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**LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND PROCESSES  
IN ENGLISH-MEDIUM HIGHER EDUCATION IN UZBEKISTAN**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements of the University of Westminster  
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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## **Author's Declaration**

I declare that all the material in this thesis is my work.

## **Acknowledgement**

*This thesis is dedicated to my friend, Andrey, who will get his doctorate one day.*

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## Abstract

This study on "Language Practices and Processes in English-medium Higher Education in Uzbekistan" critically evaluates the current state of English Medium of Instruction (EMI) and English Medium Education (EME) in the country, looks at the dichotomy of EMI and EME practices and processes at the state and international institutions and draws important research-driven implications on how and why stakeholders' experiences within EME can be improved. Despite the constraints imposed by COVID, the fieldwork to collect data for the study was undertaken at 14 universities in Uzbekistan. The study used a mixed-methods approach, which enabled the collection of a rich data set. The findings are based on 2282 questionnaire responses, 13 policy documents, 31 class observations, 21 focus-group discussions with students and teachers, as well as 22 individual interviews with the teachers and 12 individual interviews with macro- and micro-level administrative staff members. In my study, I extend and restructure the ROAD-MAPPING framework proposed by Dafouz and Smit (2020), the only theoretical model thus far developed for EME. To show and implement a holistic rather than linear model, which seeks to represent the relationship between processes and practices on the one hand and the attitudes and beliefs of stakeholders on the other, the updated framework is developed as a 3D model. The findings show that how EMI is implemented at the universities is built around the positive image of English that all stakeholders share. However, EMI is a much more complex issue and, in its whole nature, is not viewed by students, teachers, and university leaders in the way that much of the research literature understands it. As a result, the complexity of EMI and its impact on stakeholders is often simplified, impacting practice. This research maps existing EMI and EME practices that suggest an appreciation of multilingual reality in the country, acknowledgement of existing challenges, and evaluation of possible ways to overcome these challenges. It also offers recommendations for effective EME policy and planning.

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## **Abbreviations**

**EME** - English Medium Education

**EMEMUS** - English Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings

**EMI** - English Medium of Instruction

**HE** - Higher Education

**HEI** - Higher Education Institution

**LPP** - Language Policy and Planning

**MI**- Medium of Instruction

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1 Research Background

Based on an annual report, among non-native speakers of English in 111 countries, Uzbekistan is ranked 89 and, therefore, is categorised as a “very low” English proficiency country (EF English Proficiency Index, 2022) . Even though a small percentage of the Uzbek population knows and uses English, it is associated with wider educational and employment opportunities and carries higher prestige (Hasanova, 2007). Since language status is associated with its “...ranking in the society and the domains and extent of its use” (Lambert, 2005: 23) and the ranking of English in many countries (Uzbekistan, in particular) is relatively high, the achievement of a high level of English is desirable. Despite very low English proficiency, education provided through the medium of English language is pursued with great enthusiasm by the Uzbek government and wider Uzbek society.

The two main constructs of this PhD research study are EMI (English Medium Instruction) and EME (English Medium Education). Macaro (2018:19) defines EMI as “the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English”. On the contrary, as a relatively new construct, EME does not have a well-established definition. Identifying a need for one, this PhD study has defined it as “a holistic approach to education where English is used across a range of disciplines and by various stakeholders as the primary medium of all practices and processes related to the provision”. In this research, EMI and EME are not used interchangeably. The meaning behind a conventional EMI is limited to instruction or classroom delivery. At the same time, EME spans beyond it and includes the use of English for all education-related purposes, including research and daily communication in academia and outside of it. A more detailed explanation and rationale behind the definitions and their distinctions are discussed in section 2.3.

Also, since EMI is a well-established concept, it is used by numerous researchers and authors referred to in the course of the thesis. Conforming to the choice of the authors, I refer to the same construct in most direct and indirect citations of their work. However, as the discussion unfolds, the constructs of EMI and EME are not mutually interchangeable and follow the exact definitions provided above. Drawing a clear line between these two key constructs was necessary to highlight their contextual applicability and reflect the complexity of lived reality in Uzbek HEIs.

In Uzbekistan, English is used as a medium of instruction at most international universities (including those not linked to anglophone countries) and at state universities where “English groups” are becoming more present in response to national guidelines on the development of higher education (HE). It is a symbolic medium of instruction that reflects the general government's aspirations for internationalisation. Internationalisation in education results in higher education institutions (HEIs) deciding to attract exchange students and contribute to international research (Macaro, 2018). In EME, English is used not only for language learning that goes along with gaining content knowledge in academic subjects but also for promoting international standards of education and attracting funding. In Uzbekistan, all branches of foreign universities promote the idea of the international standards of education being an alternative to the existing local system. Like European universities with EMI, where non-EU students are recruited to cover the deficit of national funding in academia (Bolsman and Miller, 2008), local and foreign students who choose to study in international EME programmes in Uzbekistan pay much higher fees than the ones at the state institutions.

The promotion of EMI in Uzbekistan is also evident through de jure policies. However, with its low English language proficiency and understanding of pedagogy in HE with EMI, policy often results in misconceptions about English language use that may be reflected in practices and processes. Writing about EMI in Asia, Kirkpatrick (2017:7) highlights that “... actual practice and hidden realities should inform language policy”, leading to “a coherent language policy for which all stakeholders have been consulted”. Therefore, it is essential to understand the guiding principles in policymaking and who regulates the use of English in HE in Uzbekistan.

Since the main objective of this study is to provide comprehensive and research-driven EMI policy guidelines exploring de facto and de jure language policies and

practices in Uzbek HE, it is crucial to look at them from both top-down and bottom-up perspectives. The recent studies on policies in EME found that policies are often misinterpreted by the stakeholders due to a lack of explanation on the initiative of the policy (Aizawa and Rose, 2019) and unclear explanations on the use of languages other than English (Aizawa and Rose, 2019; Macaro and Han, 2020). A bottom-up approach to policymaking is not the norm in Central Asia, where top-down policies prevail. An excellent example of a top-down language policy that affected the development of English is Kazakhstan's cultural project "Trinity of languages", which was initiated in 2007 (Goodman and Karabassova, 2018). The project promotes trilingualism: the use of Kazakh as a state language, Russian as the language of interethnic communication, and English as the language of the global economy. However, Karabassova (2021) reports that the policy could have been approached with more emphasis on the ongoing capacity building of micro-level policy actors to be an example of effective educational change.

Exploring the emerging EME practices and processes in Uzbek HE for this study, I situate the analysis within the English Medium Education in Multilingual University Settings (EMEMUS) framework by Dafouz and Smit (2020). The framework is based on the linguistic ecology approach and incorporates critical language policy and planning principles. For the purposes of the study, the original framework is changed, but its key dimensions are in place. With the centrality of the processes and practices dimension, this thesis discusses how attitudes and beliefs about the English language shape the identified roles and form EMI and EME practices, what role the key agents play in Uzbek EMEMUS, what academic disciplines employ EMI, and what language management mechanisms, as well as international and local process are used to shape the EME practices within HEIs. I also provide further recommendations for the ministry and universities on how to take that forward.

## **1.2 Research Problem**

English has become a hegemon language of scholarly communication in many countries. Associated with the notion of "linguistic imperialism", proposed by Phillipson (1992), English is also seen as a dominant power in education. As the primary goal of EMI is to



widen students' specialized knowledge in academic subjects in English (Taguchi, 2014), many governments or states encourage universities to offer teaching in a foreign language. In Uzbek HE, English is the medium of instruction in most international universities, which grow yearly, and some state institutions. Uzbekistan stresses the importance of English and strengthens its position through numerous decrees and official orders that are further reviewed in more detail in section 2.2.1.

Despite all the changes happening in Uzbekistan in English language education, no research has been done to specifically explore the role of English language policies in EMI institutions and the challenges associated with EMI practices in HE. There are a few studies of language policies in Central Asia, mainly in Kazakhstan, focusing on titular languages and the use of English (e.g., Smagulova, 2008; Aminov et al., 2010; Seitzhanova et al., 2015; Goodman and Karabassova, 2018; Karabassova, 2021, etc.), while research on EMI in Uzbekistan is scarce (e.g., Linn et al., 2020; Bezborodova and Radjabzade, 2021). To illustrate, an article by Macaro et al. (2018) reviews 83 studies on EMI in HE in different countries worldwide. There are findings from 40 Asian countries out of 102 contexts with a tertiary education level, but none is in Central Asia. Thus, there is a great need for regional EMI and EME research. This study contributes to the overall body of knowledge in the language policy and planning field and helps cover this research gap. Since institutions with EMI in Uzbekistan do not have formulated language policies that clarify what language norms and what competence in English are expected, this study examines de facto and de jure policies that shape lived reality of EME.

### **1.3 Research Objectives and Questions**

The current research studies language policies and practices in Uzbek HE with EMI. The main objectives of the study are to:

1. explore to what extent language policies and practices in Uzbek HE (in both international and state HEIs) are in line with EMI practices globally;
2. examine how the main beliefs and attitudes that students, teachers and administrative staff carry about EMI affect policies (both de jure and de facto) and practices;

3. provide comprehensive and research-driven EMI policy guidelines applicable not only in Uzbekistan but also in the Central Asian region in general.

