.3 English absent

In Example 8.8 below, Cindy explains why she prefers it when students choose group members:

Example 8.9

CIN mm I prefer choose by ourselves because err **if** the teacher
divide the group and err maybe you will have um I don’t
know the group member you don’t know what he do that
because **in our group** some people is **good at reading**
so these people will do the literature review and **for me**
always do the data analysis

INT ok and so that’s more important to you because I was
thinking if you could choose your own group maybe you
could choose to work with some people that are not
Chinese and then you could speak English

CIN I think for **group work it’s not very have a have a big**
effect about our speaking I think if we want we should
join the interest group society that will be XXX but I
miss they welcome the freshmen that time and I don’t
know how to choose and this semester will end will finish
a so I didn’t join any society

This extract, from her second interview, shows that Cindy did not see working in all-Chinese groups as a problem. In fact, she preferred it, as she knew her fellow group members’ strengths, so tasks could be assigned accordingly (lines 4-6). I commented that perhaps she could choose to work with non-Chinese students as a way of being able to speak English. Cindy's response shows she did not feel that group work represented an opportunity to develop oral skills (lines 11-12). She goes on to say that social activities are more effective for this, but that she has not joined any societies. Cindy had rated herself as 'very confident' at speaking in her pre-interview questionnaire, but this dropped to 'average' in her second interview because she had few opportunities to practise.

In her first interview, Barbet talked about three groups, all of which were entirely Chinese. She said there were around 10 non-Chinese students in a typical lecture of around 150 students, something that had shocked her so much that she had phoned her parents to say she had chosen the wrong university. Her mother suggested it could be a benefit, in that Chinese students could support each other. By her second interview, Barbet said she felt more confident about her speaking and listening, and attributed this mainly to her generally successful communication with customers in her job.

Neither Cindy nor Barbet linked their confidence levels in oral skills to the lack of opportunities to speak English during academic activities, and both saw the value of working with people they knew. Similarly, Patti, who was also Chinese, felt it was not necessary to talk during group work, saying "we will focus on the work not focus on speaking". However, her view may have been influenced by the available interlocutors. Commenting that most of her classmates were "Asian", she said that although there were chances to speak English with Thai and Vietnamese classmates, developing fluency, this would not "improve" their English in terms of accuracy, because "our English are also very poor". Patti's unwillingness to engage with other "Asians" left her with few chances to speak, meaning her confidence levels in both speaking and listening dropped.

In summary, unlike some of the other themes discussed in this chapter, in which further experience of language use added to confidence, for group work *when* it took place was less relevant than *who* was in the group.

8.2.6 Lecturers

This section focuses on any links between lecturers' English and participants' perceptions. It therefore builds on findings discussed in Chapter 7 above concerning lecturer intelligibility. Eleven participants indicated that lecturers had affected their confidence levels. In the first round of interviews, impact was only negative, while in the second round, most was **positive**. I begin with **negative effects.**

8.2.6.1 Negative effects

Of the five participants for whom there was a **negative** influence, three talked about both NES and NNES lecturers, with Athena and Gaia mentioning the challenge of listening to unfamiliar accents. Flint explicitly blamed his own listening skills, saying he and other Chinese students were disadvantaged in comparison to other nationalities, who had learned English for longer. The remaining two participants who were **negatively** affected discussed only NES lecturers. Eveline referred to one who spoke "very fast" so that she could only understand "few words" at first, and this, combined with difficulties speaking on the telephone (see 8.2.3 above), lowered Eveline's confidence in listening. Gaia also had difficulties, but unlike Eveline, she blamed her own weak skills. In Example 8.10 below, we are discussing her pre-interview questionnaire.

Example 8.10

INT but you still think - is listening the one you feel least
confident about
GAI yes [I feel **totally bad** about it
INT [why oh that's not good to hear why
GAI (laughs) for normal conversation it's ok **but for learning at**
class here I cannot catch every word from the teacher
it's like sometimes if I feel I find it hard to understand
something he wants to convey to to the class I don't know
why I read I think I read quite a lot of books to get many
er to get used to the words to get used to the knowledge
get used to the thinking but I don't know (laughs)

Gaia starts with a negative evaluative adjective "bad", intensified by the adverb "totally", going on to say that her that her problems with listening are only in class, specifically that she cannot understand everything the lecturer says. She is puzzled by this, since she has been reading and developing her knowledge, so it seems not to be an issue of subject-specific terminology. After a brief discussion about the type of lectures and seminars that she had, I asked about the nationality of the lecturer:

12 INT and is he a British guy or is he from another country
13 GAI he’s a British guy
14 INT ok
15 GAI and **he’s very good** I think **the problem doesn't come from**
16 **him it comes from my listening** I think so before I get err
17 I think I get **quite high score** with **listening for the IELTS**
18 **but just for the test** and I think **it’s not good when I**
19 **come here** I asked some other, I asked some other
20 international students they have the same problem it's like
21 err in my flat **except for the British man all of us have**
22 **problem with the listening** and they feel they cannot
23 understand all the teacher say and it's something that
24 prevents them from understanding the lecture and I think it
25 has many **very bad impact on** our will have on **our results**
26 like it’s hard for to catch up with the lectures knowledge

Gaia confirms that the lecturer is an NES, then immediately evaluates him very positively (“very good”, line 15), saying the problem lies with her own listening (line 16). She feels that although her IELTS listening score was “quite high”, this was not a good indication of preparedness for the studying in English in the UK (“it’s not good when I come here”, lines 18-19). Gaia is convinced that the problem lies with her, because other ISs in her flat have the same problem, whereas, crucially, an HS does not (“except for the British man”, line 21). At the end of this utterance, she articulates her concern that this problem will have a “very bad impact” on her results because she cannot understand the lectures. In the next few turns, I established that her flatmates were studying other subjects, so I then ask about her course mates:

Example 8.11

1 INT do you find do you course mates say the same thing your
2 your classmates have you asked them
3 GAI my classmates at least people from some students from [C1]

4 they I ask them they can they **just like me have the same**
5 **problem**
6 INT yeah
7 GAI yeah [but
8 INT [so **maybe it's not you then maybe it's him**
9 GAI (laughs) **no no no**
10 INT maybe [he's fast
11 GAI [**no**
12 INT I don't know because I don't know what he sounds like
13 GAI until now I still think he's a **very good** teacher
14 INT yeah oh I'm sure he is but yeah
15 GAI because the class seems very excited during each class he
16 teaches
17 INT good [good that's excellent so
18 GAI [yes excited I feel excited as well but **I need**
19 **to stay very, very focussed** on what he says so that I can
20 catch up with it it's like **if I sit on the front line and near**
21 **him I can ok I can catch most of his ideas** but when
22 I move to the back of the room then I can hardly **it's like**
23 **when I sit far from him my attention reduces**

When Gaia confirms that some of her classmates also have difficulties understanding (lines 4-5), I suggest that the problem may originate with the lecturer (line 8). This draws an emphatic "no no no" from Gaia, who also laughs, perhaps in surprise at my suggestion. When I say "maybe he's fast" she interrupts to repeat "no", reiterating that he is "very good", and supports this with a highly positive evaluation, saying that the class seems "very excited" during his lectures. Gaia remains convinced that it is her listening that is to blame, despite her high IELTS score and despite other ISs having difficulties. This is the significant factor – only the ISs have problems; the "British man" does not.

The power imbalance between students and lecturers may mean she was reluctant to criticise this lecturer, but in her second interview, Gaia had no qualms about referring to two other modules as "nonsense" in terms of content, saying the lecturers were "not very helpful." These two lecturers were

NESs, although not British, and Gaia had no problems understanding them. When I reminded her of our conversation about the British lecturer in her previous interview, and asked her how she had overcome the problem, she said this:

> Err I think it's quite natural but it's mostly because I think it's just the way a person naturally adjusts yes because like you stay in an English-speaking country for just several months you can see the difference in your speaking and listening

Gaia attributes her improved listening skills to experience, which confirms her original conclusion that her own skills were inadequate when faced with an NES lecturer that she could not understand. It may be significant that he was British, and she was concerned about offending me, as a British person. However, this also seems linked to her orientation to ENL, which became more apparent when she discussed assessment (discussed below).

8.2.6.2 Positive effects

Concerning **positive** links with listening to lecturers, seven participants discussed increased confidence. One was Pax, who also blamed himself for problems understanding an NES lecturer, but felt this had a **positive** impact on his listening, precisely because he had needed to work hard. This was the lecturer who had refused to accommodate (see 7.4.3.2 above), and Pax said this:

> after that guy I think I improved my listening a lot because every time I was like {mimes listening hard} trying to catch as much as I can (laughing)

It is noteworthy that Pax laughs as he talks about having to work hard, which is in stark contrast to how he responded to problems understanding an NNES lecturer about whom the whole class complained (see 7.4.3.3). It may be that Pax blamed himself because he did not see other students as having problems. However, it may also be linked to his prior experience of the pre-sessional course, particularly the tutor who had a powerful impact on how Pax felt about his pronunciation (see 8.2.1.1). As we will see below, Pax also seemed to have an ENL orientation.

As a contrast to Pax and Gaia, it is useful to consider Barbet's case. She described the challenging experience of dealing with NES customers at work, saying this caused her to evaluate her lecturers as clearer in comparison:

> yeah after I (laughs) still talking about the job after I feel that our lecturers speaking English is quite good because at least their pronunciation is much more clear than some customers

This shows the significance of comparison. Barbet's wider range of interlocutors gave her someone to compare her lecturers with, which in turn resulted in a more positive perception of her own listening skills.

It is not surprising that most of the impact discussed in the second round of interviews was positive in comparison to participants' earlier experiences. As noted in 7.4.3, increased familiarity with particular accents, as well as simply gaining more experience, both played a role.

8.2.7 Assessment

In this section, I discuss the impact of both oral and written assessment on perceptions. In some cases, participants expressed frustration that other students had received higher marks, but did not talk about assessment in terms of criteria. Whether assessors were marking consistently lies beyond the scope of this research project, so I restrict my analysis below to evidence of language policy links to perception. Most assessment was written, so any impact was apparent in relation to reading and writing confidence, but four participants discussed oral presentations. I begin with **negative** experiences caused by the process of assessment that turned **positive** when the product had been completed. This is followed three themes that resulted in **negative** perceptions: **explicit assessment, implicit assessment** and **no assessment of English.**

8.2.7.1 Process – negative, product – positive

In the first round of interviews, 11 participants talked about assessment. However, in all cases but one, feedback and grades had not yet been received. Three individuals talked about oral assessment, with Athena and Faben saying they felt **positively** about group presentations they had given, while Trudy expressed uncertainty about the task. The remaining eight discussed concerns about written assignments, revealing that the *process* of completing these assignments was **negatively** affecting their confidence. Two participants, Bixa and Patti, were worried about reading, with Patti commenting that she was ‘very slow’ because she had previously studied a different subject. Six participants were concerned about writing and had asked other students to check their work. In three cases this was for a group project, so other group members, whether HSs or ISs, proofread work. For individual assignments, Tanga asked an IS friend, while both Flint and Pax asked HSs. In the following extract, Pax explains his choice:

Example 8.12

1 PAX yeah sometimes in fact twice I have asked the **British bo**y
2 his help just to proofread my essay and there are a few
3 mistakes in grammar and the way I used nominalisation
4 but he he says that’s that’s not that huge mistake or
5 something but he can read and understand what I wrote
6 INT so did you why did you choose the British guy to ask him
7 and not one of your other international friends
8 PAX err because I think **that’s his native language** and **if he can**
9 **understand** what I’m saying and what I’m writing err **the**
10 **lecturer can understand as well**
11 INT but what if the lecturer’s not British because
12 PAX (laughs)
13 INT (laughs) because some of those are not British
14 PAX (laughing) that’s a good question (laughs) yeah probably
15 that's my bias I think

The ‘British boy’ Pax refers to here is a classmate we had discussed earlier, who was part of a ‘multi-cultural group’ that Pax tended to work with. The other four members were Indian, Mexican, Chinese and Thai. Asked why he chose the British student, Pax explains that if the student, as an NES, could understand his writing, he assumed the lecturer would too (lines 8-10). I then challenge his assumption that the lecturer would be British, since earlier he had explained that two of his lecturers were not. Pax’s laughter indicates surprise, and he reflects that it might be his “bias.” Where the bias comes from was not discussed, but as we saw in 8.2.1 above, Pax realised that he had been influenced by his pre-sessional tutor's view of "British" pronunciation as more desirable than "American." It may be that his tutor, along with the assessment on the pre-sessional course, had influenced Pax's expectations of how his work would be evaluated on his degree programme. Certainly, his concerns about his writing had been affected by the pre-sessional, as he commented in his second interview that he was "surprised a lot" by his marks:

> because I was thinking after the pre-sessional I was like oh my writing is not that good but then when I received the feedback and I compared with other classmates I feel oh I'm writing good

In fact, Pax was right to think that his language would be assessed, as two of his modules included a mark for grammar and language (see 7.4.2.1 above). Pax did not object to this, and felt that what he had learned on the pre-sessional about essay structure had helped to make his writing clear. Because of his marks, he felt more **positively** about his writing.

Pax was not the only participant to shift from negative to **positive** perceptions as a result of assessment. The other five individuals who had someone check their work also moved from negative to positive, albeit for different reasons. Tanga and Eveline, like Pax, were happy with their marks, while Cindy had gained confidence through practice. Tabora felt a sense of achievement that she had been able to write 5,000-word reports, also saying this was not "stressful" because "there was no mark for language." Flint's positivity was also affected by how his work was marked, as he said that some lecturers paid less attention to grammar than did others.

8.2.7.2 Explicit assessment of English - negative effect

In contrast, two participants felt negatively in both interview rounds, and in both cases this was related to explicit assessment of language. Lola was frustrated that she had made spelling mistakes, saying she felt that her writing was "basic" and that she needed to improve it considerably. Bixa was the only participant who mentioned having received feedback that she should have had her work proofread, and her annoyance about this was clear. As we can see below, it was the first topic she brought up in her second interview and she discussed it in detail, with no prompting. I have left in my back channelling to illustrate this.

Example 8.13

1 INT how's it going on your course
2 BIXA ok so last time I talked with you it was first semester, now it
3 is the next semester and I get some of my marks, I notice
4 that I'm still having trouble with the writing. I got some
5 marks with some groups and I got some marks with
6 individual work, for the **individual work** I still get
7 **the same notes as my group work** which was **they ask us**
8 **to do some kind of proofreading before we submit the**
9 **assignment which we didn't think that it was necessary**
10 INT ok
11 BIXA because as in [department] **we only care about the idea we**
12 **present we don't care about how much your writing look**
13 **like**, yeah umm, because **we all did English courses before**
14 **we thought that our English is going to be enough**
15 however we still been asked to do proofreading and er
16 the problem for that I was discussing this with my friends
17 that **we actually have to pay** for someone to do it (laughs)
18 INT yeah
19 BIXA yeah no-one in the university is actually doing this so we did
20 score one err was a group work err it was me and 5 other
21 Chinese student err **we scored 45 which is marked as fail**
22 actually but I still can I don't need to repeat that course but
23 it was going to affect my GPA later so err the **only notes**
24 we have that **our English was bad** and we should get
25 proofreading even though that we didn't get that
26 note before we submit the assignment yeah so err i**f we**
27 **get just this note before we submit** the assignment
28 **we might think about even if it's going to cost some**
29 **money** we might do it anyway

In lines 7-9, Bixa explains that, for both her individual and group assignments, she received feedback ("notes") that the work should have been proofread prior to submission. She goes on to say that she and her group members had not thought this necessary, for two reasons: firstly, content rather than language is the main concern in her department (lines 11-13); and secondly, they expected their English to be adequate because they had completed "English courses" (lines 13-14). Bixa then moved onto the problem with proofreading, which was that it would cost money (line 17). In line 21, she explained that the group work had been a fail, and this would affect her GPA (Grade Point Average, line 23), which is why she is annoyed. In the final lines of this example, Bixa explains that, even though they would have had to pay, the group might have had their work proofread if they had been advised to prior to submission. This practical approach reflects the fact that her concern is with her average mark, and thus her degree award, rather than with challenging the assessment based on the issues that she had referred to in lines 11-14. Later in the interview, she returned to this theme, saying "most of my grade for the first semester is already damaged so it's too late" but that she would use a proofreader for her second semester assignments.

Bixa focussed on her English as being the problem for this assignment, rather than content. After her interview, she sent the feedback to me, and reading it provides another perspective. In fact, the lecturer began with 8 lines about the content. The final comment was:

> It was also not easy to read at some points - I understand the challenges when you are not writing in your mother tongue, but please ensure you get a native English speaker to proof-read for you.

This illustrates that, although the lecturer mentioned only 'some' challenges with reading the assignment ("it was not easy to read at some points"), the feedback was interpreted very differently by Bixa. She seemed to focus only on the comment about English, and indicated her belief that using a proofreader for the remainder of her assignments would recover her grade average. Bixa's response is perhaps explained by her view of herself as a learner, at least in terms of reading and writing – she was much more confident in English when speaking and listening, as she had been doing this since she was very young. Although she had undertaken an EMI UG degree, and the year-long EAS pre-sessional as well as the summer programme, she continued to find reading and writing challenging. These were the two skills for which she could not achieve the required IELTS score, despite taking the test five times. All of this experience seems to have reinforced her ‘learner’ identity and her default position of assuming her English was to blame for her marks. While Bixa was unusual in focussing on English to the extent that she seemed not to notice the lecturer’s other comments, several other participants felt that marks were affected by language, regardless of the assessment criteria. This is the theme of the next sub-section.

8.2.7.3 Implicit assessment of English - negative effect

Four participants discussed negative impacts of English being implicitly assessed. In three cases, this concerned written assignments, with Kiki and Patti saying that feedback always included the comment “language can be improved”, and Sheldon feeling that lecturers were “annoyed” by poor English. In all three cases, participants said English was not explicit in criteria. Sheldon also talked about group presentations, as did Faben. In his first interview, Faben had said that the presentation had gone well, but when I asked about this in his second interview, he expressed disappointment, saying:

Example 8.14

FAB in our presentation one of the aspects was **our English was**
bad
INT oh really
FAB yes the **groups who got higher marks were students with**
a higher English level generally like students from Greek
Greece they got higher marks
INT oh so English was assessed on that [was that part of did you
have like quality
FAB [**no no**
no no it wasn’t part but the way we present “is it more
clearly more confident we got higher marks” we got 55 they
got 70, 75
INT and that was because of **the way you spoke in English**
FAB m-hm

After Faben’s initial assertion that groups with a “higher English level” received higher marks, I assumed English was assessed, but Faben corrects this, with his emphatic interruption, “no no no no”. He goes on to say “is it more clearly more confident we got higher marks”, which I have enclosed in speech marks to show that he is referring to assessment criteria, explaining that clarity and confidence would result in higher marks. After he reports the marks, I seek to clarify that these were due to English (line 13), which Faben confirms with “m-hm”. I then start to ask if all group members were given the same marks, but Faben interrupts again to elaborate on the contrast in presentation styles:

15 INT as a [group did they give each member
16 FAB [the way we present like our **our** group was erm
17 reading from paper **they** were presenting like Steve Jobs
18 {imitates style} blah blah blah (laughs)
19 INT (laughs) oh ok so it was about the body language and the
20 presentation technique
21 FAB m-hm
22 INT ah **so not really about the English**
23 FAB not of course **not everything but it was a point it was a**
24 **clear point** that they were more confident

Faben paints a clear picture of the difference between the groups, by saying that his was reading while the others were like Steve Jobs[10]. When I seek to confirm he is referring to body language and technique, he agrees (“m-hm”, line 21). My suggestion that it was “not really about the English” (line 22) is challenged by Faben. He acknowledges that the other group did well because of factors other than English (“of course not everything”, line 23), but maintains that the other group were more confident because of their higher English level, insisting “it was a point, it was a clear point.” As Faben began this topic by saying, “our English was bad”, it is clear that to him it was a factor for the lecturer assessing the presentation. A few turns later, he confirmed that there were also Nigerians in the other group, and the way he referred to them was telling, as he said “Nigerians, also speaking lots of English”. His use of “also” implies that he feels Greeks (lines 5-6 above) too have more experience of using English compared with his group.

---

[10] Co-founder of Apple Inc., and widely seen as an engaging speaker.

This perception of a divide between some English users and others was also apparent in Sheldon's interviews. He talked about a group who always achieved "the best mark", nicknamed "the Western group" by his classmates. The group members were American, British and Mexican. Sheldon did not explicitly link their marks to the fact there were HSs in the group, but in both his interviews there were several indications that he saw HSs' oral English as superior to his own. In his first interview, he had explicitly stated his desire to develop NES-like competence, particularly in pronunciation, and as we saw in 8.2.1 above, his pre-sessional tutor had influenced Sheldon to work towards trying to sound "more British." His confidence had increased by the time of his second interview, but less so for "academic" speaking than "normally", as the following example shows.