There are two main research questions and subsequent sub-questions:

1. In which ways are language policies in the Uzbek HE institutions with EMI formed and managed?

1.1 Are English language practices regulated in any way in Uzbek HE institutions with EMI?

1.2 Who defines language policies and practices, and how?

1.3 How is the language competence of students, teachers, and administrative staff verified, if verified at all?

2. What language practices and beliefs characterise Uzbek HE institutions with EMI?

2.1 What are the main beliefs and attitudes that students, teachers, and administrative staff carry about EMI?

2.2 What is the status of English in HE, and to what extent is it used?

2.3 What are the challenges associated with the use of English by students, teachers, and administrative staff in the EMI context?

#### **1.4 Research Significance**

Bearing in mind the experience of EME and language planning elsewhere in the world, this study is a pioneering attempt to examine the emerging EME policies and practices to help ensure equality of educational opportunity in Uzbek HEIs. In Uzbekistan, a country with historically very low English proficiency, the development of EME has become one of the priorities in the education sector. Therefore, there is a great need for research on EME and its impact, particularly to identify the pathways to engaging in EME policy creation. Studying EME in Uzbek HEIs will also contribute to the overall body of knowledge in the language policy field in HE and help cover the existing research gap.

There is a lot of potential for further research on EME and EMI in Uzbekistan. This research may serve as a baseline for smaller individual studies, which will cover more

gaps. The research trajectories may include primary and secondary education sectors, where EMI is also widely used. The possible topics may include teacher training, student support, assessment practices, materials development, writing research articles, etc. This study's outcome will help to formulate suggestions for future research and lay the foundation for research on a similar topic in the broader Central Asian region, where countries operate in a similar cultural, political, and economic context. The project may also become a blueprint for greater multinational comparative studies.

Moreover, the extension and restructuring of the original EMEMUS framework by Dafouz and Smit (2020) makes the study a pioneering attempt to adapt that framework through the lens of EME practices in Uzbek HEIs, which will bring significant theoretical and practical contributions to the development of EME in the country. The research results highlight issues that should be addressed by the Ministry of Higher Education and university leaders in the country. In addition, the study reports on value-laden practices, identifies critical success and failures of practices, and reflects on the lessons learnt from the observations, interviews, and surveys. Focusing on research of the current issues in the field of language policy, the study also provides implications for teaching, curriculum development, and language administration in HEIs with EME more widely. The findings will be disseminated at different conferences and through presentations at the EME universities. The recommendations will also be addressed in publications to reach a wider audience.

### **1.5 Research Positionality and Motivation for Research**

I was born and raised in Uzbekistan, where I started learning English as a child with a private tutor when English was as popular as French and German, which had similar status. I developed my love for English and decided to become an English language teacher. My EMI journey started with my Bachelor's studies at the Uzbek State World Languages University that in 2006 had just opened an "English language only" faculty, which was partly sponsored by the US Embassy. It was called the Institute for English Language Teacher Education (IELTE), which everyone called "elite". It was a prestigious department within a standard local university where a few English language fellows from the USA and local teachers with good English were teaching using the American

curriculum, credit system, and materials in English. The faculty strictly followed the “English only” rule when it came to the use of English not only inside but also outside the class. Since the department focused on English language teacher education, the language component was addressed in numerous classes taken through four years of study. I remember struggling to be active in class, writing extended pieces in English, and using English outside class, which I felt was odd.

Apart from that, I was utterly fascinated with everything around me. I overcame all the struggles after a semester, and using English no longer felt unnatural. After graduation, my role as an EMI student shifted to an EMI teacher because I stayed within the same department as a teaching assistant. This shift was a lot easier, but as I developed professionally, I had to face numerous challenges the teachers in state HEIs have to overcome, namely: low student English proficiency, bureaucracy, and lack of financial support from the administration regarding teacher training and research. Even though the department was initiated and established with the help of the US Embassy, with time, its influence and involvement diminished, which resulted in less strict rules on the use of English, a smaller amount of funding, and the absence of native-speaker teachers.

After receiving a scholarship to continue my studies at the Master’s level, I relocated to an English-speaking country, where I spent two years doing an MA in TESL at Northern Arizona University. Returning to my role as a student in full EME (even though the term itself would not strictly apply to my studies in the USA), I now realise it was a different experience. An experience that made me stretch linguistically and intellectually more than any prior study. I was an international student at a foreign university where English was no longer just a foreign language but a true lingua franca, a medium of instruction, and a means of communication at the same time. I could experience international education from within.

The shift to my EMI teacher’s role yet again was realised back in Uzbekistan, where I was recruited at the Westminster International University in Tashkent, the most well-established HEI with EMI in the country. My experience with EME in an international university differed greatly from my experience in a state HEI. On the one hand, I could see a lot more support from the administration and opportunities for professional development. On the other hand, I could clearly see more struggles of students with EMI, their lack of academic literacy skills, limited understanding of

international standards of education, and very heterogenous classes with students of different English language proficiency. A lot of what the university was doing at that time focused on developing students' content knowledge, not skills. The English component was only realised through the English for Academic Purposes (EAP) module run on the foundation level.

This personal story and my experience with EME as a student and a teacher at a state university, a student in a foreign university, and a teacher and manager at an international university in Uzbekistan is the key motivation for me to research EME. I have been on many sides and in many roles of the EME divide, and I have experienced its establishment and development in the study context from within. An obsession with the English component of EME misleads its main stakeholders from the final E, Education, in the abbreviation of "EME". I feel strongly that students, teachers, and administrative staff in EME should be better supported for EME to develop. To cater to all stakeholders' needs, EME should be adequately researched, mapped, and understood. These are the key goals of my study. I want to bring research-driven awareness to the topic, potentially resulting in a more informed policy, positive practices for all stakeholders, and a more enjoyable experience with EME overall.

## **1.6 Structural Outline**

This thesis follows a conventional structure. It is divided into eight chapters, including this introduction, a literature review, an overview of the theoretical framework and methodology, two data analysis chapters of the main findings, data interpretation, and the concluding chapter with key implications. The key findings are also supplemented with the developed 3D model of the updated framework, which is shared through an [online link](#). The list of references and appendices are also provided.

For the readers' convenience, the list of contents is clickable. By holding the Ctrl key when clicking the topics in the table of content, the reader may be redirected to the relevant section.

## Chapter 2

### Literature Review

#### 2.1 Introduction

In 1989 Teleman (cited in Airey et al., 2015: 567) predicted that "the universities of the smaller countries will shift towards Anglo-American, in connection with their striving to create education programmes that sell within the whole market". This prediction has become a reality, and EMI has spread to all levels of education worldwide, including Uzbekistan. In Central Asian education, EMI has become an important and common development widely implemented across all levels of education (HE in particular). HEIs with EMI compete with each other, and this competition increases yearly, resulting in the establishment of EMI programmes at numerous state and international universities. Uzbekistan has the largest number of international universities in the Central Asian region. EMI programmes are also mushrooming at national or state universities, and the country welcomes the use of the English language. Due to its strong association with the concepts of globalisation and internationalisation of HE, EMI attracts more students who believe that it can open the gateway to their future success.

Spolsky (2004: 31) states that "applied linguistics must draw on a range of academic fields to develop practical plans to modify language practices". EMI as part of linguistics is seen as a transdisciplinary (i.e., a discipline that involves various areas of expertise (Bernstein, 2015)) because it impacts notions of globalisation, English as a world language, mobility, language imperialism, economy, sociopolitics (e.g., migration and war), etc. As a relatively new trend in education, the academic study of EMI continues to develop rapidly (Hu and Lei, 2014; Wächter and Maiworm, 2014; Dearden, 2015; Curle et al., 2020; Macaro, 2022). However, given its popularity and worldwide implementation, EMI is often taken for granted by those who initiate its implementation at different levels (i.e., the Ministries of Education, universities, departments, etc.).

Coleman (2006) highlights several problems with introducing EMI in education. Among them are social inequality issues, domain loss and perception of English as a threat to native language, lack of language proficiency by students and teachers, the

unwillingness of teachers to teach and students to learn in English, the inability of the institution to adapt to local language realia, etc. Moreover, from the perspective of internationalisation and globalisation in societies with strong national ideologies, such as Central Asian countries, HE institutions with EMI are sometimes viewed as mechanisms that bring new dominant-class values by replacing the existing culture.

Considering the complexity of the topic, this chapter reviews the literature to clearly set the background for the study, define EMI, examine its origin and relate it to the context highlighting its main drivers and criticism. Sections 2.1- 2.6 demonstrate the scope of the research on EMI, focusing on the main topics relevant to the study. These sections provide the background for the study overviewing the linguistic context of the Central Asian region and Uzbekistan, defining EMI and EME, and outlining its main effects. Sections 2.7 and 2.8 highlight the views held about it by students and teachers and look at the beneficial and detrimental effects of EMI on content and language learning.

## **2.2 Central Asian Linguistic Background**

The development of sociopolitics, economy, education, culture and language in the Central Asian region was largely influenced by the Arabian, Persian, Turkic and Russian Empires. Tsarist Russia, the latest major influencer in the region, began the invasion of Central Asian territories with the Kazakh steppe, the closest territory to the current Russian border. The occupation of the Turkestan Region followed the Kazakh steppe annexation in 1849 (map 1). Other Central Asian territories were added in 1876. After 1917 Central Asia started to make its post-colonial shift but was re-colonised by the Soviet Union. In 1918, after the Russian Revolution of 1917, communists formed the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. In 1920 one more republic, the Kyrgyz Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic, was formed but was soon renamed Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic in 1925. These two republics did not meet the requirement of the socialist agenda of language cohesion and ethnic homogeneity because each ethnicity was speaking its languages and dialects. Moreover, languages that later became titular in the region belong to different language families (i.e., Kazakh, Kyrgyz, Turkmen, and Uzbek are Turkic languages, while the Tajik language has Persian

roots). Central Asia has historically been ethnically diverse and linguistically rich. This multilingual region was populated by people who used around 130 languages and led both nomadic and more sedentary lifestyles (Khairi, 2018).

Based on the ethnolinguistic landscape, in 1924, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) started forming new republics: Turkmen SSR and Uzbek SSR. In 1929 the decision on the territories of Tajik SSR was finalised. Kyrgyz SSR and Kazakh SSR were established in 1936. The countries were predominantly Muslim, but Islam and other religions were opposed by the Bolsheviks, who attempted to close religious schools. According to Fierman (2009), following the Leninist-Stalinist theory, which highlighted the importance of language distinction, Bolsheviks started to limit the number of languages deciding which dialects in the region belonged to what language.



Map 1. Russian Turkestan in 1900

The Tsarist government made the first attempt to Russify Central Asia in 1846. It required all schools to teach in Russian (Korth, 2005), which was unsuccessful due to the region's very low literacy rate. Winner (1952) states that in 1897 less than 1% of the population could read and write. Most people could read the Quran in Arabic and went to religious Jadid schools to study Islam. The Soviets continued the Tsarist effort to Russify the population in the region by strengthening the Russian language position. In 1924, the Soviet government launched a campaign to cleanse the local languages of Arabic and Persian loanwords, replacing them with Russian borrowings (Hasanova, 2007).

The nativisation of the Russian language was the main priority for Tsarist Russia and USSR. Still, compared to other SSR republics, it was challenging due to the low



literacy level, poor education and urbanization in the Central Asian region (Grenoble, 2003). On the other hand, the low literacy rate allowed for the introduction and implementation of the Cyrillic alphabet (Alpatov, 1997). Because most of the population could not read and write in Arabic in the first place, it was easier to teach people massively in Cyrillic from scratch. Over time the Arabic script was banned, and in the 1930s, the Latin alphabet was introduced. A decade later, in the 1940s, the script was changed again. It was done to separate Central Asia from Turkey, which also started using Latin in the 1920s. The Soviets replaced it with the Cyrillic alphabet (Krader, 1997). The alphabet changes also resulted in the modification of orthography. Because some letters had no meaning in different titular languages, they were represented by letters indicating different sounds. Russian borrowings continued to replace existing Persian, Turkic, and Arabic terms.

In 1938 the Russian language became an obligatory subject in all Soviet schools (Fierman, 2009). Students could study in two mediums of instruction: Russian or titular language. Non-Russians often opted for Russian medium education because it was considered more effective (Solchanyk, 1982, cited in Liddicoat, 2019). This practice continued, and the status of Russian schools remains high in Uzbekistan these days. Kazakh SSR was the most Russified because 50.8% of the population were native Russians, and only 21.1% were Kazakh (Fierman, 2006). The statistics for other republics show that in 1979 the use of Russian was the highest in Uzbekistan SSR (49.8%), while in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Turkmenistan, it was below 30% (Kirkwood, 1991, cited in Liddicoat, 2019).

The importance of studying foreign languages in addition to Russian was highlighted in 1932. That year the Soviet government signed a decree that declared that foreign languages should be studied at schools starting in grade five (Hasanova, 2007). English, French and German were the most popular languages to study (Abell, 1959). Among these three languages, English was the most studied one. Nash (1971) states that in Soviet schools, British English or Queen's English was the only acceptable variety. Received Pronunciation was the only de facto accent. Pronunciation was paid great attention. Reporting on the teaching methods, Abell (1959) states that foreign language classes in Soviet middle schools used direct and grammar-translation methods. Classes were organised around reading and translating literary texts, comprehension checks, grammar activities, and drilling and memorization tasks. The

tradition of foreign language teaching through the direct and grammar-translation method continued even after the collapse of the Soviet Union.

The Russian Empire and the Soviet Union's expansion in Central Asia in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries affected the region's linguistic and socio-political situation and have largely shaped its current state. For many years this region was pictured as a potentially dangerous area known for violent political regimes, lack of human rights and Islamic movements (Heathershaw and Megoran, 2011). The Soviet Union may be well-comparable with the European empire; therefore, the experience of Central Asia may be compared with other colonies. However, the region was not initially studied in light of its post-colonial past because the collapse of the Soviet Union happened later than other colonial empires. Even though the comparison of the Soviet Union with other colonial empires is viewed to be problematic, according to Khalid (2007: 466), "The Soviet Union could (and did) claim to be a postcolonial state itself, and its early history was tied inextricably with such global themes as anticolonial revolution, decolonisation, nation-building, economic development, and modernisation".

Central Asia was decolonised when the USSR collapsed, and each republic became independent. As a result, the titular languages gained their official status. In the early 1990s, a new cleansing language campaign began, but this time with the replacement of the Russian language borrowings with terms of titular languages (Fierman, 2009). Anti-Russia movements and ethnic conflicts made many Russian speakers move to Russia and other Commonwealth of Independent State (CIS) countries. Even though the Russian language is losing its power in the region (mainly due to the promotion of titular languages and migration of the ethnically Russian population), it is mostly spoken in big cities; for many years now, it has retained its de facto status as the language of interethnic communication.

### **2.2.1 English in Uzbekistan**

The current research focuses on HE in Uzbekistan, a country with an area of 447,400 square miles and the biggest population in the region. It is a densely populated country

with 34.9 million people. GDP per capita is \$US1,983.2 (World Bank, 2021)<sup>1</sup>. It is listed as a lower-middle-income country in the official development assistance (ODA) list. To clarify, ODA, one of the main support instruments for developing countries, focuses on the state of socio-economic development.

All Central Asian countries have borders with Uzbekistan (map 2). The country also has a border with Afghanistan.



Map 2. Central Asia in 2019.

According to the Education Sector Analysis in the World Bank Report (2018), Uzbekistan was one of the top countries in the world for the budget spent on education. The government of Uzbekistan spent more than 6% of its GDP on education in 2017. To compare, in the same year, Kazakhstan spent 2.8% and Tajikistan 5.2% (World Bank Report, 2018). It is worth noting that more than half of this money, 56%, is spent on the secondary education sector. What accounts for this higher level of spending is the ongoing reform in education and previously implemented policies that stress the improvement of education facilities.

The hierarchical structure of HE governance in Uzbekistan (figure 1 is taken from Ruziev and Burkhanov, 2018: 450) clearly shows that it is very centralised and under the control of the Cabinet of Ministers.

<sup>1</sup> <https://www.worldbank.org/en/country/uzbekistan/overview>

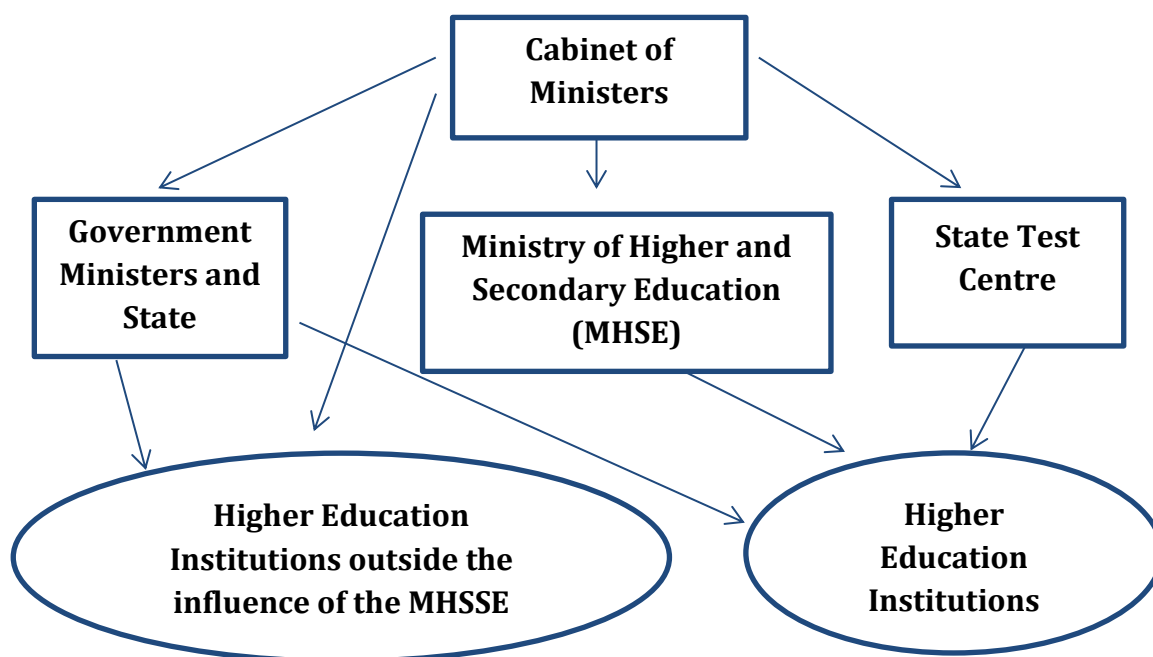


Figure 1. The hierarchical structure of HE in Uzbekistan.