Example 8.15

1 SHEL yeah actually I think generally speaking is 4 but erm
2 academic one is between 4 and 3 but I think normally it's 4
3 INT but when you say 'academic' can you say a bit more
4 about that
5 SHEL academic one because I have to use um the **academic**
6 **words** and because we I mean I'm not really using them
7 normally in the real life sometime I forget how people XXX
8 INT yeah so it's more about the vocabulary
9 SHEL yeah yeah vocabulary
10 INT because you've got your kind of everyday speaking
11 vocabulary
12 SHEL yes sometimes I remember the words but **I forget the**
13 **stress** so I XXX the word is **strange**

Here, Sheldon explains that he feels less confident about using "academic words" (line 5) because he does not use them in "real life". He then elaborates, saying that sometimes he remembers the words but forgets the stress so "the word is strange" (lines 12-13), the negative evaluation ("strange") reflecting his ongoing concern with pronunciation. As he had distinguished 'academic' words from 'real life' words, I went on to ask about assessed presentations. Sheldon had completed one but was dissatisfied with the mark. It was in this context that he talked about the “Western group”, with the implication being that their pronunciation was not “strange.” He went on to say he had one more presentation to come, for which he would be working with different people. What he says about them is also revealing.

Example 8.16

1 SHEL this time I work with um Japanese Taiwanese Chinese
2 Thai and er [N1]
3 INT ok so a good mixture an international mixture
4 SHEL **all Asian**
5 INT and did you decide
6 SHEL I decide I prefer work with different group this time I don’t
7 like to keep the same group I want to have a chance to
8 meet new friend because actually **I don’t care about**
9 **the mark** I care about the **experience** I told you once
10 before this is **more important** than the mark I mean the
11 knowledge I can read the book myself even in my country
12 but this it’s really hard for me to do that in my country

It is notable that when I refer to his group as “a good mixture an international mixture”, Sheldon’s response is a rather blunt “all Asian”, implying he does not see this as a “good mixture.” He then explains that he prefers to work in a different group so that he can make new friends, saying it is the experience, not the mark that is important (lines 7-10). His comment about the mark relates to his assumption that the “Western group” will achieve a better grade than his group, because they always receive “the best mark.” He seems to have accepted this, and has chosen to focus on the experience instead. He went on to say that he had previously worried about meeting his parents’ expectations, but he no longer felt pressure from this and would be satisfied with a merit overall.

From his first interview to his second, Sheldon changed his attitude not only in terms of his parents’ expectations, but also with regard to his own English. He explained that he felt more confident about speaking socially due to drinking alcohol at parties, and was happy that his friends understood him better than previously. The conversation continued:

Example 8.17

1 INT ok good so you're feeling more confident yeah because
2 last time you talked a bit about speaking you said a couple
3 of times 'I want to sound like a native speaker' do you
4 still feel like that
5 SHEL Um yes I think I do but erm it's like I don't have time to
6 practise my English I think I will keep doing that because I
7 before that I think it's impossible but now **I think it's**
8 **possible** but I mean not exact but so
9 INT yeah yeah so why is it important to you
10 SHEL I don't know it's just like it's just like my you know I mean
11 I think **I can feel a joy** when I doing that yeah it's
12 INT ok for self-satisfaction self-achievement
13 SHEL Yeah like that some people they don't care but actually
14 I **really** care I **really** care I don't know why

In line 5, Sheldon is a little hesitant, and hedges his answer with "I think", going on to say that he now thinks it is possible to come "close" to sounding like an NES (lines 7-8). When asked why this is important, Sheldon struggles to answer, as further hesitation and repetition in line 10 shows, before he says simply that "I think I can feel a joy" (line 11). I suggest it will give him a sense of achievement, and he agrees, acknowledging that not everyone cares about this but emphasising his strength of feeling with "really", which he then repeats.

I have discussed Sheldon in some detail here in an attempt to show how the interplay between different aspects of his experience influences his perceptions. On the one hand, he is more satisfied with his speaking due to confidence gained at parties, where he talks mostly to other ISs. On the other, he sees HSs as so superior that he and other "Asians" cannot match their group presentation marks, but feels fine about this, as he wants simply to have the experience of studying abroad. Ultimately, however, he still would like to sound like an NES, for reasons he cannot explain other than he anticipates feeling “a joy” when he does this. It seems then that for Sheldon there remains a distinction between ‘us’ (“Asians”) and ‘them’ (“Westerners”), where “westerners” roughly equates to NESs or NES-like, as it did for Faben.In the following section, I discuss the rather different perspective taken by Athena and Gaia.

8.2.7.4 No assessment of English - negative effect

Both Athena and Gaia were annoyed that English was not assessed, and in both cases, this had a negative impact on how they felt about their writing. As with Sheldon above, this impact was only apparent when they talked about other students. The difference lies in their negative evaluation of other ISs.

Athena did not directly refer to the lack of assessment of English, but it was implicit in what she said. In an email between interviews, she had said she was surprised that other students on her programme did not attend EAP classes. When asked to say more about this, Athena, who was from the Middle East, explained that most of her course mates were from Thailand and she felt they had trouble understanding her. This, she felt, was due to their poor English, although she felt they were improving “a lot”. However, she was surprised at the high marks they received for written work:

> Yeah and I don’t want to stereotype I don’t have statistics but like err I know some people because I worked with them before in group work and I can see their written English and **sometimes it’s very hard to understand what they mean** and **they got very high marks** in in in some modules and **I found that strange** because like **you may have a very good idea but if you cannot explain it well it must affect your grades but if you get like 70+** with this **poor level of English** it’s like maybe two or three are like this and **I was surprised** (laughs)

Initially, Athena articulates her feelings cautiously, beginning with “I don’t want to stereotype and I don’t have statistics”, with the “but” signalling that she nonetheless feels it is appropriate to comment because she has seen the writing of some students she has worked with. She modifies “very hard” with “sometimes”, but it is notable that she says “very”. Her utterance here is revealing “and they got very high marks (..) and I found that strange”, as she goes on to say if someone cannot “explain it well”, it “must” affect grades. By this stage of her turn, Athena is no longer controlling her annoyance, as her lack of hedging shows. She then becomes more specific about the grades ("70+") and refers to other students' "poor level of English", which contrasts sharply with her initial "sometimes very hard to understand". Both phrases, however, reveal again her feeling that the problem lies not with her own English, but with theirs, in the same way it did when she talked about them not understanding her spoken English. She finishes more cautiously, saying she is "surprised" and laughs.

It is apparent that Athena is annoyed, and why this is becomes clear as we move on to talk about her individual assignment, about which she says:

> and I was shocked when I had my individual assignment because the lecturer gave me 60 and like it was a case study and **I'm I sure I did very well** and I only had one line feedback saying I I depended too much on like websites and I should have used other references and I felt like we the presentation was not that good to give me 70 and for my individual assignment to give me 60 yeah **I was quite upset** with this one (laughs)

Athena says she received only 60, and does not understand why as she was sure she had done "very well", but only received one line of feedback about her referencing. She compares her mark of 60 to the group presentation one of 70, and it is members of this group that she referred to earlier. She ends by saying she was "quite upset" and again laughs, perhaps to make light of it. It seems that "quite upset" is an understatement, and the underlying annoyance seems to be that Athena feels her English is much better than other students', but she receives no credit for this because language is not assessed. She then talks about another assignment for which she received an unsatisfactory mark, again with little feedback:

> yeah because they have like all the criteria and the professor should fill in this table like **I did well in this part or this part** but they don't and this is **another one I'm furious about** (laughs) {shows feedback} so she had like this table and like she didn't fill it she gave me 56 and only this this feedback and like for this assignment {explains assignment approach} but she could have at least told me you should have done this and it's double marked and this is strange that none of them bother to fill in this table

Here Athena points out where the lecturer could have acknowledged the aspects on which she had done well, but did not, and Athena says that she is “furious about” it; indeed, she says this is “another one I’m furious about”, indicating that in fact rather than being “surprised” or “quite upset”, she has been “furious” all along, but was perhaps reluctant to criticise lecturers. It is clear that she does not feel fairly marked in comparison to her classmates. Athena had completed her entire education through the medium of English, had achieved a high IELTS score, and had rated herself as very confident in both reading and writing, in her pre-interview questionnaire on which she wrote “my English is very good”, and in both interviews. It seemed that receiving relatively low marks was very unexpected for her, particularly in comparison to her classmates whose English was “poor.”

While Athena did not explicitly say that English should have been assessed, Gaia was much more direct on this point. She mentioned it three times in her second interview, and the first was in relation to other students’ “grammatical errors”, as example 8.18 below shows:

Example 8.18

GAIA For this [module] this is our group assignment but one
thing I want to say that if you just read through one page
you can see I think **a lot of grammatical error** erm I think
so it’s not very because actually **this part** is not written
was **not written by me** I I someone edited it but I found
a lot of grammatical errors but he didn’t he didn’t say
anything here he just ‘tick tick tick tick’ so

INT Yeah because I guess because they are [discipline] lecturers
they’re not so focussed [on your English

GAIA [I **I really don’t think**
they care about English they just think about the ideas
the thinking something some XXX

INT do you think that’s good

GAIA I really expect err because of course **we are not native**
speaker but if lecturer can find out that it’s the matter
of English I think they should write it (laughs)

INT do you think so yeah

GAIA Yeah I think so because I come here not only to improve

19 the knowledge the skills in this **I really want to**
20 **improve my English** as well
21 INT ok
22 GAIA so I want to be more I want to **perfect** my English yes
23 through because when I come back to my country if I work
24 in a foreign country I cannot make a grammatical
25 English mistake when I write a report or something
26 right I shouldn't write it **looks very unprofessional** but
27 sometimes **you** make mistakes and **you** are unable to
28 figure out yourself but **some people their** English **their**
29 **own English is not very good** to do that **they** need
30 someone to assess

Gaia refers to the grammatical errors in a group assignment, pointing out that the lecturer did not comment on them (lines1-7). My response that perhaps the lecturers are not focussed on English, is interrupted by Gaia with her direct statement "I really don't think they care about English." In lines 14-16, she makes clear how she feels about this: because students are not NESs, lecturers should point out issues with language. She adds that part of her motivation for coming here was to improve her English (lines 18-20), and in lines 22-26 explains why. She wants to "perfect" her English, because grammatical mistakes are unprofessional in a report, regardless of where she is working.

In this example, Gaia is talking about two issues. On the one hand, she wants to "perfect" her English, so she would like "errors" to be pointed out, but on the other hand, she is keen to point out that her English is better than that of other members of her group. She begins this in lines 4-5 when she says the part with the grammatical errors in "was not written by me", and continues at the end of the extract when she moves from using "you" (line 27) to mean 'ISs in general', to using "they" to distinguish herself from other ISs (lines 28-29). These other students ("some people") are unable to find their own mistakes because "their own English is not very good." In fact, the other students she is referring to are Chinese, as becomes clear when she continues:

> I remember I told you that in our class there are a lot of Chinese students and until now semester two they are like their English I have

> to say still I think that **my English has improved** but I think **a lot of Chinese a lot of Chinese students** they are still very **their English are still very poor** because you see no **no criteria about English** and they they try because in **Chinese students they usually stick together** when we when it comes to group work **they don't want to work with a foreigner** so **I think their English hasn't improved**

Again, Gaia points out the difference between her and the Chinese students in her class, which is that her English has improved but "a lot of" Chinese students have "very poor" English. She gives two reasons for this: first, there are "no criteria about English" and second, "they usually stick together" and "don't want to work with a foreigner." Gaia, who was from another Asian country, is talking from experience here, as she was the only non-Chinese student in a group of seven who worked on the assignment she is discussing. As well as commenting on their English, she also complained about the unfair division of work, and the fact that all group members received the same mark. This has clearly influenced Gaia's negative view of "Chinese students" in general, and has implications for how assessed group work is managed. I return to this in Chapter 9.

Athena and Gaia were the only two participants to complain that English was not assessed, and as we have seen, their reasons for doing so were slightly different. What they have in common is that they both saw themselves as superior in comparison with other students in terms of English.

In summary, the impact of assessment was discussed more by some participants than others. The picture presented in this section appears rather negative as, perhaps not surprisingly, those who were satisfied with their progress or their marks had less to say than those who were not. In fact, two thirds of participants took something positive from their assessment experience. Experiences were varied for a number of reasons. In part this was due to different policies, notably whether English was assessed, explicitly or implicitly, and whether participants had understood criteria in advance and been able to act appropriately. But equally impactful was participants' sense of whether assessment was fair. In some cases, this was commented on in terms of marks, but others made overt comparisons with others' English. We saw this in the cases of Faben and Sheldon talking about presentations, a context in which it is easy to judge a performance. In other cases, as with Athena and

Gaia, that the assessment was a group project enabled them to read others' work to evaluate their English. Moreover, the success of group projects is dependent not only on the performance of all group members, but also the relationships among them. In both of these scenarios, we saw participants engaging in 'othering' (Holliday, 2011) by contrasting students in 'our group' with students in 'their group.' This has been a theme throughout this chapter, and I comment on this further in Chapter 9.

8.3 Summary

In this chapter, I have explored links between participants' perceptions and a range of factors. Of the seven themes discussed above, five were policy-related (entry route, in-programme English provision, group work, lecturers and assessment), while two were not (previous English experience and speaking socially). Whilst I have referred to numbers of participants in each section above, this is only a loose indication of the extent of impact, given that this is a qualitative study. To draw conclusions, it is necessary to look both at how many participants felt positive or negative, and at cases which illustrate the strength of impact for some individuals.

Beginning with policy, **Entry Route** was largely beneficial for those who had taken a **pre-sessional course**, with participants feeling more confident as a result of practising academic writing. Impacts on speaking were more mixed, however. Negative impacts relating to tutors were discussed by three participants, with two affected by their speaking tutor's insistence on the superiority of British English pronunciation. This confirms that pre-sessional courses follow IELTS in assessing against ENL standards (e.g. Banerjee and Wall, 2006; Wingate, 2015). Moreover, it evidences the influence of a particular tutor, who perpetuated standard native English ideology (cf Lippi-Green, 2012). Another participant, Tabora, felt her fluency suffered as a result of working with less proficient students. This criticism of other ISs' English echoes earlier research (e.g. Ippolito, 2007; Hedger and Wicaksono, 2016; Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2017). In contrast, Cherri felt positively, saying her confidence was high because she was working with other students of a similar level. **IELTS** had less impact. For three participants, confidence levels appeared linked to scores, meaning they were least confident in the productive skills of speaking and writing. Five of the IELTS entrants achieved higher scores than the minimum required. The exception was Lola, who saw the absence of academic practice in IELTS as negative. While Lola's view of IELTS being inadequate preparation is line with participants in other studies (Blaj-Ward, 2017b; Harwood and Petrić, 2017), findings regarding other IELTS-entry participants do not support the existing research. This may be because those five did not begin study with only the minimum score required.

Effects of **In-programme English Provision** were closely linked to entry route. Participants who had entered via IELTS benefited from academic writing practice, particularly on **AL** courses. Those who took a pre-sessional course found nothing new in **ESAP** classes, and stopped attending, preferring to focus on their assignments. This suggests that the provision was in fact EGAP, which is less likely to be seen as valuable, in line with points made by Turner (2004) and Murray (2016a). One participant, Barbet, found the assessment load so heavy that she was unable to attend EAP classes, echoing findings by Jenkins and Wingate (2015). In respect of speaking confidence, views were mixed. Athena discussed very positive effects of an **EGAP** course, but was negative about **EFL** classes, as she felt other students were less proficient and affecting her fluency. The same course was seen positively by a different participant, Trudy. This echoes the points about proficiency levels of other students on pre-sessional courses discussed above. Two other participants, Lola and Sandi, felt negatively about speaking in relation to their **AL** modules because they were required to give an assessed presentation, which added to their existing lack of confidence.

It is not surprising that the most impactful area of policy was **Assessment**, with negative impacts dominating discussions. A minority of participants talked about presentations and, as for Lola and Sandi above, the experience was mainly negative. Two who had given group presentations felt that superior English ability was a factor in other groups' higher marks, even though it was not explicit in criteria. Three individuals made a similar point regarding implicit language assessment in written assignments, saying that assessors nonetheless commented on problems with their English. These findings contrast with other studies reporting lecturers' willingness to adjust expectations of ISs (Ippolito, 2007; Al-Hasnawi, 2016; Jenkins et al, in press 2018) but support Maringe and Jenkins' (2015) study which found lecturers to be inflexible. A minority of participants talked about explicit assessment of

English, with two being negatively impacted by this. One of these was Bixa, who was annoyed that she had not been advised to have her work proofread before she submitted it. In contrast to Bixa, the six participants who did have their work proofread all felt positively when they received marks. The final category in Assessment concerned the two individuals who were negatively impacted by English *not* being assessed. Both Gaia and Athena were critical of other ISs' English, findings which support earlier research (Ippolito, 2007; Hedger and Wicaksono, 2015; Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2017).

The final aspect of policy is **lecturer practices**, discussed above in two categories, Group Work and Lecturers. In Chapters 6 and 7 above, I found no evidence of policy regarding facilitation of IC among students, and only limited evidence of lecturer accommodation in terms of their own use of English, but I treat these two categories as a matter of policy because they concern academic activity. It is important to reiterate too that findings for this aspect of policy should be interpreted tentatively, as noted above in 7.4.3 and 7.4.4. **Lecturers' use of English** did not appear to affect most participants, with only five discussing a negative impact. For one, however, intelligibility was so seriously affected that the whole class complained, while another participant blamed herself. By the second round of interviews, however, only positive links were apparent, probably due to participants having become more familiar with a range of accents, whilst at the same time having developed their subject knowledge. These findings contrast with research reporting ISs' difficulties understanding lecturers (e.g. Hou and McDowell, 2014; Schartner and Cho, 2017), which may partly be explained by the study design. The second round of interviews enabled increased participant familiarity with both lecturers and subjects to be taken into account. **Group work**, in contrast, affected the majority of participants, with six discussing negative impacts and eight positive, largely dependent on who was in the group rather than when the work took place. These findings offer limited support of earlier studies that reported communication problems between ISs and HSs (e.g. Cotton, George and Joyner,2012; Jenkins, 2014, Blaj-Ward 2017a). Given the prevalence of assessed group projects among participants, communication impacts not only English confidence, but also marks. These findings therefore raise important issues for how lecturers manage IC, and I return to this in Chapter 9.

Two themes unrelated to policy were also discussed in this chapter. Firstly, **Previous English Experience** was seen to have largely negative impacts, mostly due to a lack of academic or disciplinary experience, particularly in writing. When participants discussed speaking, some indicated an orientation towards ENL and a desire for NES interlocutors. This was also seen in the category **Speaking Socially**, where concerns about interacting with HSs negatively affected six participants. With experience, however, the effect turned positive, as it did with listening to lecturers.

Finally, two underlying and connected influences in many of the above themes have become apparent. One is participants' **orientation to English**, in terms of whether they saw ENL as desirable. Ten participants seemed to have an ENL orientation to some degree. This was made apparent in three main ways: by expressing a wish to achieve NES-like competence; by referring to NES interlocutors as more desirable than NNESs; and/or by describing NESs as more competent than oneself or NNESs in general. The most common comment related to seeing NESs as models for pronunciation, but several participants talked about asking NESs to proofread their written work.

Linked to orientations to English, views about, and impact of, other NNESs was a common thread in much of the data. Given the lack of contact most participants had with NESs, other than with lecturers, this is perhaps not surprising. I return to these points, and the others made above, in my concluding chapter, where I draw together findings from document and interview data to address my research questions.

Chapter 9 Conclusion

This final chapter reviews findings from Chapters 6, 7 and 8, and considers how they support or contrast with previous research. This is followed by a discussion of the limitations of this study, and suggestions for future research. The significance of the current research is followed by its implications.

9.1 Overview of Research Findings

As previously outlined, the aim of this project was to examine international postgraduate students' perceptions of their English, looking at the extent to which language policies affected this. The research was divided into three questions, and each is discussed in turn below.

9.1.1 RQ 1 The University's academic English language policies

This question concerned the university's implicit and explicit academic English language policies with regard to international postgraduate students, divided into pre- and in-programme policies.

9.1.1.1 RQ1a Expectation of native-like English in entry requirements

Qualitative document analysis revealed that an expectation of native-like English was implicit in the majority of entry routes. The starting point for analysis, on the main 'International' webpage, was the statement that ISs must demonstrate "sufficient knowledge" of English to "benefit from and participate in all academic activities" (UoS, 2014a). Although only three ways of doing so were listed on the main page, there were in fact 14 distinct entry routes, 11 of which were found to imply an expectation of native-like English. These 11 routes included the two most common routes at master's level, IELTS and the university's summer pre-sessional programmes, along with six other tests and the year-round pre-sessional programme.

There was no explicit reference to 'standard' or 'native' English on documents referring to tests or pre-sessional entry routes, which is in line with the common sense view that 'English' indexes standard, native English (Mauranen, 2012; Milroy and Milroy, 2012; Jenkins, 2014), so there is no need to specify it.

IELTS and the other tests have been demonstrated to measure native-like proficiency (e.g. Jenkins and Leung, 2017), and the pre-sessional courses were aligned with IELTS through the explicit statement that a pass was required at the "IELTS-equivalent grade" (UoS, 2014b). Similarly, although IELTS was listed as one of six approved tests on the Admissions webpage, elsewhere on the website it was given considerable prominence, and was usually the only test named.