As well as other countries in the region, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Uzbekistan introduced a series of national reforms in education. The first language-related reform in the country happened on December 8, 1992, when the Uzbek language became the only state language. Russian was not given any official status but was nominally considered a language of interethnic communication, while Karakalpak was announced as a state language in the Republic of Karakalpakstan. National movements against Russia and Russian speakers resulted in ethnic clashes, and nearly 100,000 Russian speakers left Uzbekistan the same year (Khairi, 2018). Nevertheless, the retention of Russian and promotion of Uzbek continued. In 1993 the parliament introduced legislation titled “On the Introduction of an Uzbek Alphabet Based on Latin Script”<sup>2</sup>. However, unlike in Turkmenistan, where the old alphabet was banned and changed in days, in Uzbekistan, the shift was gradual, and Cyrillic is still widely used by people non-officially and can still be seen in public signage. The new President, Shavkat Mirziyoev, issued another decree to promote a faster transition to the Latin alphabet in October 2020<sup>3</sup>.

In 1992 the Ministry of Education introduced an Education Act that focused on revising the curriculum and updating Soviet books. Regarding English language

<sup>2</sup> <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Uyghur-language>

<sup>3</sup> <https://www.rferl.org/a/uzbekistan-moves-to-quicken-transition-to-latin-alphabet/30906193.html>

teaching, with the help of the British Council, teacher retraining sessions were organised, and new textbooks that used more communicative teaching methods were published (Hasanova, 2007). In 1998 the universities in Uzbekistan separated Bachelor's from Master's degrees and offered a four-year specialist programme for Bachelor's degrees. At present, good education and higher degrees are welcomed and rewarded in state jobs.

In an attempt to modernise HE, numerous reforms have been introduced by the Uzbek government. Uralov (2020), analysing the content of reforms on the internationalisation of HE in Uzbekistan, states that they serve the national interest, develop international cooperation, and support the advancement of the education system. The table below (table 1) summarizes the main Presidential decrees and orders of the Ministry of Education in Uzbekistan that directly affect the internationalisation and development of the English language.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Decree Title</b>	<b>Actions</b>
<b>2012</b>	Presidential Decree "On Measures to Further Improve Foreign Language Learning System"	As a result, foreign languages (predominantly English) have been taught from first grade since the academic year 2013-2014.
<b>2013</b>	Cabinet of Ministers' order "On Adopting the State Educational Standards of Continuous Education in Uzbekistan (requirements to the content and level of learners on foreign languages)"	The development and use of the international standards of teaching foreign languages according to "Common European Framework of References: learning, teaching, and assessing".
	Presidential Decree "On measures of the perfection of the activity of the Uzbek State	"The republican scientific and practical centre for developing innovative techniques of teaching foreign languages", known as the Republican Research Centre for Development

	University of World Languages"	of Innovative Methods in Teaching Foreign Languages, has been established at the Uzbek State World Languages University.
<b>2015</b>	Presidential Decree "On measures to improve the system of in-service training of senior academic staff in Higher Education"	In-service training programmes started to focus on IT and English language skills development.
<b>2017</b>	Presidential Decree "On measures for the further development of the higher education system"	Close cooperation with the world's leading scientific and educational institutions is promoted. The decree resulted in the English for Academics programme by the British Council, which focused on English language learning and prepared teachers from different disciplines to develop skills for effective study abroad. As a result, in 2018, a group of successful graduates were sent abroad for short-term courses in Master's and PhD programmes (British Council Newsfeed, 2020) <sup>4</sup> .
<b>2018</b>	Presidential Decree "On the organization of activities of the Elyurt UMIDI Foundation"	UMID Foundation was established in 1997 and trained specialists at prestigious universities in the United States, Great Britain, Germany, France, Japan, Canada, and Italy under the master's programme. Due to the brain drain, the foundation was not active after 2003. The new measures make the foundation one of Uzbekistan's leading players in HE internationalisation.

<sup>4</sup> <https://www.britishcouncil.uz/en/teach/english-academics>

	Presidential Decree "On the strategy of the Republic of Uzbekistan for innovative development for 2019-2021"	The focus areas are continuous education, the material-technical base of educational institutions, the quality and effectiveness of higher education institutions through the introduction of international standards and the quality of teaching.
	Presidential Decree "Additional measures on enhancing the quality of education in higher education institutions and ensuring their proactive involvement in considerable reforms"	The focus areas are graduate training, upgrading of academic staff qualifications, wide-scale development of international relations, opening new HE institutions, establishing joint degree programmes and joint faculties, etc.
<b>2019</b>	Presidential Decree "Concept of Development of Higher Education of the Republic of Uzbekistan until 2030"	The main goal is to have at least ten universities in Uzbekistan with an international rating by the end of 2030.
	Presidential Decree "On measures in admission to higher education with national and international certification"	Students with IELTS or TOEFL certificates may be awarded the highest scores for the English component of national state exams.
<b>2020</b>	Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education of the Republic of Uzbekistan Decree "On measures to develop education and science in a	Top universities received academic and financial independence. The independence criteria align with those of the European Association of Universities.

	new period of development of Uzbekistan”	
<b>2021</b>	Presidential Decree "On effective measures to organize the promotion of foreign language learning "	English is particularly stressed, but other foreign languages are also considered. Language policy priority, improvement of education in foreign languages, bringing/training qualified teachers to the field, and increasing the population's interest in learning foreign languages. The teachers of foreign languages ( in general secondary, secondary specialized, and vocational education) must have a national certificate of at least B2 level or equivalent.
<b>2022</b>	Minister of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education of the Republic of Uzbekistan Decree “Approval of educational and methodological guidance document”	The Ministry endorsed the EMI guidelines developed as part of the British Council project with recommendations to Uzbek universities to use them.

Table 1. Key English-related reforms in Uzbek HE.

Unfortunately, despite the reforms and efforts, the level of English teaching at public schools and local universities is insufficient for effective learning and use of English. Therefore, many students seek additional free or fee-based opportunities to learn English. To support students’ English language skills development, the US Embassy opened several “American spaces” in the main libraries in the capital and larger cities. There are also open libraries at the US Embassy and the British Council for students to study English and use up-to-date materials. Besides, the number of private language schools is increasing around the country, and many students pay for one-on-one English tutorials with hired teachers.



Back in 1988-1989, there were 43 HEIs in Uzbekistan (Ruziev and Burkhanov, 2018). At the start of this research, the total number of HE institutions listed on the official webpage of the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education in Uzbekistan<sup>5</sup> at the beginning of 2020 was 113. At the end of the research in 2023, the total number of universities increased to 199. Of this number, 30 institutions are listed as affiliates of foreign institutions. Foreign HEIs open in the country at a rapid pace because there is a great demand for HEIs due to the growing population. In 2018 three new universities (i.e., the University of Journalism and Mass Media of Uzbekistan, the International University of Tourism “Silk Road”, and a branch of Puchon University in Tashkent) were established. The following year, in 2019, the country opened its doors to Webster University, campuses of six affiliated Russian universities, Malaysia's University of Technology and Indian Amity and Sharda University. In 2020 another eight universities affiliated with the foreign HEIs were established. The exact number was reported in 2022. Most of these newly established universities use EMI. In addition to already established branches of foreign universities, the number of state institutions with EMI in the country is growing, which means that more students, teachers, and managerial staff will be using English daily. Among several appealing factors of these institutions are better facilities, up-to-date teaching materials, better-quality teaching, and foreign diplomas. In other words, EMI, in the mind of different stakeholders, students and their parents, is not only associated with the study but also an indicator of other better-quality factors. In general, the demand for a good level of English in the population is growing. To exemplify, in March 2020, the Minister of Education signed the Memorandum of Understanding with the President of Education First. This Swedish company grants Uzbekistan \$60 million of direct investment for English language development in the country<sup>6</sup>.

However, teacher training provided by the Ministry of Education, even though encouraged by government structures, has proven to be less effective than what NGOs can offer. Therefore, English language teachers are often involved in in-service training courses provided by the Uzbekistan Teacher of English Association, the British Council, the Regional English Language Office of the American Embassy, and foreign universities.

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<sup>5</sup> <https://www.edu.uz/en>

<sup>6</sup> <https://kun.uz/en/news/2020/03/06/ef-education-first-intends-to-invest-60-million-in-uzbekistan-to-develop-english-language-learning>

Foreign English language specialists and English Language Fellows work at the language faculties. Some specialised universities also work with foreign teachers who come to teach various subjects. For example, in the past two years, the number of American English Language Fellows, Fulbright Teaching Assistants, and English Language Specialists at universities and schools in the country has increased from 3 to 18 (US Embassy Newsfeed, 2019)<sup>7</sup>. The British Council and Norwich Institute for Language Education (NILE), working in collaboration with the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education of the Republic of Uzbekistan, run an in-service teacher training programme at 17 institutions all over the country. The project's outcome was the development of an EMI methodological guidance document<sup>8</sup> recognised as official reference material by the Ministry of Secondary and Higher Education by a decree signed in March 2022.

Being a rather closed country ruled by one president for the first 25 years of its independence, in 2016, Uzbekistan got a new leader. Due to the sudden death of the first president, Islam Karimov, the then-prime minister, Shavkat Mirziyoev, was elected as the country's new leader. With the recent change in political power, the country is opening up to foreign investors and tourists. As a result, English is seen as a gateway to better jobs and opportunities, which helps explain why the number of EMI institutions is growing rapidly. Uzbekistan also engages in discussions about EMI implementation and development. An example of high interest in EMI is an international conference on “The role of English in higher education and its impact on graduate employability” held in Tashkent (the capital of Uzbekistan) in October 2019. Organised by the British Council within its “Higher Education for Employability” regional programme, the conference brought together professionals from the UK, South Caucasus, Central Asia, Ukraine, and Turkey to discuss the role of EMI in HE and its associated challenges.

### **2.3 Definition of EMI**

Before defining EMI, it is essential to distinguish it from other terms that are sometimes used interchangeably.

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<sup>7</sup> <https://uz.usembassy.gov/remarks-by-ambassador-rosenblum/>

<sup>8</sup> [https://www.britishcouncil.uz/sites/default/files/method\\_recom\\_emi\\_eng\\_2022.pdf](https://www.britishcouncil.uz/sites/default/files/method_recom_emi_eng_2022.pdf)

EMI as a term is linked with immersion, bilingual education in native- English-speaking countries, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and Content-based Teaching (CBT) (Costa and Coleman, 2012; Airey, 2016; Macaro, 2018; Macaro et al., 2018). What makes EMI different from these approaches is its language component. To clarify, in immersion and bilingual education, English development is viewed as a goal (McGee, 2012). CLIL has been used in foreign-language teaching as the most effective approach to content-achieving multilingualism and has become increasingly popular in secondary education (Wannagat, 2007; Dalton-Puffer et al., 2014). CBT, where the language is learned through content, also stresses language development and sometimes is used as an umbrella term for content-language integrated learning (Stoller, 2004). In EMI, English is used only as a medium but not studied along with the content. There are no language goals or language-related outcomes stated in the syllabus. English is expected to develop incidentally through exposure to it (Schmidt-Unterberger, 2018).

Macaro (2018:15) argues that there is a lack of "definition, specification, and consensus regarding EMI" in the academic literature. He thus suggests authors writing about EMI define it first. Many authors have provided definitions of the EMI phenomenon (e.g., Hellekjær, 2010; Kim and Shin, 2014; Aguilar, 2017). Having analysed the definitions of the EMI phenomenon, Pecorari and Malmström (2018: 49) have identified the main characteristics of EMI where "English is the language used for instructional purposes; it is not itself the subject being taught; language development is not a primary intended outcome, and for most participants in the setting, English is a second language".

Following Macaro's suggestion to stay focused and avoid any ambiguity, in this study, I will be referring to EMI following the definition used by Macaro (2018:19) at the Centre of Research and Development of EMI at Oxford since 2014:

English Medium Instruction is the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English.

This definition is a slight adaptation of the definition introduced in writing by Dearden (2015). It is considered prototypical by many researchers in academic papers and is often used with slight changes in phrasing to explain the phenomenon.

Another important concept to define is the most recent development in English Medium-related research, a move toward a more holistic concept of EME. The concept itself was mentioned without any definition in literature back in 2005 by Kırkgöz (2005), who researched EME in Turkey. Kırkgöz (2009) revisited the matter in her later article again without a definition. Conceptualised five years from then by Dafouz and Smit (2016), EME is understood as an interplay of key factors. These factors include academic disciplines taught through English, language management, practices and processes that EME entails, progressing internationalisation and glocalisation, and the roles that English plays in multilingual university settings.

There is no particular definition of EME since even Macaro (2022: 2), who defined EMI back in 2018 and continues to work around its definition at present, considers EME “a label variation [...] to be fairly unproblematic”. Supported by the British Council, EME is approached holistically in several studies on South and Central Asia and the South Caucasus (e.g., Linn et al., 2021; Linn and Radjabzade, 2021; Bezborodova and Linn, 2022). The head of the EME division at the British Council, for example, states that British Council supports “a holistic approach to EME which recognises that EME in HE impacts on the whole education system, institution and curriculum” (Veitch, 2021: 12).

To move beyond the idea that EME is a concept of a “label variation”, as Macaro calls it, EME deserves to be defined. Derived from the above statement on the British Council’s position on EME by Veitch, the original definition of EMI provided by Dearden (2015) and Macaro (2018), and the key factors of EMEMUS acknowledged by Dafouz and Smit (2016; 2020), the following definition of EME is proposed:

English Medium Education is a holistic approach to education where English is used across a range of disciplines and by various stakeholders as the primary medium of all practices and processes related to the provision.

The use of EME as a term also follows the conceptualisation of it by Dafouz and Smit (2020) in their EMEMUS framework, which will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter.

## **2.4 Origin of EMI**

Darquennes (2016), providing an overview of the history of lingua francas in European countries, states that over time, the languages of high-stakes domains replaced one another depending on their status and prestige. To illustrate, in Europe, the power relations within spoken and written languages in politics, economy and most notably in education changed from Latin in the Middle Ages, French and German in early modern Europe to English in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Darquennes, 2016). However, as a global phenomenon in education, the foundation of EMI can be traced back to such historical and geopolitical events as colonisation. Even though English has rarely been prioritised over trade and profit in former colonies, these countries began to develop English language proficiency through missionary schools and schools for interpreters. The spread of English in the post-colonial context also started with elite groups of civil servants who were chosen to be trained in English to help manage the trade (Mair, 2003; Rassool, 2007). Integration of English as a colonial language and its spread after independence added to the development of EMI. To illustrate, over 60 countries have started to use English as an official or semi-official language (Crystal, 1987). Due to its colonial past and status as the language of international communication, English can be perceived as a hegemon (Phillipson, 1992). Jenkins (2003) states that the economic and military dominance of the United States in the post-Second World War period has contributed the most to the hegemonic status of English.

Classifying English language varieties based on sociolinguistic histories and contexts of English language use, Kachru (1997) placed former colonies such as India, Africa and Hong Kong in the Outer Circle of his World Englishes model. These countries have been introduced to EMI much earlier than countries that have never been colonies. Many countries where English is an important language in business, science, technology and education (i.e., Korea, China, and Japan) belong to the Kachru's Expanding Circle. The Central Asian region also belongs to the Expanding Circle since it currently popularizes English for political and economic reasons. Inner Circle countries are the traditional and historical base for using English as a native language (i.e., the UK, the USA, Australia, etc.). Even though Kachru's model has been criticized for its simplification of the use of English by numerous scholars (e.g., Berns, 1995; Mollin, 2006), including Kachru (2005), it is still regarded as one of the key models for understanding English-language use in different countries.

## **2.5 Main Current Drivers of EMI**

An increasing number of universities are opening new programmes with EMI at undergraduate and postgraduate levels. British Council (2021) reports on 27,874 EME courses worldwide. Coleman (2006) states that internationalisation, student exchanges, staff mobility and availability of good quality teaching materials are the main driving forces of EMI's rapid development in the HE. However, the pace and reasons for EMI development vary from country to country. The research literature shows that EMI programmes develop at an accelerated pace in countries with medium-sized national languages (i.e., not international languages or languages with many speakers (Vila and Brexta, 2013)), while countries with big-sized national languages, such as France and Germany, do not rapidly initiate EMI in HE (Ammon and McConnell, 2002).

In addition, Tollefson and Tsui (2004) state that education with EMI is predominantly used in developing countries because they strive to integrate into the global economy and use EMI since it is associated with modernization, advancement and development. Some also see EMI and English language promotion in low-income countries as an enabler for the poor and powerless to freely communicate across borders (Van Parijs, 2000, cited in Phillipson, 2006). Nevertheless, EMI in the education of many developing countries is an ambitious goal that is hard to achieve due to the low English language proficiency of teachers and students, lack of EMI pedagogy awareness, and scarcity of materials (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra, 2013).

Most studies on EMI mentioned above connect the rapid development of this phenomenon with globalisation and internationalisation, as well as neoliberal movements around the world. These three global terms, in turn, result in several conceptualisations associated with EMI. Internationalisation and globalisation in HE, as well as a neoliberal ideology, have become a very strategic move to improve the economy and bring financial profit. Some HE institutions with EMI guarantee employment and promote themselves, focusing on general assumptions that English is a driving force of the new economy and individual economic gain. English becomes a commodity that brings profit, resulting in higher social and economic mobility. It is often considered a threat to native languages and associated with domain loss (discussed in section 2.6.3). The number of international universities is growing to recruit local and foreign students who pay high fees, provide international training,

adopt international research standards, and offer various for-profit services in English. Moreover, as the main driver of elitism, neoliberalism promotes social inequality and cultivates a competitive environment. All these underlying effects of EMI, along with the complexities associated with language proficiency and content learning, make EMI, EME, and policy an interesting phenomenon to study.