Only one use of "native" was found. This was in relation to one of the two entry routes that were determined by students' countries of origin, reflecting the influence of government policy regarding study visas. Students from an "approved" country do not need a Secure English Language Test (SELT) provided they have completed their education through the medium of English, because those countries are designated "majority native-English speaking." Similar political influence is seen in relation to studying as an exchange or visiting student, since students from outside the EU are required to demonstrate proficiency through an approved test, while their EU[11] counterparts are not, echoing Saarinen and Nikula's (2013) findings in the Finnish context.

For three routes, there was insufficient evidence to conclude that native-like English was expected. Two of these were also politically influenced. One was the EU exchange programme mentioned in the previous paragraph, for which judgements about students' English are left to their home universities. The other was the possession of a degree "that has been taught and assessed in English" from UK-based university (UoS, 2014b). While this may imply demonstration of native-like English, it was beyond the scope of the current research project to investigate this. What is clear is the distinction made between Anglophone education and EMI education, with the former including the UK and those "majority native-English speaking" countries on the exempt-from-testing list, and the latter covering any other country. Although UK universities are characterised as EMI by some (e.g. Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra, 2013; Lauridsen and Lillemose, 2015; Baker and Hüttner, 2017; Blaj-Ward, 2017b), the University of Southampton, constrained by government, is cannot be considered as such. This has implications for those students who hold EMI degrees from the “wrong” countries, since they additionally have to produce a satisfactory test result, as was the case for five participants in the current study.

---

[11] The position following the UK's exit from the EU has yet to be clarified (Universities UK, 2018)

For the majority of participants, as is currently the case with PGT students as a whole at UoS, demonstration of “sufficient knowledge of English” translated into proving their knowledge of native-like English. The effect of this is discussed in 9.1.2 below.

9.1.1.2 RQ1b In-programme policies

The aim here was to identify English language policies and practices that applied once students were undertaking degree programmes. Document analysis was supplemented with interview data to explore three areas: in-sessional English provision, assessment, and lecturer practices.

In terms of in-sessional English provision, both EGAP and ESAP was available, along with some AL courses. This contrasts with Wingate’s (2015) survey of 33 UK university websites, which found EGAP to be the most common provision offered. However, as Wingate (2015) has pointed out, website data is limited to what is publicly available, a point illustrated by the absence of ESAP provision on the UoS website at the time of data collection. Most EAP provision focussed on writing, confirming previous research (e.g. Flowerdew, 2015; Wingate, 2015). In addition, some in-sessional provision was found to take an EFL approach, even though it was included in the ‘EAP Support Programme.’ Taken together, these types of in-sessional provision appear to reflect an institutional stance described by Hamp-Lyons as an “ad-hoc, small-scale, quick fix attitude” (2011a: 92). All EAP/EFL provision was optional, as is common (Gillet and Wray, 2006) giving students agency to decide whether to attend.

Some programmes included AL courses that were compulsory for all students, home and international. As with EAP, the focus was on writing, following the norm in this field (e.g. Lillis and Scott, 2007), though presentation skills were represented too, which indicates recognition of the need for socialization in terms of oral skills (e.g. Duff, 2010a).

Turning next to assessment, document analysis resulted in only one example of guidance for lecturers. The advice was to adjust the English used to describe tasks and criteria, so that this was understandable by NNESs. On the whole, ISs and language were absent from guidance in the Quality Handbook. Similarly, the institutional-level “guidance framework”, intended to ensure consistency in assessment criteria (UoS, 2014v), does not include references to ‘English’ or ‘language.’ It is therefore unclear whether English is to be assessed at all, though this is implicit in the criterion “Organisation and Communication.” Perhaps it is not surprising, then, that criteria at assignment level show considerable variation, with the majority indicating implicit assessment of English, in line with Wingate (2018). This variation is matched by lecturer practices in terms of attention to language, echoing earlier research (Al-Hasnawi, 2016; Jenkins et al., in press 2018).

Two other categories of lecturer practices were explored: lecturers’ own use of English, and facilitation of IC in group work. No written policy was evident at institutional level for either category, so participants were asked about practices in interviews. The aim was to identify any indication of unwritten policy. In terms of lecturers’ use of English, there was little evidence of accommodation, with some initial intelligibility problems reported. These problems reduced over time, often with the same lecturers, suggesting factors other than accommodation affected this. As has been acknowledged above, these findings should be treated as tentative. Due to the type of data collected, it is not possible to conclude that lecturers were not accommodating. While lack of adjustment by lecturers has been widely reported in the literature (e.g. Sovic, 2013; Hou and McDowell, 2014; Blaj-Ward, 2017b), some studies have included lecturers’ self-reports of adjustment (e.g. Baker and Hüttner, 2017; Jenkins et al., in press 2018).

The same lack of written policy regarding lecturers’ own use of English was seen with regard to lecturer facilitation of IC in group work, but in this latter case, there were no examples of practices either. Indeed, it was unusual for lecturers even to allocate members to groups. The absence of policy here is significant, given the importance of lecturers’ practices and attitudes in relation to this aspect of the student experience (e.g. Trahar and Hyland, 2011; Ryall, 2013; Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2018). At the same time, the lack of diversity among students must be acknowledged as a barrier to encouraging IC. I return to this point in the following section.

9.1.2 RQ 2 Effect of policies on perceptions

My second research question concerned how policy affected participants' perceptions. As discussed in Chapter 8 above, participants' feelings about their English were influenced by a range of intertwining factors, shown in Figure 7 below.

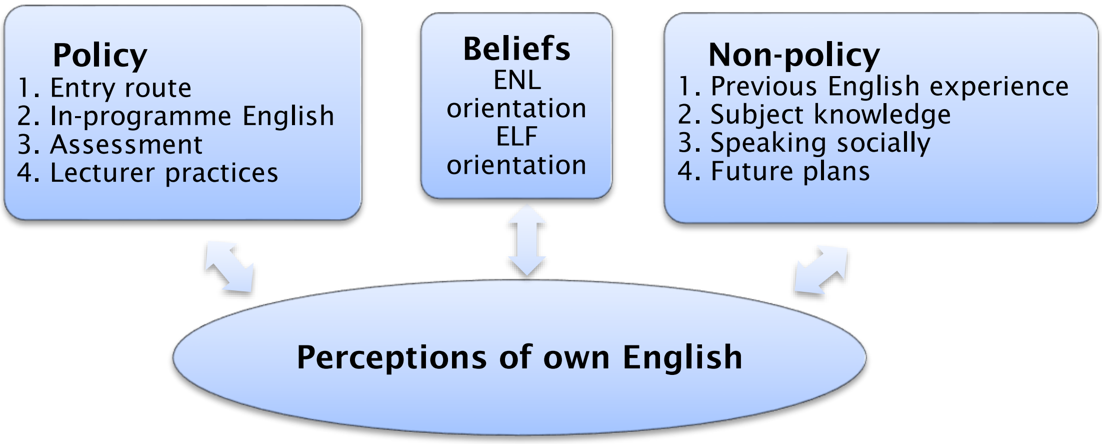

Policy
1. Entry route
2. In-programme English
3. Assessment
4. Lecturer practices
Beliefs
ENL orientation
ELF orientation
Non-policy
1. Previous English experience
2. Subject knowledge
3. Speaking socially
4. Future plans
Perceptions of own English

Figure 7 Links between perceptions, beliefs and experiences

Factors have been divided into three categories, with aspects of policy that were discussed above appearing on the left. On the right are non-policy factors, with the centre box, Beliefs, concerning participants' orientation to English. The arrows between each of these three boxes and Perceptions reflect my findings that influence was not one-way. In other words, in some cases, individuals' feelings about their English affected how they responded to experiences or how they oriented to English, as well as vice versa. These reciprocal effects were not seen in all participants for all categories, and neither were they to the same degree. This was due to individual differences, including variations in attention given to interview topics. These individual differences mean that referring to my participants as 'international students', with the implication that this is a homogeneous group, is something I do with reluctance. I return to this point below in 9.3.

These findings concerning the intermingling of experiences and beliefs mean that that isolating policy from other aspects was not always possible. This is exacerbated by the absence of consistent policy in most areas, with the exception of English language entry requirements. For some, this had arguably the most significant effect on perceptions for two reasons. Firstly, almost all participants entered through IELTS or a pre-sessional course, meaning they had demonstrated proficiency in native-like English – and the two individuals who had not needed IELTS had nonetheless taken the test and, significantly, had described its negative impact on them. Secondly, the requirements are for a *minimum* score.

To elaborate on the first point, the power of tests is well-established (e.g. Shohamy, 2013; 2018), and in the case of IELTS, this contributes to perpetuating the ideology of standard, native English (e.g. Jenkins, 2014). This alone does not account for participants' orientations, however, since eight individuals gave no indication of an ENL orientation. It seems likely, then, previous education played a role, in line with the argument made by, for example, Lo Bianco (2010) and Lippi-Green (2012), as was seen in previous studies (e.g. Ishikawa, 2015; Wang, 2015a; 2016). Experience of not only learning but also using English was also key, with Tabora, the only person with a clear ELF orientation, discussing her use of English for international business, in line with previous work by, for example, Sung (2015).

The second point above was that entry requirements are for a minimum IELTS (or equivalent) score. For some participants who entered with a higher score, this may have caused them to see their English as "better" than others'. In the same way, those with a minimum score, in the form of a pre-sessional 'pass', unfavourably compared themselves to those with higher IELTS scores. This is arguably a difficult situation to change, particularly given the range of backgrounds of ISs in terms of previous English experience. However, if entry tests measured proficiency in interactional and IC skills rather than approximation to ENL norms (e.g. Leung, Lewkowicz and Jenkins, 2016; Harding and McNamara, 2018), this might go some way to enabling students to begin their studies on a more equal basis. Instead, the ideology partly promoted by IELTS arguably went some way to fostering the "them and us" views expressed by a number of participants, particularly around "Asian" English speakers as inferior to "Westerners", to some extent making them "complicit" (Lippi-Green, 2012: 68) in its propagation against themselves.

For these reasons, I would argue that the current entry requirements represent a failing of policy, particularly in the absence of in-programme policies to compensate for their shortcomings. Of particular relevance, here is group work, a key aspect of participants' academic experience. As noted above, there was no evidence that lecturers intervened in group work to facilitate IC, despite there being considerable need for this. Communication difficulties and negative evaluations of other ISs' English were both apparent, as has been found in previous research (e.g. Smit, 2010; Kuteeva, 2014; Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2017). There were few HSs on participants' programmes, but in Tabora's case, dominance and unco-operative behaviour severely affected her confidence in her English. Again, this is comparable to previous research (e.g. Cotton, George and Joyner, 2013). As over three-quarters of participants took part in group work that was assessed, this affected not only confidence in oral skills, but also grades. As such, this aspect of policy was significant for a number of participants. I discuss Assessment in 9.1.3 below.

The lack of policy requiring lecturers to facilitate group work, combined with entry requirements that do not feature IC skills was exacerbated by two non-policy aspects: diversity in terms of students' first language, and experiences of speaking socially. This again illustrates how other aspects of students' experiences combine with language policy to affect perceptions. The lack of diversity on some modules was manifest in the numbers of Chinese students, which sometimes made worse the "them and us" divisions mentioned earlier. This issue has been discussed in earlier research (e.g. Spencer-Oatey and Dauber, 2017; Spencer-Oatey et al., 2017; Yu and Moskal, 2018).

Although participants entering via a pre-sessional programme may have had "lower" proficiency in IELTS terms, this was balanced to a degree by the confidence it gave them in terms of having had practice in academic writing. However, this benefit was not seen in when it came to in-sessional EAP, which was felt to offer nothing new for pre-sessional entrants. As a result, some participants were unwilling to invest time in attending, especially given the demanding assessment load of their programmes. This echoes earlier research (Jenkins and Wingate, 2015; Murray, 2016). For a minority of IELTS entrants, EAP or compulsory AL classes provided the academic writing instruction they had lacked. Overall, however, most participants did not take advantage of in-programme English provision, suggesting a mismatch between this and the students' needs. This applies not only to academic writing but also oral interaction, what Blaj-Ward calls "opportunities for meaningful language use" (2017a: 58).

Finally, as we saw above, there was little evidence of lecturer accommodation in terms of adjusting their own use of English. This absence of policy appeared to have little effect, with less than a quarter of participants discussing difficulties in their first interviews. This was partly due to other factors affecting intelligibility of lecturers, such as participants' subject knowledge (in line with Blaj-Ward, 2017b) and confidence in their listening skills. The limited effect may also be due to the fact that lecturers were, in fact, accommodating, but the nature of the research methods meant that this was not identified (see further discussion in Chapter 7 above). Also significant was participants' orientation to English, with some evidence that those with an ENL orientation were more likely to feel the responsibility for understanding was theirs alone, particularly if the lecturer was an NES.

In summary, my findings show that effects of policy on perceptions are intertwined with both participants' beliefs about English and their non-academic experiences. The heterogeneity of my participants was matched to some extent by the differences in policy enactment they experienced. This was most evident in assessment, the focus of the following section.

9.1.3 RQ3 Effects of different approaches to policy and practices

The third research question looked at different approaches to policy and practices, with the emphasis on lecturer practices and assessment. As we have seen, however, there was no evidence of policy in the form of practices for either lecturer accommodation or facilitation of group work. While this renders the question of changes in approaches redundant from a policy perspective, it is worth revisiting participants' experiences before focussing on assessment.

In terms of understanding lecturers, again there was little indication that this affected perceptions, with only a third of participants linking it to their confidence levels. The difference between the first and second round of interviews was marked, however, with only positive impacts discussed during the latter. This suggests that the difference may have originated from the participants, in terms of increased subject knowledge and the wider experience gained in listening to different accents, rather from any changes made by lecturers.

In relation to group work, however, participants' increased experience in language use appeared to have little effect. This was probably due to the nature of group dynamics, including factors such as personality and disciplinary background, meaning that no two groups were the same. However, there was some evidence that participants' experience of the reality of the sociocultural context caused a shift in their views about the superiority of HSs. As discussed above, this was closely linked to social use of English. Of the participants who had begun with a view of HSs as the most desirable interlocutors, half adapted to their scarcity and recognised the value of interacting with ISs, building their confidence as a result. Others, however, remained attached to the idea that communication with other ISs was not helpful in terms of improving their English. Significantly, these views were expressed by Asian or “non-Western” (in their eyes) students who had no interaction with “Westerners”, either in group work or socially.

The most variable aspect of policy was related to assessment. As noted in 9.1.1.2 above, inconsistency was seen in both criteria and their interpretation. This meant most participants were affected both positively and negatively, depending on the assignment. However, because participants tended to have more to say about feedback or marks they were unhappy with, this resulted in a rather negative slant to the findings. There were three main language-related causes of negative impacts. First, in feedback English was criticised, with participants either not anticipating this or feeling it was a generic comment made on ISs' work with no elaboration to help them understand the criteria. Second, two participants were annoyed that English was *not* assessed, and third, for oral presentations, other students who were NESs or functional NESs were seen as having an advantage, creating a ‘them and us’ divide of ‘Westerners’ and ‘non-Westerners.’ In the second and third categories, the issue of ISs evaluating other ISs' English was seen, echoing previous research (e.g. Ippolito, 2007; Hedger and Wicaksono, 2015).

Here it is also worth pointing out links between entry route and/or orientation to ENL and assessment. One-third of participants used a proofreader, anticipating that English would be assessed. This was because of a concern with achieving high marks and/or due to a desire to emulate NESs. Conversely, one participant felt that having passed the pre-sessional course, her English was adequate, and was therefore annoyed to receive feedback that her work should have been proofread. A similar point was made by a participant in Harwood and Petrić's (2017) study, regarding a lecturer's false expectations of her English based on her IELTS score. It may be that ISs, having had to demonstrate their proficiency in English, are more likely to focus on language, in the sense of grammatical correctness, than on other aspects of academic writing, as seemed to be the case with several participants in this study. Lecturer feedback was useful for a minority in making a distinction, prompting some to reconsider EAP classes, although with mixed results.

The final point to make is that, although some participants were negatively impacted by assessment policy, all 18 participants reported some positive effects. This was even the case for Patti, the only participant who felt worse about her English overall than when she started her programme, with writing the only aspect about which she felt more confident. As I have already pointed out, however, individual participants not only experienced different aspects of policy, they also reacted to them differently. What they brought with them in terms of beliefs and experience, along with their non-academic experiences, was in some cases as, or more, significant than the university's language policy and practices. This leads me to the next section, limitations.

9.2 Limitations and Suggestions for Further Research

Although the research was not designed with generalisation in mind, it must be acknowledged that these findings are necessarily limited by the context and participants. There may be similarities with other UK universities in terms of language policy, however, and superficially in relation to PGT students' countries of origin, but as I hope to have made clear here, each participant's individual characteristics, experiences and beliefs were as significant as their nationality or first language. It is hoped that this project serves to alert other researchers to acknowledge such heterogeneity.

Participants self-selected, meaning that those who took part in interviews either had an interest in English, or something in particular to say about the university. Those for whom English was a means to an end were less likely to have given up their time to talk to me, and this was apparent from the data. It would be useful for further research to engage with such students.

The original aim was to recruit from a range of disciplines, to allow comparison to be made across subjects, but this proved challenging. The over-representation of students from the Business School resulted in discussion of issues related to lack of diversity, since Chinese students are particularly well-represented in Business. Future research could usefully focus on disciplines and programmes with more diversity. Similarly, comparison across disciplines in terms of language policy impact would be of interest.

Website documents were restricted to those publicly available, with the exception of criteria provided by participants. This limited understanding to the institutional level. Further research could incorporate faculty or departmental level policies regarding in-programme English provision and guidance for lecturers.

Findings regarding lecturer practices were based on participants' perceptions only, rather than what lecturers did or believed they did. It was therefore only possible to make tentative interpretations of interview data in relation to this, particularly given the range of other factors that might affect both accessibility of lectures and effectiveness of group work, as noted above (see 4.5.1, 4.5.2, 7.4.3 and 7.4.4). Observations of practices would be useful for future research, as would interviews with lecturers regarding both their teaching and marking practices.

Finally, the researcher's role is significant here. Undoubtedly, some participants' comments were affected by my being an English teacher and a native English speaker. At the end of their interviews, for example, several participants asked my advice about improving their English. Although I did not play the role of a teacher, I also did not hide the fact, as this would have been unethical, and I certainly could not hide being an NES. Some participants apologised when criticising NESs, or avoided doing so, particularly when talking about lecturers. These two factors need to be kept in mind when reviewing this research; if the interviewer had been someone else, this would surely have affected the data collected. Having said that, my role in the university gave me vital insider knowledge, as I discuss next.

9.3 Significance and Contribution

This research contributes to existing knowledge in language policy, UK international students' experiences, and ELF. It is hoped that one of the most significant contributions is to drawn attention to the heterogeneity to be found among a group of students labelled "international" simply in terms of university's language policy. As I have discussed above, the 18 participants in this study had little in common other than being required to demonstrate proficiency in English in order to study here. This diversity is rarely acknowledged in research, with Blaj-Ward (2017b), Holliday (2017); and Baird and Baird (2018) being notable exceptions. I return to this in the following section, but continue to use the abbreviation here with the caveat that it signifies only group membership in terms of language policy. In particular, this research looks at links between policy and how ISs perceive their own English. As pointed out in Chapters 1 and 4, the majority of previous research into ISs and English has focussed on problems. These have included difficulties in integrating HSs and ISs, HSs' negative views of their international counterparts' English, and, above all, deficiencies in ISs' English. The emphasis has largely been on the need for ISs, rather than universities and lecturers, to adapt.

Moreover, while some studies have examined how ISs feel about their English, and a few have investigated at language policy in UK universities, to the best of my knowledge none has pulled the two together. My project is therefore significant for its focus on how situated policies and practices in one institution affect how students perceive their English. My detailed insider knowledge as a teacher in the university's EAP department[12] made this possible, giving me awareness of aspects of policy that another researcher may not have uncovered, including the range of entry routes and in-sessional provision. As such, this research presents a more comprehensive and connected study than previous studies in the field.

My research adds weight to the argument that UK HE is valid as a site for investigating the lingua franca use of English by showing that NES students are in the minority at master's level, and often completely absent. Thus for most of my participants, communication was with other NNESs. However, while all had demonstrated the minimum entry requirement for English, there were significant differences among them in terms confidence and 'official' proficiency. This related to previous English learning and use as well as IELTS scores. While they are all treated the same in terms of language policy – that is, as belonging to an homogenous group of 'non-native English speakers' – the reality was a broad spectrum of levels of expertise and confidence in English.

---

[12] Currently called the Academic Centre for International Students

A significant finding was that although participants were mainly assessed though written work, a substantial number of assignments was carried out as group work projects. This meant that oral skills were crucial. Moreover, given the points made in the previous paragraph, IC skills were needed, but lacking. This has drawn attention to the shortcomings of IELTS and IELTS-equivalent pre-sessional programmes as entry routes.

This research has also highlighted that the opportunity for, and quality of, social use of English is salient to some students. For some, this was limited by an over-representation of Chinese students at master's level, particularly in some disciplines. For those Chinese students who wished to socialise in English, creating opportunities to do so was a challenge when both their course mates and housemates were almost all Chinese. This is not to suggest that "Chinese students" are homogenous, but expecting English to be used among groups who share a first language is unrealistic.

Overall, this research is important for its contribution to understanding, and raising awareness of, the diversity of "international" students. The implications of the points above are discussed below.