### **2.5.1 Globalisation and Internationalisation**

Globalisation is characterized by “the broad economic, technological, and scientific trends that directly affect HE and are largely inevitable in the contemporary world” (Forest and Altbach, 2006: 123). Internationalisation is defined as a “process of integrating an international, the intercultural or global dimension in the purpose, functions, or delivery of postsecondary education” (Knight, 2003:2). Even though these two terms are different, the literature on globalisation and internationalisation shows that they overlap in their English- related implications. They both were attributed with similar connotations, among which are Englishisation (Kirkpatrick, 2011), McDonaldisation (Altbach, 2013), (neo) colonialism (Sehoole and Knight, 2013), and Westernisation (Altbach, 2002; Kubota, 2002).

During the second half of the twentieth century, globalisation boosted the prestige of English, and it continued to spread as an international language within countries with no colonial links to Britain or the United States (Graddol, 2006); English has become associated with economic progress and countries employed it as a language of international communication, business, and trade. English as the working language has also colonised the domains of international business, scientific research, academic publishing, and communication within international and regional institutions (e.g., World Bank and Asian Development Bank) (Kirkpatrick, 2012). Many people in the globalised context are convinced that English is a necessity. In de Swaan’s (2001) hierarchy, the English language is identified as a hyper-central language along with 12 super-central languages (i.e., Arabic, Chinese, English, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Swahili and Malay), around 100 central languages and many peripheral languages. The current turn towards English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is also linked to globalisation because English is associated with cultural, social and

economic benefits (a more detailed review of ELF literature is provided in section 3.3.1.3). According to Crystal (2003), ELF is mostly used by non-native speakers of English. Thus, the majority of these speakers belong to Kachru's Expanding Circle. Jenkins (2014: 200) defines ELF as "the common language of choice among speakers from different linguacultural backgrounds". EMI development supports the spread of ELF through academia in countries where English is not a native or second language.

Classifying internationalisation Trevaskes et al. (2003) state that some institutions employ superficial internationalisation, being motivated only to maximize profit in education, while others emphasize the integration of the intercultural aspect in education. These two different forms are called weak and strong internationalisation. A weak form focused on attracting fee-paying students to maximize revenue does not attempt to integrate the cultural dimension of a strong form and vice versa. To what extent HE institutions in Uzbekistan implement internationalisation is not well researched, but an international curriculum is assumed to be part of international universities with EMI. In the case of national universities with EMI, internationalisation may well be considered a meaningless term since the only change in the curriculum is the medium of instruction. Interestingly, in the "Education Sector Plan of Uzbekistan 2019-2023",<sup>9</sup> the national targets focus on "inclusive and equitable quality education" rather than internationalisation. However, the document stresses the importance of equipping students with "skills for decent work and global citizenship".

## **2.5.2 Neoliberalism**

When analyzing EMI in Uzbek HE, one more possible lens to look through is neoliberalism. The Central Asian region has not yet fully adopted neoliberalism; however, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan are members of WTO, and Uzbekistan has recently shown interest in joining the trade organization. While the trade policy systems range from liberal to fairly liberal in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, respectively, they are still quite restricted in Uzbekistan. Due to the geopolitical potential of the region and its proximity to China, Russia, and India, the neoliberal policy may become a

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.globalpartnership.org/sites/default/files/2019-04-gpe-esp-uzbekistan.pdf>



reality, and the region may comply with real economic opportunities. According to Harvey (2005:2), neoliberalism is:

[...] a theory of political, economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade.

In other words, from a neoliberal perspective, people are encouraged to take individual responsibility for their own life choices and well-being. Despite its negative consequences, neoliberalisation continues to affect education and make it more commercialised. In general, the liberation of skills presupposes internationalisation and the neoliberalisation of education, which greatly impacts teaching and learning practices. Neoliberalism promotes the idea of education that develops effective workers who can meet the demands of the market, can realize their full working potential, and be involved in self-improvement. Promoting productivity, neoliberalism views people as a bundle of skills. Skills are becoming tools for economic competition. Since it is closely associated with globalisation, the English language has become the most important one of the skillsets (Bacon and Kim, 2018). An interesting view on English in neoliberalisation is expressed by Piller and Cho (2013: 39), who argue that English in HE “is not a result of the free linguistic market, but rather of a systematic, organized and orchestrated policy that serves the interest of neoliberal free-market fundamentalism all of it under the naturalization of English as a quantifiable index of globalisation”.

## **2.6 Underlying Effects of EMI**

### **2.6.1 Commodification**

Apart from their pedagogical purposes, medium of instruction policies have economic agendas because they may structure the labour force, distribute power and shape career development in tertiary education. Therefore, English, as the main component of EMI, becomes inevitably more commodified. English commodification is the process by which “language comes to be valued and sought for the economic profit it can bring through the exchange in the market” (Park and Wee, 2013: 128). The commodification

of English makes people view it as an instrument for future success and development of human capital, as a gatekeeper in the admission process to academic opportunity, as a sign of a certain level of prestige, etc. However, despite its strong association with material gain, English does not directly generate GDP and improve welfare in society. Studies in this area show that the economic power of English is often assumed, and English is one of the many different factors that vary from country to country (Melitz, 2008; Ku and Zussman, 2010). According to Ricento (2018), there is no direct evidence of the independent effects of English on economic development.

According to Coleman (2006), international study, which has also become an economic commodity that brings much revenue, is becoming a trend and an important driver of EMI. More universities worldwide implement EMI to become part of the international market and use English to increase the funding sources for academia. Vila (2014) states that EMI in HE is sometimes promoted to increase the flow of money in academia, which is described as "subsidised Anglicisation". Macaro (2018) states that EMI emerges in HE because universities want to attract foreign students, internationalise institutional profiles and encourage student mobility. In addition, Shohamy (2013) views the phenomenon of EMI in HE as a combination of two main driving forces: the power of English as a gateway to a better future and the power of universities that guarantee employment; these universities quickly gain a reputation of elite establishments.

Local and foreign students who choose to study in these programmes pay much higher fees than those at state institutions. However, for international students, the motivation to study at EMI universities in countries of the Expanding Circle differs. The main driver for their decision is a relatively low fee compared to their home countries. To illustrate, international students from China, South Korea, India and neighbouring countries are motivated to study in Kyrgyzstan at the American University in Central Asia through EMI and learn not only content but also language from native speakers for a much cheaper fee than in their home countries (Merrill, 2011).

Even though HEIs with EMI usually charge a higher tuition fee, they are still considered easier to enter, especially by those with funds. International institutions being less corrupt and more transparent in their admission process also attract more students and their parents. Since students may rely only on their effort, they expect fair admittance. On the contrary, bureaucracy and corruption make it difficult for students

to enter state universities and secure a place by passing a state exam. According to the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (2016: 3), “In Uzbekistan, the issue of corruption in the higher education sector has become systematic”, which “resulted in inadequate skills of graduates for doing business and acquiring skills and professional level”. To illustrate, in 2019, the Department of State Financial Control identified \$1.7 million of “financial irregularities” in the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education (ACCA Media, 2020)<sup>10</sup>. Unlike state universities, HEIs with EMI in Uzbekistan have tests in two-three subjects, one of which is an English proficiency test. Celeti, Nurmanova and Gavalyan (2019), in their study of transnational education at Westminster International University in Tashkent (an international university with EMI), have identified that students chose this university for its transparency and simplicity of admittance compared to state institutions.

## **2.6.2 Social Inequality**

Along with the neoliberal ideology that EMI entails, internationalisation has been accused of creating social inequality. From a socio-economic perspective, English may be viewed as a mechanism for maintaining inequality and class-based power. Hu, Li and Lei (2014) state that EMI is an elite education form with a very strong exclusion mechanism. The exclusion is mainly connected to a lack of finances and an insufficient level of language proficiency.

Because EMI universities charge a higher fee, the majority may not be able to afford to study there. For example, Dearden (2015), in her report for the British Council, states that the Hungarian government was worried that EMI was only available to a small number of students due to its high cost. Selected students can study using scarce good quality and up-to-date materials and use better facilities. They graduate having internationally recognized degrees and get better jobs. These students, in return, sustain structures of power. While those with limited finances study in their native language, they are believed to be deprived of better job opportunities associated with international degrees or EMI studies and limited to local jobs that do not require a high

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<sup>10</sup> <https://acca.media/en/3255/in-uzbekistan-3-1-million-was-stolen-from-public-education-budget/>

level of English proficiency. However, this belief cannot be generalisable to all settings. For example, Melis (2010, cited in Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra, 2013) revealed that students who study not using their native language are limited in their employability options. This may be the case in many countries that simply do not have an abundance of jobs that require English, and students who study through EMI often do not meet the requirements of academic native language proficiency.

Moreover, EMI institutions are, by nature, organizations with strict social selection rules based on linguistic performance. Therefore, students with a high level of English proficiency have higher chances of entering HEIs with EMI. However, reaching a high proficiency level may depend on various factors, one of which is social class. Block (2015) reports a correlation between social class positions in society and access to and success in learning English. Therefore, students from lower-class families are likely to be deprived of an opportunity to study English and enter HE with EMI. They may also have limited opportunities to practice their skills. For example, students from lower-class families in Chile did not use English outside the classrooms and could not even have access to IT to practice it online (Kormos and Kiddle, 2013). Neither did they need English for professional purposes.

To summarise, social inequality in EME may be explained by the “Matthew effect”, where the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer (Macaro, 2018). In other words, the elite has the financial capacity to learn English and study with EMI. Both these activities require financial investments, especially in countries where English is a foreign language.