9.4 Implications

This research has a number of implications for recruitment policy, language policy and pedagogy. First, it is suggested that universities aim to recruit PGT students from a wider range of first language backgrounds, in order to offer a fairer and richer intercultural experience to all.

Second, more appropriate entry tests are needed. Rather than rewarding test-takers for approximation to ENL, there should be an emphasis on interactional and intercultural skills. This would include preparing students for a range of

Englishes and accents, to better reflect the diversity they encounter in a UK university. This is clearly more achievable on pre-sessional programmes, so it is suggested that universities consider requiring IELTS entrants to take supplementary training prior to beginning their degrees. Such training should be compulsory for students who do not have to demonstrate English proficiency, including HSs. In-sessional intercultural training could also be offered to all students, regardless of their status as “international” or “home”.

Finally, some lecturers might benefit from pedagogical training in both IC skills and facilitation of intercultural group work. This would raise their awareness of linguistic issues, enabling them to make their teaching more accessible as well as enabling all students to participate fully in their education.

Overall, it is hoped that the above measures would help in raising awareness among students and lecturers of the limited usefulness of the labels “home” and “international”, particularly when these are equated to NES and NNES, respectively.

9.5 Summary and conclusion

This research was driven by a concern that ISs were largely ‘forgotten’ once they had paid their fees, being expected to fit in with the prevailing language policy while institutional adjustments were limited to offering EAP classes. My aim was to understand the students’ perspective, by focussing on their confidence in English.

My findings show that a range of factors interacts with each other to affect students’ perceptions, and that isolating aspects of policy was rarely possible. A marked contrast was found between entry requirements that reflect strict controls over language, and more flexible policies and practices for assessment. This flexibility, along with a patchy in-programme English provision, and an apparent lack of pedagogical policy for lecturers, resulted in unequal experiences for students. It seemed a matter of luck whether a student was in a module with others from a range of countries, whether he or she was taught by a lecturer who accommodated, and whether English was assessed. At the same time, students’ beliefs and prior experiences affected how they engaged with their studies, and non-academic factors, particularly social use of English, were also seen to be significant. These aspects mean that it is problematic to treat ‘international students’ as one homogeneous group.

The implications of this have been outlined above. Whilst changing entry requirements is beyond the control of the university due to government policies, there is considerable scope for implementing practical measures relatively easily. The challenge is to make ‘international student’ voices count, despite the prevailing climate in which only undergraduate, and therefore mainly home, students are able to influence rankings and in turn university policies. It is hoped that research such as this can start to redress the balance, and with that in mind, I leave the final words to two of my participants:

> thank you it is maybe for you just to get what people think but for me it is even talking and that’s good so thank you for that to give me the chance to talk about my experience and what I’m going through it is like a psychology session or something (laughs) it’s good to talk about what I’m feeling
>
> (Tabora)
>
> so I really hope that it can help your work can help can help international students like us and can help the school understand better about the hope and the wishes of the international students like me
>
> (Gaia)

Appendices

Appendix 1. Interview Participants

	Pseudo-nym	F/M	Nationality	Faculty	Entry route	EMI
P1	Athena	F	MID	BLA	IELTS	Whole education
P2	Gaia	F	EUSA	BLA	IELTS	No
P3	Trudy	F	CHI	Hums	PSA	No
P4	Flint	M	CHI	SHMS	PSA	No
P5	Cindy	F	CHI	BLA	PSB	4 years UG
P6	Faben	M	EUSA	BLA	IELTS	No
P7	Eveline	F	EUSA	BLA	ERAS	1 year PG
P8	Lola	F	EUSA	SHMS	IELTS	No
P9	Kiki	F	CHI	BLA	PSB	No
P10	Cherri	F	CHI	Hums	PSB	No
P11	Bixa	F	MID	BLA	PSA	5 years UG
P12	Patti	F	CHI	BLA	IELTS	No
P13	Sheldon	M	EUSA	BLA	PSA	No
P14	Tanga	F	CHI	BLA	PSB	No
P15	Tabora	F	MID	PSE	EAS	UG, but little writing
P16	Barbet	F	CHI	BLA	DEG	3 years UG in UK
P17	Pax	M	EUSA	BLA	PSA	No, but all reading in English
P18	Sandi	F	EUSA	BLA	IELTS	No

Key

Nationality

CHI	Chinese*
MID	Middle Eastern
EUSA	European, Eurasian, South American, Asian (excl. Chinese)

*Chinese students make up a high proportion of international students at PGT level, so identifying them does not compromise their anonymity. Revealing their nationality is necessary to interpret the data, such as when group work involves all Chinese members so English is not needed.

Continues over

Faculty

BLA	Business, Law and Arts
Hums	Humanities
SHMS	Social, Human and Mathematical Sciences
PSE	Physical Sciences and Engineering

Entry route

PSA	Pre-sessional course A (11 weeks)
PSB	Pre-sessional course B (6 weeks)
ERAS	Erasmus exchange
EAS	English for Academic Studies pre-sessional (1 year)
DEG	UK university degree

Appendix 2. Online survey about English language for international students starting a Master's programme

Please read this information carefully before deciding whether to take part in this research. You will need to indicate that you have understood this information before you can continue. You must also be aged over 16 to participate. By ticking the box at the bottom of this page and clicking 'Continue', you are indicating that you are aged over 16, and you are consenting to participate in this survey.

This questionnaire is part of my PhD research into how international students feel about their English. You have been invited to take part because you are an international or EU student who first language is not English, and you are starting a Master's degree at the University of Southampton.

Your answers to the questions are anonymous: you will not be identified. You may choose to provide your email address so that I can contact you again to arrange an interview. If you do this, your email will not be linked to your answers.

Statement of Consent
I have read and understood the information about this study. In consenting, I understand that my legal rights are not affected. I also understand that data collected as part of this research will be kept confidential and that published results will maintain that confidentiality. I finally understand that if I have any questions about my rights as a participant in this research, or if I feel that I have been placed at risk, I may contact the Administrator of the Ethics Committee, Humanities, University of Southampton, SO17 1BJ, UK. Phone: +44 (0)23 8059 4663, Email: B.Trezise@soton.ac.uk.

I certify that I am 16 years or older. I have read the above consent form and I give consent to participate in the above described research.

Section 1. About you

In this section, there are several questions about you. Please answer all the questions. The information you provide will not be used to identify you.

Question 1.1

Which country are you from? [text box for answer]

Question 1.2

What is your first language? [text box]

Question 1.3

What is the name of your Masters degree programme? [text box]

Question 1.4

When do you expect to finish your Masters degree? [text box]

continues on next page

Question 1.5

How did you meet the English language entry requirements for your degree course? Please choose one of the following options. If you choose 'other' please provide details in the box provided.

I have the required English test score (e.g. IELTS) ☐

I passed the Pre-sessional English Language course ☐

I passed the pre-Masters course ☐

I passed the EAS course ☐

I have a degree from a UK university ☐

I'm from a country on the approved list so don't need to prove my English ability

Other: ☐ [text box]

Section 2. Your feelings about your English

This section has two questions. Please answer both questions. There is also a space for you to provide your email address if you would like to be interviewed for my research.

Question 2.1

How do you feel about studying for your Masters in English? Please choose one option for each skill. In the next question, 2.2, please explain why you have chosen these options.

Very confident	5	4	3	2	1	Very nervous
speaking						
listening						
reading						
writing						

Question 2.2

Please say why you feel like this about studying for your Masters in English.

[text box]

continues on next page

Question 2.3

I'm interested in how your feelings about your English change during your Masters course. Therefore I'd like to interview some students twice during their course. If you might like to be interviewed, please give your name and email address. This information will be confidential. I will not use your name or email address in my research. I'll email you with more information, and you can then decide whether or not to take part. You will be able to change your mind and leave the study at any time. Thank you.

Name: ……………………………………………………………………………………………

Email: ……………………………………………………………………………………………

Thank you for taking this questionnaire.

Appendix 3. Interview 1 guide

1. Confirm name, country and degree programme

2. Participant Information Sheet & Consent Form

3. Begin interview

Why here? (to find out whether part of motivation is to improve/practice English)

Why your subject? Previous study? Future plans? (staying in UK or not)

Entry route: if SELT, check which, scores & when; if pre-sessional: how long, why this not SELT

Questionnaire responses: discussion of these - based on what? Explore previous English classes, any EMI study, what participant did immediately before coming here

Explore if levels of confidence have changed since then & why

Doing in-sessional? Generic EAP / Discipline specific? Why? (i.e. your idea, or tutor suggested, or compulsory)

Any core modules on academic skills? Discuss these

Any guidance on academic skills in induction/handbooks?

Done any assessment yet?

Has anyone suggested you should have your work proofread? By an NES?

Nationality of other students in your modules

Group work: who do you work with? Why? (ie does lecturer decide, or if they choose, do they choose/avoid NESs or vice versa, and why?)

Nationality of tutors: do students understand them?

Do you have an International Tutor/ Personal Academic Tutor?

Anything you'd like to ask me, anything you'd like add that we haven't talked about?

Appendix 4. Interview 2 Guide

1. Confirm name, country and degree programme

2. Participant Information Sheet & Consent Form

3. Begin interview

Feelings about English now

Ask participant to rate; compare to before; explore reasons for ratings now

Remind them of things they said in interview 1.

Assessment: discuss assessment had so far (oral & written), assessment criteria/feedback – if participant has brought this and wants to talk about it.

Has anyone suggested you should have your work proofread? By an NES?

Doing in-sessional? Generic EAP / Discipline specific? Why? (Ie your idea, or tutor suggested, or compulsory)

New modules now, so some questions as interview 1:

Nationality of other students in your modules

Group work: who do you work with? Why?

Nationality of tutors: do international students understand them ok? Which do you find easiest to understand?

Any core modules/training on academic skills?

Do you have an International Tutor/ Personal Academic Tutor?

Any points to be clarified/discussed further from interview 1

Final Questions, if this hasn't emerged already:

Is this how you expected to feel?

Did you think IELTS/pre-sessional would be enough? Or did you expect to have to work on your English?

Did you expect / want to improve your English while you're here?

What does 'improve' mean to you? (need to find out how they interpret it)

For you, how important is native-like English? Why?

e.g. were previous teachers NES? (pre-sessional)

Anything you'd like to ask me, anything you'd like add that we haven't talked about?

Appendix 5. Participant Information Sheet (Face to Face)

Study Title: International Students' Perceptions of their English in a UK university context

Researcher: Jill Doubleday **Ethics number**: 10750

Please read this information carefully before deciding to take part in this research. If you are happy to participate you will be asked to sign a consent form.

What is the research about?

This interview forms part of my PhD research into how international students doing a Masters degree feel about their English. I am a PhD student and an English teacher. I am interested in how your feelings about your English change during your Masters course.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen to take part in the interview study because you completed a questionnaire and gave me your email address.

What will happen to me if I take part?

If you take part, you will be interviewed twice by me. Each interview will last approximately 30 minutes. The first interview will take place in November 2014, and the second in March 2015. We will arrange the interviews at a time and place that is convenient to you. The interviews will be recorded.

Are there any benefits in my taking part?

You may find it helpful for you to be able to discuss how you feel about your English. The data from your interview, together with other data I collect, will also help other international students. This is because it will add to current knowledge about international students' experiences of studying in UK universities.

Are there any risks involved?

You may be worried about the privacy and confidentiality of any views you share with me. I will not share your views with anyone else except in an anonymised form. This means that no-one will be able to recognise you from your responses. There is no risk that anything you discuss in your interviews could affect your relationships with lecturers, your educational experience or your achievement on your programme. Data from your interview will not be made public until you have finished your Masters degree programme.

continues on next page

Will my participation be confidential?

This study will comply with the Data Protection Act/University policy in all matters of data storage and confidentiality. All data will be handled and stored securely on a password protected university PC. All documents will be password protected too. All interview data will be coded by me and therefore confidentiality is assured as no data will be disclosed other than in an anonymised form.

What happens if I change my mind?

You can leave this study at any time. If you choose to leave, all data collected will be removed from the study and destroyed if you want this to happen.

What happens if something goes wrong?

In case of concern or complaint, please contact:

Chair of the Faculty Ethics Committee, Professor Chris Janaway

(Phone: 023 80593424, email: c.janaway@soton.ac.uk)

Where can I get more information?

If you would like more information about this study, please contact me:

Jill Doubleday, email jd5v07@soton.ac.uk

Appendix 6. Consent Form (Face to Face)

Study title: International students' perceptions of their English in a UK university context

Researcher name: Jill Doubleday
Staff/Student number: 22432507
ERGO reference number: 10750

Please initial the box(es) if you agree with the statement(s):

I have read and understood the information sheet (10/09/14, version 1) and have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.	☐
I agree to take part in this research project and agree to my interview being audio recorded and my data being used for the purpose of this study	☐
I understand my participation is voluntary and I may withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected	☐

Data Protection
I understand that information collected about me during my participation in this study will be stored on a password protected computer and that this information will only be used for the purpose of this study. All files containing any personal data will be made anonymous.

Name of participant (print name)……………………………………………………………

Signature of participant ……………………………………………………………………

Date ………………………………………………………………………………………

Appendix 7. Documents analysed: English entry requirements, Research Question 1a

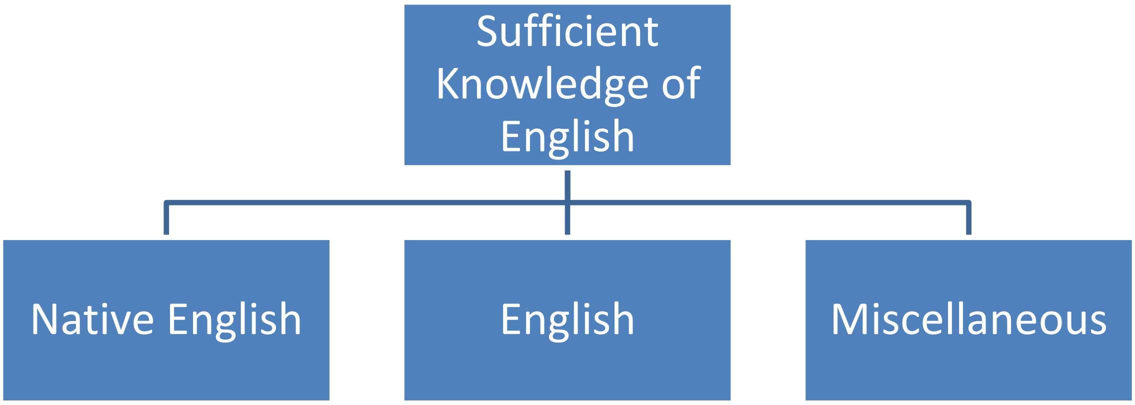
Word counts are for relevant documents/document sections, using the following definitions:

Relevant: any document or document section that refers to English language entry requirements and which applies to prospective postgraduate international students.

Irrelevant: any document or document section that does not refer to English language entry requirements or which does not apply to prospective postgraduate international students.

Document name	**Description**	**Word count**
English Language Entry Requirements	English language Entry Requirements – main statement linked from international students page	179
Admissions Policy - Language	Detail of entry requirements on Admissions page	655
Realise your ambition. International Student Guide	Promotional pdf downloaded from main International page	426
EAS pre-sessional detail	English for Academic Study course English language entry requirements and assessment	237
Exchange and Study Abroad	English language requirements for Erasmus/non-Erasmus exchange, and Study Abroad students	418
Pre-sessional detail	Summer pre-sessional course overview and aims	268
EAS pre-sessional overview	English for Academic Study course overview and aims	128
Pre-Masters detail	Course overview and aims	239
	Total words	**2550**

Appendix 8. Coding Frame 1, English language entry requirements, Research Question 1a


Sufficient Knowledge of English
Native English
English
Miscellaneous

Coding frame definitions

Native English: units of coding in which native English is stated or implied

English: units of coding in which native English is neither stated nor implied

Miscellaneous: units of coding which do not concern English, such as course dates and fees.

Appendix 9. Documents analysed: in-sessional English, Research Question 1b

Word counts are for relevant documents/document sections, using the following definitions:

Relevant: any document or document section that refers to in-sessional English language support for postgraduate international students.

Irrelevant: any document or document section that does not refer to in-sessional English language support for postgraduate international students.

Document name	**Description**	**Word count**
EAP support	English for Academic Purposes support programme; details of EAP Toolkit	1035
Faculty English Language Support	Statement regarding EL support on faculty pages	63
Language Advisory Service	Detail of Academic English Language Advising service	242
Management School Skills Modules	Content of skills modules for Management School students	640
STAT6009 Research Skills	Content of Research Skills module	157
GEOG6026 Skills and Project Work	Content of Skills and Project Work module	53
	Total words	**2190**

Appendix 10. Documents analysed: assessment guidance, Research Question 1b

Word counts are for relevant documents/document sections, using the following definitions:

Relevant: any document or document section concerning assessment procedures or policy relating to language, including academic writing and feedback.

irrelevant: any document or document section not concerning assessment procedures or policy relating to language, including academic writing and feedback.

Document name	**Description**	**Word count**
Use of Dictionaries	Statement on use of dictionaries in exams (on Student Admin/exam regulations web page)	227
Assessment Principles	Staff guidance on assessment(in Quality Handbook)	187
Information for students on assessment	Overview document for staff (in Quality Handbook)	177
Academic Integrity – Guidance for Faculties	Guidance on academic integrity for staff (in Quality Handbook)	250
Academic Integrity – Guidance for Students	Guidance on academic integrity for students (in Quality Handbook)	306
	Total words	**1147**

Appendix 11. Documents analysed: assessment criteria, Research Question 1b

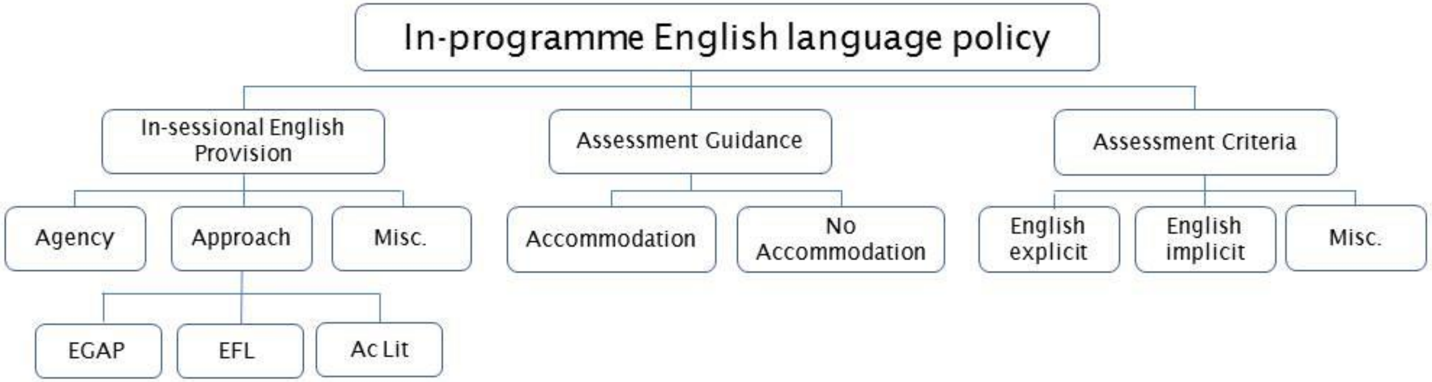
Word counts are for relevant documents/sections, defined as:

Relevant: any document or document section concerning assessment criteria or grade descriptors for masters programmes.

Irrelevant: any document or document section not concerning assessment criteria or grade descriptors for masters programmes.

Document name	**Description**	**Word count**
Assessment Descriptors Guidance notes	Guidance for staff on applying assessment descriptors	344
Assessment Descriptors	Descriptors by grade for six criteria	722
Assessment criteria documents supplied by interview participants		
	Document ID	**No. of documents**
Essay (individual)	C21, C26	2
Report (individual)	C4, C7, C9, C17, C25	5
Written - not specified (individual)	C1, C2, C3, C8, C11, C12, C13, C14, C15, C16, C22	11
Exam	C5	1
Written group project	C6 (unspecified), C18 (report)	2
Oral presentation	C10 (individual), C20 (team), C24 (group)	3
Discussion activity	C19	1
Peer assessment of group presentation	C23	1
	Participant documents/words	**26/6633**
	Total documents/words	**7699**

Appendix 12. Coding Frame 2, Research Question 1b


In-programme English language policy
In-sessional English Provision
Assessment Guidance
Assessment Criteria
Agency
Approach
Misc.
Accommodation
No Accommodation
English explicit
English implicit
Misc.
EGAP
EFL
Ac Lit

Appendix 13. Coding Frame 2 Code definitions

In-sessional English Provision categories:

Agency – units of coding which indicate whether attendance is optional or compulsory

EFL - units of coding which suggest an English as a Foreign Language approach in that they do not refer to or imply academic English

EGAP – units of coding which refer to or imply an approach which can be characterised as English for General Academic Purposes.

Academic Literacy – units of coding which indicate that provision content is discipline-specific, is delivered within the discipline and is not restricted to NNES students.

Miscellaneous - units of coding which refer to aspects of English provision other than agency or approach, e.g. timetables for courses.