### **2.6.3 Domain loss**

One more major effect and criticism of EMI is that it may result in domain loss. Hultgren (2018:78) defines domain loss as a situation where “the growing use of English in societies will lead to the official national languages [...] ceasing to develop within certain domains, losing status and eventually not being used at all”. For example, researchers in the Netherlands and Belgium raised concerns about the spread of English from the educational domain to other social spheres (Janssens and Marynissen, 2005, cited in

Shohamy, 2011). English occupies the educational domain but is also widely used in online communication, entertainment, media, industry, and commerce.

Along with the development of EMI, English is used to transmit scientific and academic knowledge in journals, books, and conferences to be recognized internationally. At the same time, the spread of knowledge locally in the native languages does not happen in a similar proportion. For example, more than 90% of scientific articles in the natural sciences are published in English (Ammon, 2012). Nevertheless, the universities aiming to increase their attractiveness to students and follow their international agendas are less concerned about domain loss than potential revenues. To tackle this issue, Lillis and Curry (2010) suggest a need to include more languages in academic publications to counteract the domination of English in academic publications.

Taking into account the concept of domain loss, EMI may, thus, be viewed as a threat to native languages. Unfortunately, even though there are concerns expressed about English becoming a global language and debates are held about the negative consequences for other languages (Crystal, 2003), from a historical perspective, the general trend is that English is widely spread and globalisation results not only in the loss of domains of its use but also in the loss of other languages worldwide. In 2023 English has not yet replaced Uzbek or Russian in Uzbekistan. It is difficult to predict if English will ever replace them, but it will likely own the status of a foreign language in Uzbekistan.

#### **2.6.4 Competition**

According to Block (2018), one of the greatest underlying effects of neoliberal education is competition. Central to the social life of people, competition happens between individuals (e.g., students and staff) and educational institutions. Teachers compete for better and more profitable employment, students compete to enter HEIs with EMI and for well-paid jobs after graduation, and institutions compete for funding and ranking. Everyone is under the constant pressure of competition and strives for self-fulfillment. One of the best examples of competition in neoliberal ideology in EME is its close connection to research. Universities build their international rankings partially

based on the strength of research activities and publications in peer-reviewed, reputable journals. Since English occupies the academic domain, its strong association with high-level content strengthens its position. In their study, Di Bitetti and Ferreras (2016) found that ELF increases the probability of citation, positively affecting the researcher and the university's profile. Thus, they suggest that English as a language of research and publication is a current necessity.

However, as mentioned above, neoliberal ideology hinders the local spread of knowledge and negatively affects researchers with low English language proficiency. For example, Lee and Lee (2013) criticize South Korean universities that, to boost international ranking, imposed a language policy on publishing in the English language over Korean. For professors whose English proficiency was insufficient, it was a stressful, time-consuming, and frustrating experience. To motivate professors to publish in English, universities offered monetary incentives, a distinct feature of neoliberal ideology and the promotion of EMI.

In Central Asia, the expectation of publishing in English is similar because it is often imposed on academics. Yessirkepov, Nurmashev, and Anartayeva (2015), in their Scopus-Based analysis of publications, report that the number of academic articles published in English by Kazakh scholars was the highest in the region. In contrast, the percentage of articles written in English in Uzbekistan remains low. In Uzbekistan, publications in English were not massively encouraged until the Presidential Decree of 2015 "On measures to improve the system of in-service training of senior academic staff in the Higher Education". The policy seemed to have an effect, but rather negative. Eshchanov et al. (2021) found that in Uzbekistan, there is a tendency to prioritise quantity over quality since from 2011 to 2018, 98 articles out of 100 were published in predatory journals, while in the period from 1996 to 2010, 90% of articles were published in credible and reliable international journals.

### **2.6.5 Social and Economic Mobility**

According to Kirkpatrick (2010), Englishisation and internationalisation promote greater student mobility in search of better education and future job opportunities. The

tempting ideas of ongoing English language development and possibilities for socioeconomic mobility partly made EMI a trend in education (Manan, Dumanig and David, 2015; Tollefson, 2015; Evans and Morrison, 2016; Haider, 2017). The economics of education as an international commodity also makes EMI in HE a motivated choice for students and their parents. A study by Sah and Li (2018: 109) shows that parents, students, and teachers in a public school in Nepal considered "EMI as a privileged form of linguistic capital for developing advanced English skills, enhancing educational achievements and access to higher education, and increasing the chance of upward social and economic mobility".

To equip students with the necessary skills and help them develop global competencies to become truly mobile, HEIs with EMI reformulate educational objectives, offer students better resources, change frames of reference, and modify their administrative and academic policies and educational priorities, as well as institutional orientations. Because internationalisation and globalisation are understood as transformative phenomena, HEIs with EMI implement international standards of research, international cooperation, and establish agreements between universities. All these factors and the opportunity to become socially and economically mobile make HEIs with EMI attractive for students and their parents.

The state can also promote the idea of social and economic mobility in relation to the English language. An exemplary case from the Central Asian context is Kazakhstan. Since English is promoted as a new national language in Kazakhstan, EMI is used to "project an outward-looking image of the new state" (Li et al., 2018: 702). The cultural project "Trinity of languages" calls for strengthening Kazakh, acknowledging the status of Russian, and creating an environment for the development of English. It creates favourable conditions for the mushrooming of EMI programmes in the country. Students in Kazakhstan, thinking that studying in English helps them to get better employment and make them mobile, choose EME over education in their native language (Seitzhanova et al., 2015).

However, there is a contrary view given by Merrill (2011), who provides an example of two EMI universities in neighbouring Kyrgyzstan and claims that student mobility within the country is limited. Those students who studied at the American University of Central Asia or Kirgiz-Turkish Manas University (both universities use EMI) will not be able to receive a post-graduate degree at any of the state universities

because they will not meet their requirements. One of the most common requirements is a sufficient command of academic Russian, and a student who studied through EMI may lack this skill. Moreover, even though EMI is a part of the nation-building programme, Li et al. (2019) report that in Kazakhstan, many privately owned HEIs with EMI programmes grant diplomas that are not recognized by the state and, thus, are considered to be of lower quality. As a result, graduates often seek opportunities for further education abroad.

The mobility is also reflected in knowledge exchange between internationally recognized professionals and professionals in developing countries. To illustrate, Seitzhanova et al. (2015) state that many universities in Kazakhstan invite and sponsor international EMI experts to consult and help set up programmes. For example, at West Kazakhstan Marat Ospanov State Medical University, those teachers who teach through EMI are trained to improve their proficiency and sent to international and local English summer schools (Zenkova and Khamitova, 2017). The university also has an International Credit mobility programme that assists students and teachers in professional development and helps them deepen their subject knowledge.

## **2.7 Students' and Teachers' Attitude to EMI**

With all the above-explained effects and concerns regarding the EMI phenomenon development, people hold strong views about it. Numerous research studies have been carried out exploring students' and teachers' beliefs, views and attitudes towards the EMI phenomenon. However, it is worth noting that the research findings lack a definitive conclusion about students' and teachers' views on EMI.

The earlier findings of research studies about students' beliefs have been summarised by Macaro (2018) in an attempt to find if students have a positive or negative attitude towards EMI. Analysing the data from 21 studies carried out in different countries, he identified that students were negative about EMI in 7 of these studies. According to the perception of students, EMI was ineffective because of poor English proficiency of both students and teachers (e.g., Hellekjær, 2010; Cho, 2012), slowed content learning (e.g., British Council/TEPAV, 2015; Tarhan, 2003; Marsh et al., 2000) and did not help students learn English (e.g., Kang and Park, 2005). In 8 studies,



though, students perceived EMI positively, thinking that their English has improved (e.g., Belhiah and Elhami, 2015), they were satisfied with their programmes, studied well in Science subjects and did not experience language issues (e.g., Ismail et al., 2011; Bolton and Kuteeva, 2012). Eight studies revealed ambiguous findings. For example, in Qatar, students found native medium of instruction was more effective but chose EMI for its association with better job and post-graduate study opportunities (Ellili-Cherif and Alkhateeb, 2015). Students in the study by Yeh (2014) felt that their learning in EMI was satisfactory, but they were not sure if they had improved their English.

A study conducted in Turkey found that teachers were strong proponents of native language medium of instruction because it helped them cover the materials better and more quickly (Kilickaya, 2006). However, Turkish teachers have also raised concerns regarding EMI effectiveness. Kilickaya (2006) states that teachers' main concerns about EMI were students' lowered performance and participation in class and poor English language proficiency. The belief that EMI slows down content learning (Probyn, 2006; Airey, 2011; British Council/TEPAV, 2015) while low English proficiency causes students to struggle with their studies (Othman and Saat, 2009; Tan and Lan, 2011; Choi, 2013) are also current views among the teachers. On the contrary, in another study in Turkey, a favourable attitude towards EMI was identified by Başibek et al. (2014) in a study of 63 university teachers. Similar positive attitudes and support for EMI were shared among younger teachers in Denmark (Jensen and Thøgersen, 2011) and China (Hu, 2009). Studies of EMI in Uzbekistan (Linn et al., 2020; Bezborodova and Radjabzade, 2021; Bezborodova and Linn, 2022) also report positive attitudes towards EMI by students, teachers, and administrative staff. A positive attitude towards EMI was also reflected in the analysis of an opinion survey held at the Innovative University of Eurasia in Kazakhstan by Zenkova and Khamitova (2017:155). They found that teachers and administrators associated EMI with "education internationalisation, leadership opportunities and higher ranking, competitiveness, better quality education, greater student enrolment, better employment opportunities, multilingualism policy realization, professional development and personal growth".