Assessment Guidance categories:

Accommodation – units of coding in which accommodation towards international students is stated or implied

No accommodation - units of coding in which accommodation towards international students is neither stated nor implied

Assessment Criteria categories:

English explicit - units of coding in which English is explicitly referred to, including through the terms ‘language’ and ‘grammar’

English implicit - units of coding in which English is implicitly assessed. These can be identified by the presence of words such as ‘communicate’, ‘articulate’, ‘write’ and ‘style.’ References to ‘presentation’ may also indicate implicit assessment of language if it is apparent that ‘structure’ is assessed elsewhere.

Miscellaneous - units of coding in which there is neither explicit nor implicit reference to English/language, for example in phrases such as “systematic knowledge”, “technical and practical competence”, “ability to solve problems” and “citation and referencing.”

Appendix 14. Interview themes: in-programme practices

1. In-sessional EAP provision
    - 1.1 General EAP
    - 1.2 Specific EAP
    - 1.3 Agency

2. Evaluation of English in assessment
    - 2.1 English explicit
    - 2.2 English implicit
    - 2.3 Accommodation
    - 2.4 English absent

3. Lecturer accommodation: own use of English
    - 3.1 Accommodation
    - 3.2 Non-accommodation
    - 3.3 Intelligibility (no reason given; speed and clarity; subject knowledge, own weak listening skills; accent)

4. Lecturer facilitation of intercultural communication in group work
    - 4.1 Communication smooth
    - 4.2 Communication difficult
    - 4.3 Miscellaneous

Appendix 15. Interview themes: perceptions and policy/non-policy

Data were coded as positive or negative within each theme, unless indicated otherwise

1. Entry route
    - 1.1 Pre-sessional courses
    - 1.2 IELTS as entry route
2. Previous English Experience
    - 2.1 IELTS as previous English experience
    - 2.2 Other English experience
3. Speaking Socially
    - 3.1 Negative effects – NES interlocutors
    - 3.2 Positive effects
4. In-sessional English provision
    - 4.1 Academic Literacies
    - 4.2 English for Specific Academic Purposes
    - 4.3 English for General Academic Purposes
    - 4.4 English as a Foreign Language
5. Group Work
    - 5.1 Negative effects
    - 5.2 Positive effects
    - 5.3 English absent
6. Lecturers
    - 6.1 Negative effects
    - 6.2 Positive effects
7. Assessment
    - 7.1 Process – negative, product –positive
    - 7.2 Explicit assessment of English – negative effect
    - 7.3 Implicit assessment of English – negative effect
    - 7.4 No assessment of English – negative effect

Appendix 16. Transcription Conventions

Athena	Participant pseudonym
INT	Interviewer
[…]	sensitive material anonymised (e.g. department name)
[C1]	Participant’s country
[L1]	Participant’s language
[N1]	Participant’s nationality
{…}	comment on transcript or non-linguistic detail (e.g. in P5 transcript re passing water & correcting what I said, p24 & p5)
(laughs)	laughter
(…)	Guess at unclear word
XXX	Unintelligible word or words
[[	Overlapping speech

Appendix 17. Sample transcript

Why here

INT
What made you decide to come to Southampton to do a degree

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah I wanted to study I'm studying [subject] and it's like a new field in in business so in [C1] there aren't there aren't any formal programmes for [subject] and I'm interested in [subject] in particular and in the UK in general you have like this field is well-developed you have a lot of [professional organisations] and so like when I looked different programmes actually I applied in Newcastle and Surrey and I was like accepted in the three including Southampton yeah but the programme here had like more focus on [subject] and the connection with [professional organisations] so yeah

INT
good ok well maybe for the weather well Surrey would be quite good for weather as well (laughs)

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah actually I didn't care my main focus was the programme and [I was lucky to have good weather here

INT
yes I guess with your subject you're very focussed and so it should finish erm at the end did you say July where did I put down your finish date

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yes it's yes formally September

INT
September yes

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
2015

INT
yeah because that's when you'll finish your erm

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
dissertation

INT
yeah good ok so so far are you enjoying the course?

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah

INT
yeah? I mean it's just early days yet isn't it it's just the beginning

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah we are like actually it's only two months are we are getting very busy like with upcoming assignments and a lot of teamworks

INT
yeah yeah well I guess because it's a erm one year master's course

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it's very intensive

INT
it's quite intense yeah when I did mine in English Language Teaching here seven years ago I remember you just kind of ooh you're just beginning and then suddenly assignments (laughs)

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
(laughs)

Questionnaire responses

INT
and work to do yeah because you only have a year so you don't have much time to think about it (laughs) ok so just to remind you from my little online questionnaire which was a very short questionnaire mainly my purpose was to recruit some people to be interviewed and so that's just to remind you of what you chose {shows P1 responses}

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah

INT
erm and that’s what you said about why you ranked speaking as 3 listening reading writing as 5

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
mhm

Entry route

INT
and you came in with an English language test didn’t you was it an IELTS or

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah IELTS yeah

INT
what score did you get in IELTS

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
7.5

INT
ok that’s quite a high score isn't it

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
(laughs) mm yeah

INT
that’s probably much er is it 6.5 the minimum level for the course you’re doing or 7

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
err I guess it’s 7

INT
yeah

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
but for like for my I don't know I guess it’s 6.5 but for my scholarship it was err 7

INT
oh ok

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah

INT
and you've got 7.5 so you're quite high above above the level

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
(laughs) yeah

INT
wow good and was that was your

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
it was different yeah because like my speaking was 6.5

INT
uh-huh

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
I guess writing was 8, reading 8.5 and listening 7, 7.5 so

INT
wow but some high scores there

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah yeah it's mainly the speaking and like when I when I came to the UK because like I used to listen to the BBC a lot like the English website but when it comes to like talking to normal people with different accents I would rate my listening 4 (laughs) not 5 (laughs)

INT
oh ok

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
XXX sometimes when people speak fast or like use a lot of slang language it's a bit difficult to understand

INT
is that because from your experience now since you've started your

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah

INT
yeah I was going to ask you if you would change anything of this

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah yeah

INT
because that’s one of the things I’m asking people

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it would be the listening yeah that would be 4

INT
yeah because you’ve got a range of different accents

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
exactly

Other students

INT
are you thinking there about the British students or I imagine on your course because in [department name] it’s quite international isn’t it

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah actually we have we don't have any British students in my course (laughs)

INT
oh

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it’s it's mainly like the majority is from Thailand and we have a couple from India two from Slovakia yeah I don't think we in one course you only have a British girl yeah so only one course

INT
ok so other accents that you’re listening to it’s more about from different countries

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah from different countries but even like British accent because like I have British flatmates in halls you meet British people in the streets or

INT
yeah I guess it’s different isn’t it to studying when you're studying outside of the country any language and you’re used to hearing certain things and then when you hear real people

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah exactly and it’s like the BBC is accent-free English

INT
yes

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
so it's err it's much more easier to understand than

INT
so now you would probably feel a little bit less confident

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah

INT
you said probably a 4 now that you’re kind of in the environment and ok

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
exactly

INT
ok but would you still keep the others the same

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah yeah I guess

INT
yeah so you still feel the same about your speaking

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
mhm

Previous English experience [5’16]

INT
ok so just tell me a little bit more about how you’ve learned English was it all studied in [C1] or have you spent time anywhere else

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it was all in [C1] I went to a language school so I basically like I learned English since kindergarten er I studied like Science Math Chemistry and all this in English

INT
was that all of your secondary education or

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah yeah actually we have primary education elementary education and secondary education and throughout that I studied in English

INT
oh ok

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it was only like I guess social sciences we studied in [L1] err

INT
ok so pretty much all of your education has been in English

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah exactly but it's like even when you’re studying Chemistry or whatever in English the teachers speak in [L1] and only use English terminology

INT
ok

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
and lot of them are like quite good in English err they have problems with their pronunciation and stuff so it was like quite a long time studying English and I studied engineering in college so I continued like basically studying in English but not very much speaking in English

INT
yeah and so in college that was also in [C1] and so the lecturers were teaching in English or again was it sometimes done in [L1] with the books in English

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it's like the core material in English but how we communicate yeah mainly in [L1]

INT
yeah I think that's fairly common I think when erm around the world when courses are delivered in English or taught in English but sometimes the reality is the reading and the materials are in English but maybe a lot of the actual teaching

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
exactly communication

INT
communication so yeah so for that reason you've had less practice at speaking

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
exactly

INT
than you have at reading and writing I guess

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah

INT
ok alright well that's interesting very interesting well your English is fantastic

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
(laughs) thank you

INT
I have to say yeah so erm let me just just to get a general picture so erm are you doing any English classes now that you're here

In-sessional [7'16]

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah we I enrolled in like Everyday English course

INT
ok

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
there are some free courses for international students so I enrolled in that as well as erm I guess it was Seminars and Presentation Skills but that hasn't started yet

INT
but the Everyday English one has started

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah yeah it's like 5-weeks course once every week and yeah

INT
mm and how's that how's that going

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
it's nice but since we are quite a large group it's like 30 students in class yeah and we all have like different levels and you practise with like whoever's sitting next to you and I personally find it difficult when like when I talk with someone whose English is maybe erm less better than me it's sometimes difficult to communicate and it's like you you start like you stop and you try to rephrase what you are saying and you personally start to communicate in a less like fluent way so it can be challenging sometimes

INT
yeah so do you do you feel you would prefer that you were being challenged the other way more do you think that if you were speaking with someone who was more

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
exactly yeah

INT
competent than you

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah

INT
or more fluent

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
exactly it makes like communication easier

INT
yeah yeah ok and so are you like working with different people on that course different students each time different nationalities

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah yeah it’s all sorts of nationalities it’s XXX an international group more international than my programme actually (laughs)

INT
(laughs) well it’s interesting that your programme has well I know the [department] is very international so you don’t have any Chinese students on your programme

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
we have 2 Chinese students

INT
ok because I know there’s a lot of Chinese students in [discipline]

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah (laughs)

INT
but maybe your particular subject is maybe not such a typical thing that Chinese people think about

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
exactly more Thai people

INT
ok so you're doing the Everyday English one so did you choose that one because you think listening and speaking is the area

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
exactly and I wanted like to erm to acquire new vocabulary specially like because I tend to use the same set of vocabulary in speaking and in writing and everything so I thought it would be useful to have like to enrich my vocabulary and it is like we learn a lot of vocabulary and it's it's a good thing

INT
good ok so do you you mentioned I think before just talking with people in the street or wherever do you have you joined any clubs or societies or is your interaction mostly when you go shopping or things like that

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
like I go to a lot of events but it's mainly like err I join societies but we didn't have interactive sessions so it's usually a talk you listen you ask a few questions but it's not very interactive so and I do I like there is an international Friends International group which in which we go for like guided tours with err they are a couple a British err retired teacher and his wife and so like we we go and we talk a lot but it's quite an international group as well so not a lot of native speakers (laughs)

INT
not a lot of native speakers (laughs) is that something would you does that concern you or

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
I guess I guess it will affect like err how my English would improve

INT
mmm

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
err because like when you when you listen to like “correct” {P1 indicates speech marks with fingers} English its somehow you your language improves

INT
yeah

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
you acquire vocabulary you correct your pronunciation but when you are

mainly communicating with non-native speakers I think it wouldn’t be as useful mm

Future plans

INT
mm ok and do you what do you plan to do after you’ve finished your degree are you going back to [C1] or

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah I’m going back to [C1] because it’s like I’m mainly here to study how to make a change in [C1] so

INT
yeah you said you were on a scholarship so

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah and also my scholarship has a condition that I need to return to work in [C1] for 2 years but it’s my plan anyway so

INT
yeah you’ve spent your whole life there so I guess you’ve just come here because you couldn’t study this subject in [C1] at the moment but maybe in the future you’ll change all that

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah so I'd like to XXX I like the UK so far so I guess I will yeah

INT
good but maybe also [C1] will change and in the future this kind of degree with be available XXX

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah no I guess yeah because like yeah we have a lot of informal education in [field] right now but it was like I was looking forward to the whole experience of living in a different country so it wasn’t only like the programme

INT
no it’s just good for yourself as a person isn't it

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
exactly

INT
to spend some time living somewhere else

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
m-hm

Assessment [12’30]

INT
yeah good ok so in terms of your you haven’t done any assignments yet you’ve got some coming up have you

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah we had a presentation just like reading a scientific paper and summarising the ideas and the hypothesis in the paper in a presentation so we’ve done that

INT
was that a group thing or was it just individual

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it was a group thing

INT
ok was that is that assessed

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
err yeah it’s assessed yeah but we didn’t have our grades yet

INT
ah ok so how did that go how did you feel about it

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it was it was nice but like as usual some miscommunication in the middle because we were erm a a Thai girl and a Vietnamese girl and me err but it went fine at the end so

INT
good yeah it's interesting sometimes group work can be a challenge sometimes

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
exactly yeah

INT
because you've just got the any kind of situation when you're working with other people

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
m-hm yeah

INT
there's just the personality thing and everything else going on ok and so then when have you got assignments have you got deadlines coming soon for your written assignments

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah yeah I guess the first one is on 28 November

INT
ok ok alright so have you started working on it yet or

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah mainly like I'm doing the extra readings to prepare myself to the assignments have have written some thoughts but yeah

INT
good ok I was going to ask as well although I think I can maybe guess your answer I was going to ask you do you spend time sort of working on your English while you're here you're saying you're doing the Everyday English course

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah

INT
I mean I guess given your IELTS scores you probably don't really need to spend time working on that side of English but

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah exactly I guess like what I realise now is that I need like some personal tutoring it's like maybe spending an extensive err course for a month or so with someone who can give me like direct feedback and practice my weak points in in speaking also

INT
oh ok

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
because like general courses it's like ok it's extra practising but I don't think it will like make me more confident or help me improve the bits I need to improve so

INT
because of the fact it's 30 people [and some people are not at the same level as you

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
[yeah that and because it's like they in in like every course they work on like general err general points

INT
yeah

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
and like I've taken courses in the British Council in [C1] and it's like the instructor told I got an A and the instructor told me like my English is very good but still at some situations at some points I don't feel very confident and it's mainly because like when I focus on my pronunciation I start like so I'm not talking fluently enough because I'm trying to pronounce everything in a good way so I think it's like I need some advice like how to practice so I don't focus on my pronunciation while speaking I focus on fluency

INT
and so do you think when you say a good way, is that because you've - what makes you think your pronunciation isn't 'good'

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it’s like you have to like when if you are going to say ‘thank you’ you say ‘thank you’ you put your tongue out

INT
m-hm

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
like in [C1] the way we were taught it’s not necessary you can say *sank you* and it’s a totally different meaning and so when I try to like focus on this I might end up like putting my tongue out in an ‘s’ or in where I shouldn’t do that yeah it’s like we don’t differentiate between err [sound] and [sound]

INT
yes yeah

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
so it’s very common in in [C1] like like students who have been to international schools they usually have better err spoken English but I went to like it it’s called experimental school it’s like a governmental school but you you are taught in English so it's somewhere in the middle so

INT
ok yeah so so you feel that you’ve got those kind of [L1]

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah yeah (laughs)

INT
bits to your pronunciation that you yeah (laughs) that you don't want to have them you want to make it

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
actually I I understand I will never like have a British accent but it’s like if I if I pronounce like words correctly and I’m talking fluent enough like people understand what I am saying it’s fine for me but sometimes you speak and you feel like the other person is not quite understanding and you're not sure is it because like I’m not talking clear enough or their English is not good enough you never know (laughs)

INT
yeah yeah and I guess because you’ve got all these international coursemates and they may not have heard erm somebody from [C1] before you know they may have just studied in Thailand or China and not heard any other accents [apart from the BBC as well

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
[exactly yeah maybe (laughs)

INT
(laughs) perhaps so they’re also [adjusting and getting used to perhaps

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
[yeah exactly

Lecturers [17.22]

INT
yeah ok I’ve asked you about the other students so yeah on your different nationality of tutors do you have in your classes erm on your [programme]

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah so far we have an [nationality] instructor an English one err 2 English one actually and a Canadian one yeah

INT
ok ok so three [native English speakers there

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
[yeah exactly

INT
and do you find any differences between them in terms of how clear they are to understand or how much they understand you

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it’s like we have an instructor he’s erm I think his English he lives in [city] and he like he speaks in a very fast way and sometimes very difficult to follow him like the Canadian teacher she is more err understandable for me and err like the other English teacher he he’s a bit old so he speaks like erm slower maybe or he has he definitely has a different accent from the other one I guess

he’s from he lives in [county] so it’s err it can be sometimes like you understand them in different levels

INT
m-hm m-hm and the err the teacher the [nationality]

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
the [nationality] one yeah it’s like er for [country] I think it’s there is some code in like in understanding their English so because like they pronounce a *w* as *v* so once you figure out how they pronounce different letters it becomes easy to understand them so

INT
so you’re getting used to it

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah exactly yeah

Group work [18.59]

INT
and do you do erm what kind of classes do you have on your course do you have sort of seminars where you do work in groups you’ve already mentioned the group presentation

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah

INT
do you have lectures what kind of things do you have

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it’s mainly lectures and sometimes we have like group activities for like 10 or 15 minutes during the lecture

INT
ok

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah that’s it

INT

and do they do you decide who you can work with or does the lecturer or the tutor decide which people are working together

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

like if it is an activity during the lecture it’s usually whoever is sitting next to you but like for assessed work they let us choose our groups yeah

INT

and so for the lectures it's quite interesting because you know I’m an English teacher as well as you know

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

mm mm

INT

and so you notice you know students get into a pattern of when they come in and sit in the same kind of places very often

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

yeah yeah

INT

and is that how it’s working now with you

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

yeah it’s

INT

so you’re getting used to working with certain people or

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

yeah it’s like (laughing) sometimes like when I first arrived here I tried to sit at different places like to interact with different people but it was very unusual you get people asking you ‘oh you are used to sit here, why are you sitting here?’

INT

(laughs)

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
(laughs) so yeah people are forming groups in a way and they find it strange if you switch groups or

Personal academic tutor/international tutor

INT
yeah it's quite interesting isn't it and do you have erm do you have a personal academic tutor or an international tutor that you know of do you have one person that you can see

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah we they didn't assign us one [yet but they said [XXX it soon

INT
[oh ok [because I know that some some parts of the university have people they call international tutors erm and I'm not entirely sure what their job is and I don't know if the [department] has

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
no we have like only like a personal tutor an academic tutor I guess

INT
yeah but you haven't met that person yet

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
no not yet

Academic skills classes/guidance

INT
ok so I know in [P1's department] there is a woman called [name] who does some kind of academic skills classes I think for some courses but you

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah I think we have we have an academic I'm not sure but I guess it's online because I have it on Blackboard and they have English classes like English for Academic Purposes but it contradicts with my timetable so I sometimes like check the slides on Blackboard but I haven't been to the actual course

INT

oh so are they the ones that are run by [name] or don't you know

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

I'm not sure [who XXX but they do have one

INT

[you're not sure so would you go if you could yeah if you didn't have

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

yeah I guess and also if I have time because with classes and Everyday English I don't really have time for extra course

INT

no I imagine you're quite busy doing all your reading in preparation for your assignments ok I think that's more or less everything is there anything you wanted to ask me

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

no

INT

or anything else you wanted to say that we haven't covered

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

no actually I think we've

INT

I did want to mention when you were talking about the you feel you need some one-to-one kind of feedback

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

yeah

INT

do you know about the academic advising sessions that are run

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1

yeah I heard about them but I was once at the Avenue Campus looking for a book in the library and there was an announcement that there was a delay in arranging for that and so I guess it’s not available at the moment and I didn't check back actually

INT
yeah I mean because you can check online on the general webpage the same webpage that you went to to find the everyday English classes and those academic advising sessions are I think they’re about 20 minutes so it might be a short time but initially you know it would mean that you could talk to someone and get some advice

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
mm that’s good

INT
about what you could do to work on specific things so that might be a useful thing for you to do I think you do have to go over to Avenue Campus but then that’s on your way home

P1-MID-BUS-SELT-IV1
yeah it’s like in the middle of the way yeah

INT
yeah yeah good ok thank you I’ll turn off the recorders now

{ends at 24’04}

List of References

Abdullah, D., Aziz, M.I.A., & Ibrahim, M.L.A. 2014. A "Research" into International Student-related Research: (Re)visualising Our Stand. *Higher Education* 67: 235-253

ACE. 2014. The Asian Corpus of English. Director: Andy Kirkpatrick; Researchers: Wang Lixun, John Patkin, Sophiann Subhan. http://corpus.ied.edu.hk/ace/ Accessed 22/09/16

Aktas, F., Pitts, K., Richards, J.C. & Silova, I. 2017. Institutionalizing Global Citizenship: A Critical Analysis of Higher Education Programs and Curricula. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 21, 1: 65-80

Al-Hasnawi, S.B. 2016. *To Be a Native-Speaker of English or Not – That's Not the Question: Conceptualisations of English(es) in a UK-Based International University Context.* Unpublished doctoral thesis: University of Southampton.

Al-Youssef, J. 2010. *The Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions: Meanings, Policy and Practice.* Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Dr. Müller

Altbach, P.G. & Knight, J. 2007. The Internationalization of Higher Education: Motivations and Realities. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 11,3/4: 290-305

Armstrong, H. & Evans, S. 2013. Compulsory EAP classes and social integration networks: helping international students to succeed. In Wrigglesworth J. (ed). *Proceedings of the 2011 BALEAP Conference. EAP within the Higher Education Garden: Cross-Pollination Between Disciplines, Departments and Research.* Reading: Garnet Education, 87-93.

Armstrong, N. & Mackenzie, I.E. 2013. *Standardization, Ideology and Linguistics.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Atkinson, P. & Coffey, A. 2004. Analysing documentary realities. In Silverman, D. (ed). *Qualitative Research Theory Method and Practice* 2nd edition. London: Sage, 56-75

Bailey, C. 2013. Negotiating writing. Challenges of the first written assignment at a UK university. In Sovic, S. & Blythman, M. *International Students Negotiating Higher Education. Critical Perspectives.* London: Routledge, 173 – 189

Baird, R., Baker, W. & Kitazawa, M. 2014. The Complexity of ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 3,1: 171–196.

Baird, R. & Baird, M. 2018. English as a lingua franca: changing 'attitudes'. In Jenkins, J., Baker, W. & Dewey, M. (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca.* London: Routledge, 531-543

Baker, W. 2012. Using e-learning to develop intercultural awareness in ELT: a critical examination in a Thai higher education setting. *British Council Teacher Development Research Papers*. Available from: http://www.teachingenglish.org.uk/publications Accessed 18/0718Baker, W. 2015. *Culture and Identity through English as a Lingua Franca: Rethinking* *concepts and goals in intercultural communication.* Boston, Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Baker, W. 2016. English as an academic lingua franca and intercultural awareness: student mobility in the transcultural university. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 16,3: 437-451

Baker, W. 2018. English as a lingua franca and intercultural communication. In Jenkins, J., Baker, W. & Dewey, M. (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca.* London: Routledge, 25-36

Baker, W. & Hüttner, J. 2017. English and more: a multisite study of roles and conceptualisations of language in English medium multilingual universities from Europe to Asia. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38,6: 501-516

Banerjee, J. & Wall, D. 2006. Assessing and reporting performances on pre-sessional EAP courses: Developing a final assessment checklist and investigating its validity. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 5: 50-69

Barron, P., Gourlay, L.J. and Gannon-Leary, P. 2010. International Students in the Higher Education Classroom: Initial Findings from Staff at Two Post-92 Universities in the UK. *Journal of Further and Higher Education* 34,4: 475-489

Beals, M. H. 2010. International Students in History: A comparative study of first-year transition, 2009-2010. The Higher Education Academy.

Beaven, A. & Spencer-Oatey, H. 2016. Cultural adaptation in different facets of life and the impact of language: a case study of personal adjustment patterns during study abroad. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 16,3: 349-367

Benesch, S. 2001. *Critical English for Academic Purposes: Theory, Politics and Practice.* New York: Routledge.

Benesch, C. 2009. Theorizing and practicing critical English for academic purposes. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 8: 81-85

Berg, B.L. & Lune, H. 2012. *Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences.* 8th edition. London: Pearson

Björkman, B. 2009. From code to discourse in spoken ELF. In Mauranen, M. & Ranta, E. (eds.) *English as a lingua franca: studies and findings.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 225–251

Björkman, B. 2011. English as a lingua franca in higher education. Implications for EAP. *Ibérica* 22: 79-100

Björkman, B. 2013. *English as an Academic Lingua Franca: an Investigation of Form and Communicative Effectiveness.* Boston; Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton

Björkman, B. 2014. An analysis of polyadic English as a lingua franca (ELF) speech: a communicative strategies framework. *Journal of Pragmatics* 66: 122-138

Blair, A. 2017. Standard language models, variable lingua franca goals: How can ELF-aware teacher education square the circle? *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 6,2: 345-366

Blaj-Ward, L. 2014. *Researching Contexts, Practices and Pedagogies in English for Academic Purposes.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Blaj-Ward, L. 2017a. From language learner to language user in English-medium higher education: Language development brokers outside the language classroom. *Journal of Research in International Education* 16,1: 55-64

Blaj-Ward, L. 2017b. *Language Learning and Use in English-Medium Higher Education.* Cham: Springer.

Blommaert, J. 1999. The debate is open. In Blommaert, J. (ed). *Language Ideological Debates*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1-38

Borghetti, C. & Beaven, A. 2015. Lingua francas and learning mobility: relfections on students' attitudes and beliefs towards language learning and use. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* Early view article

Bourdieu, P. & Passeron, J.-C. 1994. Introduction: Language and the relationship to language in the teaching situation. In Bourdieu, P. Passeron, J-C. & de Saint Martin, M. *Academic Discourse.* Cambridge: Polity Press,1-34

Bourn, D. 2010. Students as global citizens. In Jones, E. (ed.) *Internationalisation and the Student Voice.* London: Routledge, 18–29

Bowen, G.A. 2009. Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal* 9, 2: 27-40

Breiteneder, A. 2005. The naturalness of English as a European lingua franca: the case of the 'third person -s'. *Vienna English Working Papers* 14: 3–26.

Brindley, G. & Ross, S. 2001. EAP assessment: issues, models and outcomes. In Flowerdew, J. & Peacock, M. (eds) *Research perspectives on English for academic purposes.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 148-166

Brinkmann, S. & Kvale, S. 2015. *InterViews. Learning the Craft of Qualitative Research Interviewing* 3rd edition. London: Sage

Brooks, L. & Swain, M. 2014. Contextualizing Performances: Comparing Performances During TOEFL iBTTM and Real-Life Academic Speaking Activities. *Language Assessment Quarterly* 11,4: 353-373

Brooks, R. & Waters, J. 2011. *Student Mobilities, Migration and the Internationalization of Higher Education.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Brown, L. 2007. A Consideration of the Challenges Involved in Supervising International Masters Students. *Journal of Further and Higher Education* 31,3: 239-248

Brown, L. 2008. Language and Anxiety: An Ethnographic Study of International Postgraduate Students. *Evaluation and Research in Education* 21,2: 75-95

Brown, S. & Jones, E. 2007. Introduction: Values, valuing and value in an internationalised Higher Education context. In Jones, E. & Brown, S. (eds). 2007 *Internationalising Higher Education.* London: Routledge, 1-6

Brown, S. & Joughin, G. 2007. Assessment and international students: helping clarify puzzling processes. In Jones, E. and Brown, S. (eds). *Internationalising Higher Education.* London: Routledge, 57-71

Brumfit, C. 2006. A European perspective on language as liminality. In Mar-Molinero, C. & Stevenson, P. (eds). *Language Ideologies, Policies & Practices: Language and the Future of Europe.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 28-43

Brumfit, C. 2001. *Individual Freedom in Language Teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Burr, V. 2015. *Social Constructionism.* 3rd edition London: Routledge

Bybee, J. 2006. From usage to grammar: the mind's response to repetition. *Language* 82,2: 711–733.

Byram, M. 1997. *Teaching and assessing intercultural communicative competence.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, M. 2008. *From foreign language education to education for intercultural citizenship*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters

Byram, M., Golubeva, I. Han, H., & Wagner, M. (eds). 2017. *From principles to practice in education for intercultural citizenship*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Cameron, D. 2012. *Verbal Hygiene.* London: Routledge

Cammish, N. K. 1997. Through a glass darkly: problems of studying at advanced level through the medium of English. In McNamara, D. & Harris, R. (eds). *Overseas Students in Higher Education: Issues in Teaching and Learning.* London: Routledge, 143-155

Canagarajah, S. 2006. Ethnographic methods in language policy. In Ricento, T. (ed). *Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method.* Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 153-169

Carey, R. 2010. Hard to ignore: English native speakers in ELF research. *Helsinki English Studies* 6: 88–101.

Carey. R. 2013. On the other side: formulaic organizing chunks in spoken and written academic ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 2,2: 207-228.

Carroll, J. 2005. 'Lightening the load': Teaching in English, learning in English. In Carroll, J. & Ryan, J. (eds) *Teaching International Students: Improving Learning for All*. London: Routledge, 35-42

Caruana, V. 2010a. The relevance of the internationalised curriculum to graduate capability: The role of new lecturers' attitudes in shaping the 'student voice'. In

Jones, E. (ed.) *Internationalisation and the Student Voice.* London: Routledge, 30-43

Caruana, V. 2010b. Global citizenship for all: putting the 'higher' back into UK higher education? In Maringe, F. & Foskett, N. (eds) *Globalization and Internationalization in Higher Education: theoretical, strategic and management perspectives.* London: Continuum, 51- 64

Caruana, V. 2011. *Internationalising the Curriculum – Exploding Myths and Making Connections to Encourage Engagement.* The Higher Education Academy. Available from: https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/node/3783 Accessed 22/09/16

Casanave, C.P. 2004. *Controversies in Second Language Writing.* Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press

Chowdhury, R. & Phan Le Ha. 2014. *Desiring TESOL and International Education: Market Abuse and Exploitation.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters

Cogo, A. 2012. ELF and Super-diversity: a case study of ELF multilingual practices from a business context. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1,2: 387-313

Cogo, A. & Dewey, M. 2012. *Analysing English as a Lingua Franca. A Corpus-driven Investigation.* London & New York: Continuum

Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. 2011. *Research Methods in Education* 7th edition. London: Routledge

Cofffey, A. and Atkinson, P. 1996. *Making Sense of Qualtitative Data. Complementaty Research Strategies.*Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Commonwealth, The 2017. *Member Countries.* Available from: http://thecommonwealth.org/member-countries Accessed 14 May 2017

Cots, J.M. 2013. Introducing English-Medium Instruction at the University of Lleida, Spain: intervention, beliefs and practices. In Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D. & Sierra, J.M. (eds) *English Medium Instruction at Universities: global challenges.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 106-127

Cotton, D.R.E., George, R. & Joyner, M. 2013. Interaction and influence in culturally mixed groups. *Innovations in Education and Teaching International* 50,3: 272-283

Creswell, J.W. 2014. *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative, and mixed methods approaches* 4th edition. London: Sage

Crawford, I. & Wang, Z. 2014. The Impact of Individual Factors on the Academic Attainment of Chinese and UK students in Higher Education. *Studies in Higher Education* DOI: 10.1080/03075079.2013.851182

Dafouz, E. & Smit, U. 2016. Towards a Dynamic Conceptual Framework in English-Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings. *Applied Linguistics* 37, 3: 397-415

Davies, A. 1991. *The Native Speaker in Applied Linguistics.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Davies, A. 2003. *The Native Speaker: Myth and Reality*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters

Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. 2008. Introduction: The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (eds). *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1- 43

De Vita, G. 2002. Cultural Equivalence in the Assessment of Home and International Business Management Students: a UK Exploratory Study. *Studies in Higher Education* 27, 2*:* 221-231

Dewey, M. 2009. English as a Lingua Franca: Heightened Variability and Theoretical Implications. In Mauranen, M. & Ranta, E. (eds.) *English as a lingua franca: studies and findings.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 60-83.

Dewey, M. 2012. Towards a post-normative approach: learning the pedagogy of ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1,1: 141-170

Dewey, M. & Patsko, L. 2018. ELF and Teacher Education. In Jenkins, J., Baker, W. & Dewey, M. (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca.* London: Routledge, 441- 455

Dlaska, A. 2013. The Role of Foreign Language Programmes in Internationalising Learning and Teaching in Higher Education. *Teaching in Higher Education* 18,3: 260-271

Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D & Sierra, J.M. 2013. Future challenges for English-Medium Instruction at the tertiary level. In Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D & Sierra, J.M. (eds) *English Medium Instruction at Universities: global challenges.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 213-221

Dolan, M. & Macias, I. 2009. *Motivating International Students. A Practical Guide to Aspects of Learning and Teaching.* The Handbook for Economics Lecturers. Available from http://www.economicsnetwork.ac.uk/handbook/printable/motivating_international.pdf Accessed 19/07/18

Dörnyei, Z. 2007. *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Drljača Margić, B. 2017. Communication courtesy or condescension? Linguistic accommodation of native to non-native speakers of English. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca,* 6,1: 29–55

Duff, P.A. 2008. *Case Study Research in Applied Linguistic*s. New York & London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Duff, P.A. 2010a. Language socialization into academic discourse communities. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 30: 169–192.

Duff, P.A. 2010b. Language Socialization. In Hornberger, N.H. & McKay, S.L. (eds).*Sociolinguistics and Language Education.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 427-452

Elliott, C. J. & Reynolds, M. 2014. Participative pedagogies, Group Work and the International Classroom: an Account of Students' and Tutors' Experiences. *Studies in Higher Education* 39:2, 307-320

Ellis, C. & Berger, L. 2001. Their story/my story/our story: including the researcher's experience in interview research. In Gubrium, J. F. & Holstein, J. A. (eds) *Handbook of Interview Research: Context and Method.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 849-875

Ellis, N. & Larsen-Freeman, D. 2009. Constructing a Second Language: Analyses and Computational Simulations of the Emergence of Linguistic Constructions From Usage. *Language learning* 59 (Supplement 1), 90–125.

Fairclough, N. 1992. The appropriacy of appropriateness. In Fairclough, N. (ed) *Critical Language Awareness.* London & New York: Longman, 33-56

Fairclough, N. 2001. *Language and Power* 2nd edition. Harlow: Longman

Fairclough, N. 2003. *Analysing Discourse: Textual analysis for social research.* London: Routledge

Fang, F. 2016. 'Mind your Local Accent': Does accent training resonate to college students' English use? *Englishes in Practice* 3,1: 1-28

Fang, F. & Baker, W. 2018. 'A more inclusive mind towards the world': English language teaching and study abroad in China from intercultural citizenship and English as a lingua franca perspectives. *Language Teaching Research* 22,5: 608-624

Feak, C.B. 2011. Culture shock? Genre Shock? In Etherington, S. (ed). *English for Specific Academic Purposes. Proceedings of the 2009 BALEAP Conference.* Reading: Garnet Education, 35-45

Fenton-Smith, B. & Gurney, L. 2016. Actors and agency in academic language policy and planning. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 17,1: 72-87

Ferguson, G. 2006. *Language Planning and Education.* Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press

Ferguson, G. 2007. The Global Spread of English, Scientific Communication and ESP: Questions of Equity, Access and Domain Loss. *Ibérica* 13: 7-38

Ferguson, G. 2012. English in language policy and management. In Spolsky, B. (ed). *The Cambridge Handbook of Language Policy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 475-498

Flick, U. 2014. *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* 5th edition. Los Angeles: Sage

Flowerdew, J. (ed) 1994. *Academic Listening: Research Perspectives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Flowerdew, J. 1994. Editor's introduction to Part V. In Flowerdew, J. (ed) *Academic Listening: Research Perspectives.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 239-240

Flowerdew, J. 2000. Discourse community, legitimate peripheral participation, and the non-native-English-speaking scholar. *TESOL Quarterly* 34, 1: 127-150

Flowerdew, J. 2015. Review of Basturkmen, H. (ed) 2015 English for Academic Purposes. New York/London: Routledge. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 20: 56-57

Flowerdew, J. & Peacock, M. (eds). *Research perspectives on English for academic purposes.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 8-24

Foskett, N. 2010. Global markets, national challenges, local strategies: the strategic challenge of internationalisation. In Maringe, F. & Foskett, N. (eds). *Globalization and Internationalization in Higher Education: theoretical, strategic and management perspectives.* London: Continuum, 35-50

Fraser, H. 2011. Speaking and Listening in the Multicultural University: A Reflective Case Study. *Journal of Academic Language and Learning* 5,1: A110-A128

Franceschi, V. 2013. Figurative language and ELF: idiomaticity in cross-cultural interaction in university settings. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 2,1: 75-99

Fuller, J. 2003. Use of the discourse marker *like* in interviews. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7:3, 365-377

Gal, S. 1998. Multiplicity and contention among language ideologies: a commentary. In Schieffelin B.S., Woolard, K.A. & Kroskrity. P.V. (eds). *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory.* New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 317-332

Galloway, N. & Rose, H. 2018. Incorporating Global Englishes into the ELT classroom. *ELT Journal* 72,1: 4 -14

Gavriel, A. 1999. English for very specific teaching: bilateral gap-filling in British higher education or how can we internationalise the staff? In Bool, H. & Luford, P. (eds) *Academic Standards and Expectations The Role of EAP* Nottingham: Nottingham University Press, 19-27

Gee, J.P. 2014. *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis: Theory and Method* 4th edition. London, New York: Routledge

Gergen, K.J. 1985. The Social Constructionist Movement in Modern Psychology. *American Psychologist* 40,3: 266-275

Gillett, A. & Wray, A. 2006. EAP and success. In Gillett, A & Wray, A. (eds) *Assessing the effectiveness of EAP Programmes.* London: BALEAP (British Assocation of Lecturers in English for Academic Purposes).

Gnutzmann, C. & Rabe F. 2014. 'Theoretical subtleties' or 'text modules'? German researchers' language demands and attitudes across disciplinary cultures. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 13: 31-40

Gotti, M. 2014. Explanatory strategies in university courses taught in ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 3,2: 337-361

Green, R. 2000. Life after the pre-sessional course: how students fare in their departments. In Blue, G., Milton, J. & Saville, J. (eds.) *Assessing English for Academic Purposes.* Oxford, New York: Peter Lang, 131-145

Grenfell, M. 2012. Bourdieu, language and education. In Grenfell, M., Bloome, D., Hardy, C., Pahl K., Rowsell, J. & Street, B. *Language, Ethnography and Education: Bridging New Literacy Studies and Bourdieu.* London: Routledge, 50-70

Gu, L. & So, Y. 2015. Voices from stakeholders: What makes an academic English test 'international'? *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 18: 9-24

Gu, Q. & Schweisfurth, M. 2011. Rethinking University Internationalisation: towards Transformative Change. *Teachers and Teaching: Theory and Practice* 17,6: 611-617

Gu, Q., Schweisfurth, M. & Day, C. 2010. Learning and Growing in a 'foreign' Context: intercultural experiences of international students. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 40,1: 7 -23

Gubrium, J.F. & Holstein, J.A. 2012. Narrative practice and the transformation of interview subjectivity. In Gubrium, J.F., Holstein, J.A., Marvasti, A. & McKinney, K.D. *The SAGE Handbook of Interview Research: The complexity of the craft.* 2nd edition. Thousand Oaks: Sage, 27-43

Haigh, M. 2014. From Internationalisation to Education for Global Citizenship: a Multi-Layered History. *Higher Education Quarterly* 68,1: 6-27

Hall, C. J. 2014. Moving beyond accuracy: from tests of English to tests of 'Englishing'. *ELT Journal* 68,4: 376-385

Hall, G. & Sung, W-C. 2009. Mind the Gap? A Case-study of the Differing Perceptions of International Students and their Lecturers on Postgraduate Business Programmes. *International Journal of Management Education,* 8, 1: 23-32

Hammersley, M. & Atkinson, P. 1983. *Ethnography. Principles in Practice.* London: Routledge

Hammond, C.D. & Keating, A. 2018. Global citizens or global workers? Comparing university programmes for global citizenship education in Japan and the UK. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 48.6: 915-934

Hamp-Lyons, L. 2011a. English for Academic Purposes. In Hinkel, E. (ed). *Handbook of Research in Second Language Teaching and Learning, Volume 2.* New York: Routledge, 89-105

Hamp-Lyons, L. 2011b. English for Academic Purposes: 2011 and beyond. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 10: 2-4.

Harding, L. 2014. Communicative Language Testing: Current Issues and Future Research. *Language Assessment Quarterly* 11,2: 186-197

Harding, L. & McNamara, T. 2018. Language assessment: the challenge of ELF. In Jenkins, J., Baker, W. & Dewey, M. (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca.* London: Routledge, 570- 582

Harrison, N. & Peacock, N. 2009. "It's so much easier to go with what's easy": "mindfulness" and the discourse between home and international students in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 13, 4: 487-508

Harrison, N. & Peacock, N. 2010. Interactions in the international classroom. The UK perspective. In Jones, E. (ed). *Internationalisation and the student voice: higher education perspectives.* New York: Routledge, 125-142

Hartill, J. 2000. Assessing postgraduates in the real world. In Blue, G. M., Milton, J. & Saville, J. (eds) *Assessing English for Academic Purposes* Oxford; New York: Peter Lang, 117-129

Harvey, L. 2016. 'I am Italian in the world': a mobile student's story of language learning and ideological becoming. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 16,3: 368-383

Harwood, N & Petrić, B. 2017. *Experiencing Master's Supervision: Perspectives of International Students and their Supervisors*. London: Routledge

Haugen, E. 1972. Dialect, language, nation. In Pride, J.B. & Holmes, J. (eds) *Sociolinguistics.* Harmondworth, Midx: Penguin, 97-111

Hayes, A. 2017. The Teaching Excellence Framework in the United Kingdom: An opportunity to include international students as "equals"? *Journal of Studies in International Education* 21,5: 483:497

Hedger, R. & Wicaksono, R. 2015. Learning, Teaching and Assessment in Multilingual Classrooms. In Angouri, J., Harrison, T., Schnurr, S. & Wharton, S. (eds). *Learning, Working and Communicating in a Global Context,* Proceedings of the 47th Annual Meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics *4-6 September 2014 University of Warwick, Coventry.* London: Scitsiugnil Press, 53-66

Helmer, K.A.. 2013. Critical English for academic purposes: Building on learner, teacher, and program strengths. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 12: 273-287

Hénard, F., Diamond, L., & Roseveare, D. 2012. *Approaches to Internationalisation and their Implications for Strategic Management and Institutional Practice: a Guide for Higher Education Institutions.* OECD (The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development). Available from: http://www.oecd.org/edu/imhe/managinginternationalisation.htm Accessed 19/07/18

Henderson, J. 2009. "It's All About Give and Take", Or Is It? Where, When and How Do Native and Non-Native Uses of English Shape UK University Students' Representations of Each Other and Their Learning Experience? *Journal of Studies in International Education* 14, 3: 398-409

Henderson, J. 2011. New and not so New Horizons: Brief Encounters between UK Undergraduate Native-speaker and Non-native-speaker Englishes. *Language and Intercultural Communication* 11, 3: 270-284

Hennebry, M., Lo, Y.Y. & Macaro, E. 2012. Differing Perspectives of Non-native Speaker Students' Linguistic Experiences on Higher Degree Courses. *Oxford Review of Education* 38,2: 209-230

Higher Education Academy. 2015. *Internationalisation.* Available from: https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/workstreams-research/themes/internationalisation Accessed 18/07/18

Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE). 2014. *Global Demand for English Higher Education. An analysis of international student entry to English higher education courses.* Available from: http://www.hefce.ac.uk/pubs/year/2014/201408a/ Accessed 18/07/18

Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE). 2016. *Universities recruit and retain more international students than ever.* Available from: https://blog.hefce.ac.uk/2016/01/19/universities-recruit-and-retain-more-international-students-than-ever/ Accessed 30/06/18

Higher Education Policy Institute/Higher Education Academy. 2015. *What do home students think of studying with international students? HEPI report 76 July 2015.* Available from: http://www.hepi.ac.uk/2015/06/25/home-students-think-studying-international-students/ Accessed 18/07/18

Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA). 2018. *Where do students come from? 2016/17* Available from: https://www.hesa.ac.uk/data-and-analysis/students/where-from Accessed 18/07/18

Holliday, A. 2007. *Doing and Writing Qualitative Research* 2nd edition. London: Sage.

Holliday, A. 2011. *Intercultural Communication and Ideology.* London: Sage

Holliday, A. 2017. PhD students, interculturality, reflexivity, community and internationalisation. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 38,3: 206-218

Holstein, J. A. & Gubrium, J. F. 2003. Active interviewing. In Gubrium, J.F. & Holstein, J.A. (eds) *Postmodern Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 67-80

Hopper, P. 1987. Emergent grammar. *Proceedings of the thirteenth annual meeting of the Berkeley Linguistics Society* 13: 139–157.

Hopper, P. 1998. Emergent Grammar. In Tomasello, M. (ed.) *The New Psychology of Language*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum, 155-175

Hou, J. & McDowell, L. 2014. Learning Together? Experiences on a China-UK Articulation Program in Engineering. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 18,3: 223-240

House, J. 2008. (Im)politeness in English as a Lingua Franca discourse. In Locher, M. A. and Strässler, J. (eds.) *Standards and Norms in the English Language.* Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 351-366

House, J. 2012. English as a Global Lingua Franca. A Threat to Multilingual Communication and Translation? *Language Teaching* First View article, 1-14

Hülmbauer, C. 2009. 'We don't take the right way. We just take the way that we think you will understand' – The shifting relationship of correctness and effectiveness in ELF communication. In Mauranen, M. & Ranta, E. (eds). *English as a lingua franca: studies and findings.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 323-347

Hyatt, D. & Brooks, G. 2009. Investigating Stakeholders' Perceptions of IELTS as an Entry Requirement for Higher Education in the UK. *IELTS Research Reports Volume 10*, 1-50. Available from: http://www.ielts.org/researchers/research/volume_10.aspx Accessed 19/07/18

Hyland, F., Trahar, S., Anderson, J. & Dickens, A. 2008. *A Changing World: the Internationalisation Experiences of Staff and Students (home and international) in UK Higher Education. Higher Education Academy*. Available from: http://escalate.ac.uk/downloads/5248.pdf Accessed 19/07/18

Hyland, K. 2002. Specifity Revisited: How Far Should We Go Now? *English for Specific Purposes*, 21: 385-395

Hyland, K. 2006. *English for Academic Purposes. An advanced resource book.* London: Routledge.

Hyland, K. 2009. *Academic Discourse. English in a Global Context.* London: Continuum.

Hyland, K. 2011. Discipline and divergence: evidence of specificity in EAP. In Etherington, S. (ed). *Proceedings of the 2009 BALEAP Conference. English for Specific Academic Purposes.* Reading: Garnet Education, 13-22

Hyland, K. 2012. *Disciplinary Identities. Individuality and Community in Academic Discourse.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hyland, K. 2013. Writing in the University: Education, Knowledge and Reputation. *Language Teaching* null: 53-70

Hyland, K. 2016a. General and Specific EAP. In Hyland, K. & Shaw, P. (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of English for Academic Purposes.* London: Routledge, 37-49

Hyland, K. 2016b. Academic publishing and the myth of linguistic injustice. *Journal of Second Language Writing* 31: 58-69

Hyland, K. 2018. Sympathy for the devil? A defence of EAP. *Language Teaching* 51,3: 383-399

Hyland, K. & Hamp-Lyons, L. 2002. EAP: Issues and Directions. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 1:1-12.

Hynninen, N. 2010. "We try to to to speak all the time in easy sentences" – student conceptions of ELF interaction. *Helsinki English Studies* 6: 29-43

Hynninen, N. 2011. The practice of 'mediation' in English as a lingua franca interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43,4: 965-977

Hynninen, N. 2013. Language Regulation in English as a Lingua Franca. Exploring Language-Regulatory Practices in Academic Spoken Discourse. Unpublished doctoral thesis: University of Helsinki.

Iannelli, C. & Huang, J. 2014 Trends in Participation and Attainment of Chinese Students in UK Higher Education. *Studies in Higher Education* 39,5: 805-822.

IELTS (International English Language Testing System) 2015. *Guide for Teachers. Test format, scoring and preparing students for the test.* Available from: http://www.ielts.org/teachers.aspx Accessed 19/07/18

Ingvarsdóttir, H. & Arnbjörnsdóttir, B. 2013. ELF and academic writing: a perspective from the Expanding Circle. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 2,1: 123-145

Ippolito, K. 2007. Promoting Intercultural Learning in a Multicultural University: ideals and realities. *Teaching in Higher Education* 12,5-6: 749-763

Ipsos MORI & Office for Students. 2018. *The National Student Survey*. Available from: https://www.thestudentsurvey.com/about.php Accessed 19/07/18

Ishikawa, T. 2015. Japanese university students' attitudes towards their English: open-ended email questionnaire study. *ELF7 Proceedings of the Seventh International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca*. Athens.

Ivanič R. 1998. *Writing and Identity: The discoursal construction of identity in academic writing*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Jaworski, A. and Coupland, N. 2014. Introduction: Perspectives on discourse analysis. In Jaworksi, A. and Coupland, N. (eds). *The Discourse Reader* 3rd edition. London: Routledge. 1-35

Jenkins, J. 2000. *The Phonology of English as an International Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, J. 2007. *English as a Lingua Franca: Attitude and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jenkins, J. 2011. Accommodating (to) ELF in the International University. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43,4: 926-936

Jenkins, J. 2014. *English as a Lingua Franca in the International University. The Politics of Academic English Language Policy.* London: Routledge

Jenkins, J. 2015a. *Internationalisation on campus – or is it?* Lecture delivered Birkbeck College, Department of Applied Linguistics and Communication in its 50th Anniversary Lecture Series, 18 March 2015

Jenkins, J. 2015b. *Global Englishes* 3rd edition. London: Routledge

Jenkins, J. 2015c. Repositioning English and Multilingualism in English as a Lingua Franca. *Englishes in Practice* 2,3: 49-85

Jenkins, J. 2016. *International tests of English: are they fit for purpose?* In Liao, H-H. (ed). *Critical Reflections on Foreign Language Education: Globalization and Local Interventions.* Taipei: The Language Testing and Training Center, 3-28

Jenkins, J., Baker, W., Doubleday, J. and Wang, Y. in press 2018. How much linguistic diversity on a UK university campus? In Jenkins, J. and Mauranen, A. *Linguistic Diversity on the EMI Campus. Insider accounts of the use of English and other languages in universities within Asia, Australasia and Europe*. London: Routledge.

Jenkins, J. & Leung, C. 2014. (The assessment of) English as a Lingua Franca. In Kunnan, A (ed.) *The Companion to Language Assessment*. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 1607-1616

Jenkins. J. & Leung, C. 2017. Assessing English as a Lingua Franca. In E. Shohamy, E., Or, I. and May, S. (eds). *Language Testing and Assessment*. Cham: Springer International.

Jenkins, J. & Wingate, U. 2015. Staff and Students' Perceptions of English Language Policies and Practices in 'International' Universities: a Case Study from the UK. *Higher Education Review* 47,2: 47-73

Jenks, C. 2012. Doing Being Reprehensive: Some Interactional Features of English as a Lingua Franca in a Chat Room. *Applied Linguistics,* 33,4: 386-405

Jenks, C. 2018. Uncooperative lingua franca encounters. In Jenkins, J., Baker, W. & Dewey, M. (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca.* London: Routledge, 279 - 291

Johns, A. 1988. The Discourse Communities Dilemma: Identifying Transferable Skills for the Academic Milieu. *English for Specific Purposes*, 7: 55-60.

Jones, E. & de Wit, H. 2012. Globalization of Internationalization: Thematic and Regional Reflections on a Traditional Concept. *AUDEM: The International Journal of Higher Education and Democracy* 3:35-54

Kachru, B.B. 1985. Standards, codification and sociolinguistic realism: The English language in the outer circle. In Quirk, R. & Widdowson,H.G. (eds). *English in the World: Teaching and learning the Language and Literatures.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 11- 30

Kalocsai, K. 2009. Erasmus exchange students: A behind-the-scenes view into an ELF community of practice. *Apples – Journal of Applied Language Studies* 3,1: 25-49.

Kalocsai, K. 2013. *Communities of practice and English as a lingua franca: A study of Erasmus students in a Central-European context*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton

Karakaş, A. 2015. Orientations towards English among English-medium Instruction Students. *Englishes in Practice* 2,1: 1-38

Kaur, J. 2009. Pre-empting problems of understanding in English as Lingua Franca. In Mauranen. A. & Ranta, E. (eds). *English as a lingua franca: Studies and Findings.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 107-123

Kaur, J. 2011. Raising explicitness through self-repair in English as a lingua franca. *Journal of Pragmatics* 43,11: 2704-2715

Kelly, P. & Moogan, Y. 2012. Culture Shock and Higher Education Performance: Implications for Teaching. *Higher Education Quarterly* 66,1: 24-46

Killick, D. 2011. Internationalising the university: enabling selves-in-the- world. In Preisler, B., Klitgård, I. & Fabricius, A. H. *Language and Learning in the International University: From English Uniformity to Diversity and Hybridity.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 76-95

Killick, D. 2013. Global citizenship, sojourning students and campus communities. *Teaching in Higher Education* 18,7: 721-735

Knight, J. 2004. Internationalization Remodeled: Definition, Approaches and Rationales. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 8,1: 5-31

Konakahara, M. 2013. Paraphrases in ELF interaction: A Case in a British Higher Education Context. In Bayyurt, Y. & Akcan, S. (eds) *ELF5 Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca*. Istanbul: Boğaziçi University Press, 294-301

Kuteeva, M. 2014. The Parallel Language Use of Swedish and English: the Question of ‘Nativeness’ in University Policies and Practices. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 35, 4: 332-344

Lauridsen, K.M. & Lillemose, M.K. (eds) 2015. *Opportunities and challenges in the multilingual and multicultural learning space. Final document of the IntlUni Erasmus Academic Network project 2012-15.* Aarhus: IntlUni.

Lea, M.R. 2004. Academic literacies: a pedagogy for course design. *Studies in Higher Education* 29,6: 739-756

Lea, M.R. & Street, B.V. 1998. Student Writing in Higher Education: An academic literacies approach. *Studies in Higher Education* 23, 2: 157-172

Lea, M.R. & Street, B.V. 2006. The "Academic Literacies" Model: Theory and Applications. *Theory Into Practice* 45,4: 368-377

Leah, J. 2015. Email to Jill Doubleday, 13 January

Leask, B. 2005. Internationalisation of the curriculum: teaching and learning. In Carroll, J. & Ryan, J. (eds) *Teaching International Students: Improving Learning for All*. London: Routledge, 119-129

Leask, B. 2008. Internationalisation, globalisation and curriculum innovation. In Hellstén, M. & Reid, A. (eds). *Researching International Pedagogies: Sustainable Practice for Teaching and Learning in Higher Education.* Dordrecht: Springer, 9-26

Leask, B. 2009. Using formal and informal curricula to improve interactions between home and international students. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 13,2: 205-221

Leask, B. & Bridge, C. 2013. Comparing Internationalisation of the Curriculum in Action across Disciplines: Theoretical and Practical Perspectives. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education* 43,1: 79-101

Leung, C., Lewkowicz, J. & Jenkins, J. 2016. English for Academic Purposes: a need for remodelling. *Englishes in Practice,* 3,3: 55-73

Lee, J.J. & Subtirelu, N.C. 2015. Metadiscourse in the classroom: A comparative analysis of EAP lessons and university lectures. *English for Specific Purposes* 37: 52-62

Lilley, K., Barker, N. & Harris, M. 2017. The Global Citizen Conceptualized: Accommodating Ambiguity. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 21,1: 6-21

Lillis, T. 2001. *Student Writing: Access, Regulation, Desire.* London: Routledge

Lillis, T. 2003. Student Writing as 'Academic Literacies': Drawing on Bakhtin to Move from Critique to Design. *Language and Education* 17, 3: 192-207

Lillis, T. & Curry, M.J. 2010. *Academic Writing in a Global Context. The politics and practices of publishing in English.* London: Routledge

Lillis, T. & Scott, M. 2007. Defining academic literacies research: issues of epistemology, ideology and strategy. *Journal of Applied Linguistics* 4,1: 5–32

Lincoln, Y.S. & Guba, E.G. 1985. *Naturalistic Inquiry.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage

Lippi-Green, R. 2012. *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology and Discrimination in the United States* 2nd edition. New York: Routledge.

Littlemore, J., Trautman Chen, P., Koester, A. & Barnden, J. 2011 Difficulties in Metaphor Comprehension Faced by International Students whose First Language is not English. *Applied Linguistics* 32,4: 408-429

Liu, C. 2013. From Language Learners to Language Users: A Study of Chinese Students in the UK. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 23, 2: 123-143

Lo Bianco, J. 2004. Language planning as applied linguistics. In Davies, A. & Elder, C. (eds). *The Handbook of Applied Linguistics.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 738-762

Lo Bianco, J. 2005. Including discourse in language planning theory. In Bruthiaux, P., Atkinson, D., Eggington, W.G., Grabe W. & Ramanathan, V. (eds) *Directions in Applied Linguistics: essays in honour of Robert B Kaplan.* Clevedon; Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters, 255-263

Lo Bianco, J. 2008. Tense Times and Language Planning. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 9,2: 155-178

Lo Bianco, J. 2010. Language policy and planning. In Hornberger, N.H. & McKay S.L. (eds) *Sociolinguistics and Language Education.* Bristol; Buffalo; Toronto: Multilingual Matters, 143-174

Lynch, T. 1994. Training lecturers for international audiences. In Flowerdew, J *(ed) Academic Listening: Research Perspectives. Cambridge: Cambridge* University Press, 269-289

Lynch, T. 2011. Academic Listening in the 21st Century: Reviewing a Decade of Research. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 10: 79-88

Lynch, T. 2015. International students' perceptions of university lectures in English. *International Student Experience Journal* 3,1: 2-8

McCulloch. G. 2004. *Documentary Research in Education, History and the Social Sciences.* New York: RoutledgeFalmer.

McCulloch, G. 2011. Historical and documentary research in education. In Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. *Research Methods in Education* 7th edition. London: Routledge, 248-254

McMahon, P. 2011. Chinese voices: Chinese Learners and Their Experiences of Living and Studying in the United Kingdom. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management* 33,4: 401-414

McNamara, T. 2004. Language testing. In Davies, A. & Elder, C. (eds.) *The Handbook of Applied Linguistic.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 763-783

McNamara, T. 2012. English as a lingua franca: the challenge for language testing. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1,1: 199-202

McNamara, T. 2014. Thirty years on – Evolution or Revolution. *Language Assessment Quarterly* 11: 226-232.

Maringe, F. & Foskett, N. 2010. Introduction: Globalization and Universities. In Maringe, F. & Foskett, N. (eds). *Globalization and Internationalization in Higher Education: theoretical, strategic and management perspectives.* London: Continuum, 1-13

Maringe, F. & Jenkins, J. 2015. Stigma, tensions, and apprehension. *International Journal of Educational Management* 29,5: 609 – 626

Maringe, F. & Woodfield, S. 2013. Contemporary Issues on the Internationalisation of Higher Education: Critical and Comparative Perspectives. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 43,1: 1-8

Mason, J. 2002. *Qualitative Researching* 2nd edition. London: Sage.

Mauranen, A. 2006a. A Rich Domain of ELF – the ELFA Corpus of Academic Discourse. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 5,2: 145-159

Mauranen, A. 2006b. Spoken discourse, academics and global English: a corpus perspective. In Hughes, R. (ed) *Spoken English, TESOL and Applied Linguistics.* London: Palgrave Macmillan, 143-158

Mauranen, A. 2006c. Speaking the Discipline: Discourse and Socialisation in ELF and L1 English. In Hyland, K. & Bondi, M. (eds). *Linguistic Insights, Volume 42. Academic Discourse Across Disciplines.* Bern: Peter Lang, 271-294

Mauranen, A. 2006d. Signalling and preventing misunderstanding in English as a lingua franca communication. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 177: 123-150

Mauranen, A. 2010. Features of English as a Lingua Franca in academia. *Helsinki English Studies* 6: 6-28

Mauranen, A. 2011. Learners and users – who do we want corpus data from? In Meunier, F., De Cock, S., Gilquin, G and Paquot, M. (eds) *A Taste for Corpora: In honour of Sylvaine Granger*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 155-171

Mauranen, A. 2012. *Exploring ELF: Academic English shaped by Non-native Speakers.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Mauranen, A., Pérez-Llantada, C. & Swales, J. 2010. Academic Englishes: a standardized knowledge? In Kirkpatrick, A. (ed) *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes.* London: Routledge, 634-652

Mayring, P. 2004. Qualitative Content Analysis. In Flick, U., von Kardoff, E., & Steinke, I. *A Companion to Qualitative Research.* London; Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 266-269

Merriam, S.B. 2009. *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation.* San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Merriam, S.B. & Tisdall, E.J. 2016. *Qualitative Research: A Guide to Design and Implementation* 4th edition. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass

Miles, M.B., Huberman, A.M. & Saldaña, J. 2014. *Qualitative Data Analysis: A Methods Sourcebook* 3rd edition. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage

Milroy, J. & Milroy, L. 2012. *Authority in Language: Investigating Standard English* 4th edition. London: Routledge

Montgomery, C. 2009. A Decade of Internationalisation: has it influenced students' views of cross-cultural group work at university? *Journal of Studies in International Education* 13,3: 256-270.

Morgan, B. & Ramanathan, V. 2005. Critical Literacies and Language Education: Global and Local Perspectives. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 25: 151-169

Morrison, J., Merrick, B., Higgs, S. & Le Métais, J. 2005. Researching the Performance of International Students in the UK. *Studies in Higher Education*, 30,3: 327-337

Murray, N. 2016a. An academic literacies argument for decentralizing EAP provision. *ELT Journal* 70,4: 435-443

Murray, N. 2016b. Dealing with diversity in higher education: awareness-raising and a linguistic perspective on teachers' intercultural competence. *International Journal for Academic Development* 21,3: 166-177

Nesi, H. 2011. Swimming with the sharks: helping students in infested waters. In Etherington, S. (ed). *English for Specific Academic Purposes. Proceedings of the 2009 BALEAP Conference.* Reading: Garnet Education, 25-33

Nesi, H. & Gardner, S. 2012. *Genres Across the Disciplines. Student Writing in Higher Education.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Osmond, J. & Roed, J. 2010. Sometimes it means more work … Student perceptions of group work in a mixed cultural setting. In Jones, E. (ed) *Internationalisation and the Student Voice: Higher Education Perspectives.* New York: Routledge, 125-142

Owen, D. 2011. "Native Here and to the Manner Born." Academic Publishing and 'Proper' English. *English Test Construction* 4,2: 279-302

Pennycook, A. 1994. *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language.* Londno: Longman

Pennycook, A. 1997. Vulgar pragmatism, critical pragmatism and EAP. *English for Specific Purposes* 16,4: 253-269

Pennycook, A. 1999. Introduction: Critical Approaches to TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly* 33,3: 329-348

Peters, P. & Fernandez, T. 2013. The lexical needs of ESP students in a professional field. *English for Specific Purposes* 32: 236-247

Pilcher, P. & Richards, K. 2016. The paradigmatic hearts of subjects which their 'English' flows through. *Higher Education Research and Development* 35,5: 997-1010

Pilcher, N., Smith, K. & Riley, J. 2013. International Students' First Encounters with Exams in the UK: Superficially Similar but Deeply Different.' *International Journal of Teaching and Learning in Higher Education.* 25,1: 1-13

Pitzl, M-L. 2009. "We should not wake up any dogs": idiom and metaphor in ELF. In Mauranen, A. & Ranta, E. (eds.), *English as a lingua franca: Studies and Findings.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 298-322

Pitzl, M-L. 2012. Creativity meets convention: idiom variation and re-metaphorization in ELF. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 1,1: 27-55

Porto, M., Houghton, S.A. & Byram, M. 2018. Intercultural citizenship in the (foreign) language classroom. *Language Teaching Research* 22,5: 484-498

Prior, L. 2003. *Using Documents in Social Research.* London: Sage.

Quality Assurance Agency for Higher Education (QAA). 2015. *Supporting and Enhancing the Experience of International Students in the UK. A Guide for UK Higher Education Providers.* Available from: http://www.qaa.ac.uk/docs/qaa/international/international-students-guide-15.pdf?sfvrsn=7375f781_4 Accessed 19/07/18

Quan, R., Smailes, J. & Fraser, W. 2013. The Transition Experiences of Direct Entrants from Overseas Higher Education Partners into UK Universities. *Teaching in Higher Education* 18,4: 414-426:

Ranta, E. 2006. The 'attractive' progressive – why use the *–ing* form in English as a Lingua Franca? *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 5,2: 95–116.

Ranta, E. 2009. Syntactic features in spoken ELF – learner language or spoken grammar? In Mauranen, A. & Ranta, E. (eds). *English as a lingua franca: Studies and Findings.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 84–106.

Rapley, T. 2004. Interviews. In Seale, C., Gobo, G., Gubrium, J.H. & Silverman, D. (eds) *Qualitative Research Practice.* London: Sage, 15-33

Rapley, T. 2007. *Doing Conversation, Discourse and Document Analysis.* London: Sage

Rea-Dickens, P., Kiely, R. & Gu, Y. 2011. Uses and impact of test scores in university admissions processes: the language test as the "hard" criterion. In O'Sullivan, B. (ed) *Language Testing: Theories and Practices.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 262-281

Ricento, T. 2000. Historical and theoretical perspectives in language policy and planning. In Ricento, T. (ed). *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies: focus on English.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing, 9-24

Richards, K. 2003. *Qualitative Inquiry in TESOL.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ridley, D. 2004. Puzzling experiences in higher education: critical moments for conversation. *Studies in Higher Education*, 29,1: 91-107

Rienties, B., Alcott, P. & Jindal-Snape, D. 2014. To Let Students Self-Select or Not: That Is the Question for Teachers of Culturally Diverse Groups. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 18,1: 64-83

Rizvi, F. and Lingard, B. 2010. *Globalizing Education Policy.* London: Routledge

Römer, U. 2009. English in academia: Does nativeness matter? Anglistik: *International Journal of English Studies* 20,2; 89–100.

Rozycki, W. & Johnson, N.H. 2013. Non-canonical grammar in Best Paper award winning papers in engineering. *English for Specific Purposes* 32: 157-169

Ryall, S. 2013. An investigation into the issues of staff's conceptions and experiences of internationalisation and the implications for its delivery in higher education. Unpublished thesis. University of Southampton

Ryan, Y. 2004. Teaching and Learning in the Global Era. In King, R. (ed). *The University in the Global Age.* Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Saarinen, T. & Nikula, T. 2013. Implicit policy, invisible language: policies and practices of international degree programmes in Finnish higher education. In

Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D. & Sierra, J.M. (eds). *English Medium Instruction at Universities: global challenges.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 131-150

Saldaña, J. 2016. *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers* 3rd edition. London: Sage

Salter-Dvorak, H. 2014. 'I've never done a dissertation before please help me': accommodating L2 students through course design. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 19,8: 847-859

Sanderson, G. 2011. Internationalisation and Teaching in Higher Education. *Higher Education Research and Development* 30,5: 661-676

Sarantakos, S. 2005. *Social Research* 3rd edition. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Schartner, A. and Cho, Y. 2017. 'Empty signifiers' and 'dreamy ideals': perceptions of the 'international university' among higher education students and staff at a British university. *Higher Education,* 74: 455- 472

Schiffman, H. F. 2006. Language policy and linguistic culture. In Ricento, T. (ed). *Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method.* Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 111-125

Schmitt, D. & Hamp-Lyons, L. 2015. The need for EAP teacher knowledge in assessment. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 18: 3-8

Schreier, M. 2012. *Qualitative Content Analysis in Practice.* London: Sage

Schweisfurth, M. & Gu, Q. 2009. Exploring the Experiences of International Students in UK Higher Education: Possibilities and Limits of Interculturality in University Life. *Intercultural Education* 20,5: 463-473

Scollon, R., Scollon, S.W. & Jones, R.H. 2012. *Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach* 3rd edition. Malden, MA: Wiley

Scudamore, R. 2013. *Engaging home and international students: a guide for new lecturers*. Higher Education Academy. Available from: https://www.heacademy.ac.uk/system/files/rachelscudamorereportfeb2013.pdf Accessed 19/07/18

Seidlhofer, B. 2004. Research perspectives on teaching English as a lingua franca. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 24: 209-239.

Seidlhofer, B. 2009. Accommodation and the Idiom Principle in English as a Lingua Franca. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 6,2: 195-215

Seidlhofer, B. 2011. *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Serafini, E.J., Lake, J.B. & Long, M.H. 2015. Needs analysis for specialized learner populations: Essential methodological improvements. *English for Specific Purposes* 40: 11-126

Shiel, C. 2006. *Academy Exchange*, 5: 18-20. Higher Education Academy.

Shohamy, E. 2006. *Language Policy: Hidden agendas and new approaches.* London: Routledge

Shohamy, E. 2007. Language Tests as Language Policy Tools. *Assessment in Education: Principles, Policy and Practice* 14,1: 117-130

Shohamy, E. 2008. Language policy and language assessment: the relationship. *Current Issues in Language Planning* 9,3: 363-373

Shohamy, E. 2013. The discourse of language testing as a tool for shaping national, global, and transnational identities*. Language and Intercultural Communication* 13, 2: 225-236

Shohamy, E. 2018. ELF and critical language testing. In Jenkins, J., Baker, W. & Dewey, M. (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca.* London: Routledge, 583-593

Sifakis, N., Lopriore, L., Dewey, M., Bayyurt, Y., Vettorel, P., Cavalheiro, L., Pimentel Siqueira, D.S. & and Kordia, S. 2018. ELF-awareness in ELT: Bringing together theory and practice. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 7,1: 155-209

Silverman, D. 2013. *Doing Qualitative Research* 4th edition. London: Sage

Silverman, D. 2014. *Interpreting Qualitative Data* 5th edition. London: Sage

Sloan, D., Porter, E. and Alexander, O. 2013. Yes, you can teach an old dog new tricks. Contextualisation, embedding and mapping: the CEM model, a new way to define and engage staff and students in the delivery of an English language and study skills support programme: a case study of Heriot-Watt and Northumbria University. *Innovations in Education and Teaching International* 50,3: 284-296

Snell, J. 2013. Dialect, Interaction and Class Positioning at School: From Deficit to Difference to Repertoire. *Language and Education* 27, 2: 110-128

Song-Turner, H. & Willis, M. 2011. Re-engineering the Course Design and Delivery of Australian Tertiary Education Programmes: Perspectives from Chinese Students. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management* 33,5: 537-552

Sovic, S. 2008. *Lost in Transition? The International Students' Experience Project*. Centre for Excellence in Teaching and Learning, University of the Arts London

Sovic, S. 2013. Classroom encounters: international students' perceptions of tutors in the creative arts. In S. Sovic & Blythman, M. (eds). *International Students Negotiating Higher Education. Critical Perspectives* London: Routledge, 87-103

Spencer-Oatey, H. 2018. Transformative Learning For Social Integration: Overcoming the Challenge of Greetings. *Intercultural Education*, 29,2: 301-315

Spencer-Oatey, H. & Dauber, D. 2017. The Gains and Pains of Mixed National Group Work at University. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 38,3: 219-236

Spencer-Oatey, H., Dauber, D., Jing, J. & Lifei, W. 2017. Chinese students' social integration into the university community: hearing the students' voices. *Higher Education,* 74: 739-756

Spencer-Oatey, H., Dauber, D. & Williams, S. 2014. *Promoting Integration on Campus: Principles, Practice and Issues for Further Exploration.* UKCISA and University of Warwick. Available from: https://www.i-graduate.org/assets/Warwick.pdf Accessed 19/07/18

Spolsky, B. 2004. *Language Policy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Spolsky, B. 2009. *Language Management.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Stake, R.E. 1995. *The Art of Case Study Research*. London: Sage.

Stake, R.E. 2008. Qualitative Case Studies. In Denzin, N.K. & Lincoln, Y.S. (eds). *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 119-149

Sung, C.C.M. 2015. Exploring second language speakers' linguistic identities in ELF communication: a Hong Kong study. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 4,2: 309-332

Suviniitty, J. 2012. *Lectures in English as a Lingua Franca: Interactional Features.* Unpublished Doctoral Thesis: University of Helsinki. Available from: https://helda.helsinki.fi/handle/10138/37615 Accessed 20/07/18

Swales, J. 1990. *Genre Analysis: English in academic and research settings.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Swales, J. 2004. *Research Genres.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Talmy, S. 2010. Qualitative Interviews in Applied Linguistics: From Research Instrument to Social Practice. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 30: 128-148

Talmy, S. 2011. The Interview as Collaborative Achievement: Interaction, Identity and Ideology in a Speech Event. *Applied Linguistics* 32,1: 25-42

Teekens, H. 2000. Teaching and learning in the international classroom. In Crowther, P., Joris, M., Otten, M., Nilsson, B., Teekens, H. & Wächter, B. *Internationalisation at Home. A Position Paper.* Amsterdam: European Association for International Education, 29-34

Teekens, H. 2007. Internationalisation at Home: an introduction.' In Teekens, H. (ed) *Internationalisation at Home: ideas and ideals*. Amsterdam: European Association for International Education, 3-11

Thorpe, A., Snell, M., Davey-Evans, S. and Talman, R. 2017. Improving the Academic Performance of Non-native English-Speaking Students: the Contribution of Pre-sessional English Language Programmes. *Higher Education Quarterly* 71,1: 5-32

Times Higher Education. 2018. *The World's Most International Universities 2018.* THE online, March 14. Available from:

List of References

https://www.timeshighereducation.com/student/best-universities/most-international-universities-world-2018#survey-answer Accessed 13/07/18

Tollefson, J. W. 1991. *Planning Language, Planning Inequality: Language policy in the community.* London & New York: Longman

Tollefson, J.W. 1995. Language policy, power and inequality. In Tollefson, J.W. (ed). *Power and Inequality in Language Education.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1-8

Tollefson, J.W. 2002. Introduction: critical issues in educational language policy. In Tollefson, J.W. (ed) *Language Policies in Education: Critical Issues.* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 3-15

Tollefson, J. W. 2006. Critical theory in language policy. In Ricento T. (ed). *Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method.* Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 42-59

Tollefson, J. W. 2011. Language planning and language policy. In Mesthrie, R. (ed). *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 357-376

Tomasello, M. 2003. *Constructing a language: a usage-based theory of language acquisition*. Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press.

Tomasello, M. 2008. *Origins of human communication*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT.

Trahar, S. 2007 *Teaching and Learning: the International Higher Education Landscape. Some theories and working practices.* Higher Education Academy and ESCalate

Trahar, S. 2010. Has everybody seen a swan? Stories from the internationalised classroom. In Jones, E. (ed.) *Internationalisation and the student voice: Higher education perspectives.* London: Routledge, 143-154

Trahar, S. 2011. *Developing Cultural Capability in International Higher Education: A Narrative Inquiry* London: Routledge

Trahar, S. & Hyland, F. 2011. Experiences and perceptions of internationalisation in higher education in the UK. *Higher Education Research and Development* 30,5: 623–633

Tribble, C. 2009. Writing Academic English – a Survey Review of Current Published Resources. *ELT Journal* 63, 4: 400–417

Tribble, C. 2015. Writing Academic English Further Along the Road. What is happening now in EAP writing instruction? *ELT Journal* 69, 4: 442–462

Tuck, J. 2016. 'That ain't going to get you a professorship': discourses of writing and the positioning of academics' work with student writers in UK higher education. *Studies in Higher Education* 41,9: 1612-1626

Turner, J. 2004. Language as Academic Purpose. *Journal of English for Academic Purposes* 3,2: 95-109

Turner, J. 2011. *Language in the Academy: Cultural Reflexivity and Intercultural Dynamics.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Turner, Y. 2009. “Knowing Me, Knowing You”, Is There Nothing We Can Do? Pedagogic Challenges in Using Group Work to Create an Intercultural Learning Space. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 13, 2: 240-255

Turner, Y. & Robson, S. 2008. *Internationalizing the University.* London: Continuum

Tweedie, M. G. and Chu, M-W. 2017. Challenging Equivalency in Measures of English Language Proficiency for University Admission: data from an undergraduate engineering programme. *Studies in Higher Education*, DOI: 10.1080/03075079.2017.1395008

Universities UK, 2018. Need for urgent clarity on status of EU students, 14 June. Available from: https://www.universitiesuk.ac.uk/news/Pages/Need-for-urgent-clarity-on-status-of-EU-students.aspx accessed 11/07/18

Vetchinnikova, S. 2015. Usage-based recycling or creative exploitation of the shared code? The case of phraseological patterning. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 4,2: 223-252

Virkkula, T. and Nikula, T. 2010 Identity construction in ELF contexts: a case study of Finnish engineering students working in Germany. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 20,2: 251-273

Wächter, B. 2003. An Introduction: Internationalisation at Home in Context. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 7,1: 5-11

Wächter, B. and Maiworm, F. (eds) 2014. *English-Taught Programmes in European Higher Education: the state of play in 2014.* Bonn: Lemmens Medien

Walker, P. 2014. International Student Policies in UK Higher Education from Colonialism to the Coalition: Developments and Consequences. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 18,4: 325-344

Walkinshaw, I. & Kirkpatrick, A. 2014. Mutual Face Preservation among Asian Speakers of English as a Lingua Franca. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, 3,2: 269-291

Wang, Y. 2012. Mainland Chinese Students' Group Work Adaptation in a UK Business School. *Teaching in Higher Education* 17,5: 523-535

Wang, Y. 2015a. Chinese University Students ELF awareness: impacts of language education in China. *Englishes in Practice* 2,4: 86-106

Wang, Y. 2015b. Language awareness and ELF perceptions of Chinese university students. In Bowles, H. & Cogo, A. *International Perspectives on English as a Lingua Franca: pedagogical insights.* Houndmills, Basingstoke@ Palgrave Macmillan. 96-116

Wang, Y. 2016. Native English speakers’ authority in English. *English Today* 32,1: 35-40

Wang, Y. & Jenkins, J. 2016. “Nativeness” and intelligibility: impacts of intercultural experience through English as a lingua franca on Chinese speakers’ language attitudes. *Chinese Journal of Applied Linguistics* 39,1: 38-58

Warwick, P. 2008. Listening to international students. In Atfield, R. & Kemp, P. (eds). *Enhancing the International Learning Experience in Business and Management, Hospitality, Leisure, Sport, Tourism.* Newbury, Berks: Threshold Press, 113-123

Welikala, T. & Watkins, C. 2008. *Improving Intercultural Learning Experiences in Higher Education: Responding to Cultural Scripts for Learning.* London: Institute of Education

Wetherell, M. 1998. Positioning and interpretative repertoires: Conversation analysis and poststructuralism in dialogue. *Discourse and Society* 9, 3: 387–412

Widdowson, H. G. 1994. The Ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly* Forum, 378-389

Widdowson, H. G. 2003. *Defining Issues in English Language Teaching*. Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press

Wicaksono, R. 2013. Raising students’ awareness of the construction of communicative (in)competence in international classrooms. In Ryan, J. (ed). *Cross Cultural Teaching and Learning for Home and International Students: Internationalisation of Pedagogy and Curriculum in Higher Education.* London: Routledge, 241-250

Wingate, U. 2006. Doing away with ‘study skills’. *Teaching in Higher Education* 11,4: 457-469

Wingate, U. 2015. *Academic Literacy and Student Diversity. The Case for Inclusive Practice.* Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Wingate, U. 2018. Transforming Higher Education Language and Literacy Policies: The contribution of ELF. In Jenkins, J., Baker, W. & Dewey, M. (eds). *The Routledge Handbook of English as a Lingua Franca.* London: Routledge, 427-438

Wingate, U. & Tribble, C. 2012. The Best of Both Worlds? Towards an English for Academic Purposes/Academic Literacies Writing Pedagogy. *Studies in Higher Education* 37,4: 481-495

Wingate, U., Andon, N. & Cogo, A. 2011. Embedding academic writing instruction into subject teaching: a case study. *Active Learning in Higher Education* 12,1: 69-81

Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. 2009 Critical discourse analysis: history, agenda, theory and methodology. In Wodak, R. & Meyer, M. (eds) *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* 2nd edition. London: Sage, 1-33

Woolard, K.A. 1998. Introduction: Language Ideology as a Field of Inquiry. In Schieffelin, B.B., Woolard, K.A., & Kroskrity, P.V. (eds). *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory.* New York: Oxford University Press, 3-47

WrELFA 2015. The Corpus of Written English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings. Director: Anna Mauranen. Compilation manager: Ray Carey. http://www.helsinki.fi/elfa/wrelfa.html Accessed 17/07/18

Wright, S. 2004. *Language Policy and Language Planning: from nationalism to globalization.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan

Wu, Q. 2014. Motivations and Decision-Making Processes of Mainland Chinese Students for Undertaking Master's Programs Abroad. *Journal of Studies in International Education* 18,5: 426-444

Wu, W. & Hammond, M. 2011. Challenges of University Adjustment in the UK: A Study of East Asian Master's Degree Students. *Journal of Further and Higher Education* 35,3: 423-438

Yin, R.K. 2014. *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* 5th edition. Los Angeles, CA & London: Sage

Yu, Y. & Moskal, M. 2018. Missing intercultural engagements in the university experiences of Chinese international students in the UK. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, DOI: 10.1080/03057925.2018.1448259

Zhu, H. 2015. Negotiation as the way of engagement in intercultural and lingua franca communication: frames of reference and Interculturality. *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca* 4,1: 63-90

University of Southampton webpages referenced

University of Southampton, 2014a. English Language Entry Requirements. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/international/entry_reqs/english_language.shtml (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014b. Admissions Policy – Language. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/studentadmin/admissions/admissionspolicies/language (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014c. *Realise your ambition. International Student Guide 2014.*

University of Southampton, 2014d. EAS pre-sessional detail. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/ml/international/language_support/eas.page (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014e. Exchange and Study Abroad. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/international/study_exchange/incoming/eng_lang_comp.html (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014f. Pre-sessional detail. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/ml/cls/index.page & http://www.southampton.ac.uk/humanities/international/language_support/presess.page (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014g. EAS pre-sessional overview. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/ml/international/language_support/eas.page (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014h. Pre-Masters detail. Available from: https://www.southampton.ac.uk/international/int_study/Pre-Masters/ (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014i. Quality Handbook. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/quality/index.page? (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014j. EAP Support. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/ml/international/language_support/eap.page (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014k. Faculty English Language Support. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/humanities/international/language_support.page? (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014l. *Language Advisory Service.*

University of Southampton, 2014m. Management School Skills Modules. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/courses/modules/mang6209.page; /mang6211; /mang 6212 (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014n. STAT6009 Research Skills. Available from: https://www.southampton.ac.uk/demography/postgraduate/taught_courses/msc-social-statistics-research-methods-pathway.page#overview (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014o. GEOG Skills and Project Work. Available from: https://www.southampton.ac.uk/geography/postgraduate/taught_courses/msc_applied_gis_and_remote_sensing.page#modules (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014p. Academic Skills. Available from: http://www.academic-skills.soton.ac.uk/ (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014q. Use of Dictionaries. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/studentadmin/assessment/assess-overview/exam-regulations.page (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014r. Assessment Principles. Available from http://www.southampton.ac.uk/quality/assessment/framework/principles_and_definitions.page? (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014s. Information for students on assessment. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/quality/assessment/framework/assessments.page?#guidelines (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014t. Academic Integrity – Guidance for Faculties. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/quality/assessment/academic_integrity.page? (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014u. Academic Integrity – Guidance for Students. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/quality/assessment/academic_integrity.page? (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014v. Assessment Descriptors guidance note. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/quality/assessment/framework/principles_and_definitions.page?#assessment_descriptors (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2014w. Assessment Descriptors. Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/quality/assessment/framework/principles_and_definitions.page?#assessment_descriptors (Accessed 11 July 2017)

University of Southampton, 2018a. *Careers and Employability Service/Students/Understanding your Skills.* Available from: https://www.southampton.ac.uk/careers/students/supporting-your-development/your-skills.page Accessed 20/12/18

University of Southampton, 2018b. *Simply better: the university strategy.* Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/about/strategy.page#more Accessed 18/07/18

University of Southampton, 2018c. *Our people.* Available from: http://www.southampton.ac.uk/about/our-people.page Accessed 18/07/18