Zenkova and Khamitova (2017), reporting on the findings of their opinion survey at a university in Kazakhstan, also state that even though teachers and administrators support EMI, it may be problematic due to the lack of English language proficiency of teachers and students, resources, knowledge of EMI pedagogy, and support from the

university. The West Kazakhstan Marat Ospanov State Medical University survey revealed that teachers experienced several language difficulties teaching through EMI. For 50% of respondents, using correct grammar and vocabulary was problematic (Zenkova and Khamitova, 2017). Teachers have also spent more time finding and selecting materials for the class. However, all teachers believed that English is the gateway to the international body of research and allows access to scientific literature, communication with fellow researchers and contribution to existing knowledge. Most students, the majority from India, were positive about studying medicine in English and strongly believed that EMI opens up new opportunities.

## **2.8 Content and Language Matters in EMI**

It is evident from the academic literature that the most important challenge for many students in EMI is in academic attainment of subject content in a foreign language and the English language learning itself. However, most of the research in this area is limited to beliefs and perceptions rather than empirical findings. Numerous research studies have attempted to measure the effect of EMI on content and language learning, but the findings are controversial.

McLaughlin and Parkinson (2018) found that students in a polytechnic institution in New Zealand draw attention to the language they are using in class when studying the content. The teachers also initiated interactions to support students' vocabulary acquisition. Similar results were highlighted in a recent study by Hong and Basturkmen (2020), who found that EMI teachers in South Korean high school incidentally shifted their focus from the content to language during their classes. These incidental instances were teacher-initiated and highlighted the use of language in the academic register.

A negative or no effect of EMI on content learning has been reported in numerous studies. For example, Marsh et al. (2000) found that students with high and low English proficiency did not enjoy studying with EMI and reported little improvement in content attainment. Macaro et al. (2018), in their review of research studies, also found that EMI has minimal effect on content learning. Similar findings are provided by the Centre for Research and Development in EMI at the University of Oxford's Department of Education. Working in cooperation with the British Council in their study of 55

countries, they found that EMI, being a desirable shift in education, is not as effective as the native language medium of instruction (Dearden, 2015). The study by Vinke (1995) found that Dutch medium of instruction was more effective than EMI, and students performed better in the post-test. Moreover, the study by Levin and Shohamy (2008) revealed that using students' first language (L1) in testing results in higher grades. The effect of EMI on content learning in HE has also been measured by Dafouz, Camacho and Urquia (2014), who found, for example, no difference in content learning in EMI and non-EMI in Spain. Joe and Lee (2013) reported similar findings in South Korea.

Examining the lecturers' role in EMI in Kazakhstan, Seitzhanova et al. (2015) raise a question of balance between content and language teaching. The research findings on students' perception of EMI effectiveness in International Kazakh University showed that students believed that EMI helped them improve their English, even though they experienced difficulties understanding the lectures, had serious concerns about their language ability and teachers' motivation to teach in English (Seitzhanova et al., 2015). The teachers' interviews revealed that most were not interested in students' language abilities and cared solely about delivering the content knowledge. The main issues were listed as the lecturers' and students' competence in English, the burden of extra-preparation for classes, lack of resources in English and lack of professional training.

Moreover, the research studies that investigated the effect of EMI on the development of students' language proficiency in HE have identified no significant positive effect of one on another (e.g., Rogier, 2012; Lei and Hu, 2014). Analysing the results of English proficiency tests, it was found that language learning does happen but not as effectively and quickly as in a language classroom (e.g., Lei and Hu, 2014; Yang, 2015). Since EMI is also often imposed on teachers and students by the university or the Ministries of Education without proper English language support, language difficulties are inevitable. The study of Pakistani graduate students revealed they experienced many language difficulties writing their thesis in English (Parveen et al., 2007). Similar results were identified by Galloway and Ruegg (2020), who examined English language support mechanisms for students in China and Japan. English proficiency development also depends on the interaction mode in EMI. To illustrate, because students in Taiwan were exposed to various lectures, talks and teacher-led seminars, they have mostly improved their listening skills (Yang, 2015).

Studies also show that many students and teachers do not have adequate English language proficiency, and both teaching and learning in English are problematic. It has been found that students who study a foreign language rely on their L1 (Logan-Terry and Wright, 2010; Levi-Keren, 2008, cited in Shohamy, 2011). In addition, there is a shortage of professors who would be proficient in both content and language. EMI is, thus, time-consuming and difficult for both students and teachers because it requires a lot of preparation. Hellekjær and Wilkinson (2001) report that students studying subjects with EMI spent 10-25% more free time on self-study than on subjects with L1.

According to Bolton and Kuteeva's findings (2012), English proficiency also gives an unfair advantage to students with a high proficiency level and vice versa. Biased attitudes may be observed in teachers who evaluate students' knowledge of content and are biased about their knowledge because of students' language proficiency. To specify, knowledge acquisition tests written in EMI settings may result in unfair or invalid grades due to students' insufficient language proficiency in English (Shohamy, 2013).

Another issue regarding language proficiency is supported by an argument of Macaro (2019), who states that teachers' awareness of students' language needs is crucial for effective EMI implementation. The perceptions of the norms and standards, as well as levels of proficiency, are tightly connected to Spolsky's (2004) language beliefs and ideologies. The most effective way to address this issue is a professional teacher training programme that universities may offer (Gustafsson, 2018). Such matters as linguistic norms and competence, as well as EMI pedagogy across institutional contexts, should be embedded in the training. However, it is important to note that the language used will differ from one discipline to another, and the training courses should address the issue of different registers.

The flip side of the issue of a teacher's awareness of students' needs is that teachers in EME are often not interested in the language development of students because the content is the priority for them. Therefore, additional professional development opportunities and training may not be of interest. For example, prioritizing subject-matter EMI teachers in China solely focus on subject knowledge and never treat language-related issues, considering them the responsibility of language specialists (Jiang, Zhang and May, 2016). Moreover, since the standards of English are usually endorsed by the administrative staff of the institutions, teachers are left to decide if they accept intelligible non-standard English (Jenkins, 2014). There is usually

no consistency throughout the institution, and teachers are guided by their beliefs and values.

Even though it is a common practice that EMI teachers have foreign degrees or working experience abroad, it is always the case that many teachers who simply have a good command of English work in EME. Thus, the lack of relevant pedagogical training and the inability to transfer content in L1 into the EMI classroom may become an issue. Moreover, English not being a natural form of discourse for students and teachers may result in discomfort when interacting. This, in turn, may lead to poor rapport among them. Students often strongly believe in teachers' language proficiency and pedagogical skills. They also often carry strong judgments about both of them. To illustrate, Lo and Lo (2014) found that Asian students were not satisfied with their teachers' English language proficiency and teaching methods. On the contrary, the findings by Wächter and Maiworm (2014) illustrate that the language proficiency of teachers at EMI universities in Europe was rated highly by students, while their teaching methods and approaches were required to be reconsidered as they did not address students' diverse language needs.

There are plentiful research studies on the key participants' perspectives, attitudes and beliefs about EMI. The findings cover the issues of language proficiency, confidence, benefits and challenges of EMI on different levels of education. Unfortunately, most of the findings cannot be considered generalizable either due to the relatively small sample size or the site of the study being a single university. Therefore, Shohamy (2013) calls for empirical research studies on the cost and benefit of EMI regarding knowledge and language acquisition in the EMI context. In addition, Macaro (2018) raises a concern about EMI research being appropriated by applied linguists (language specialists, TESOL professionals) who do not cooperate with researchers in other disciplines taught through EMI (content specialists). Pecorari and Malmström (2018) also state that even though TESOL and EMI should not be treated along the same line, they may inform each other in research. Macaro (2018), thus, proposes that only through this research partnership may the EMI pedagogy, policy, and practice change for the better. However, with the underlying pressure of EMI on content specialists who often struggle to explain their subject matter to students and spend more time preparing the content materials in English, the extent to which this cooperation will be possible is yet to observe.

## **2.9 Conclusion**

While EMI is a well-established term with a working definition, EME is only starting to develop as a more holistic concept. EMI has various underlying effects that are well-documented in the field's key studies, predominantly case studies from different EMI contexts. The literature review shows great demand for studies on policy guidance and policy implementation on the institutional level.

The most recent article by Macaro and Aizawa (2022) attempts to answer the question "Who owns EMI?" by reviewing 154 journal articles and 19 EMI teacher training schools against a set of criteria. According to the authors, EMI is owned by the "applied linguistics community that appears to have acquired for itself the vast majority of that ownership" (Macaro and Aizawa, 2022: 10). Macaro and Aizawa (2022) have identified that there are five key journals that tend to accept EMI articles: "International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism", "Asian EFL Journal", "Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development", "Higher Education", and "Language and Education" (Macaro and Aizawa, 2022: 5). The articles are published mostly by applied linguists (94.6%) and less actively by content specialists (5.6%) (ibid.) from five leading contexts: Japan, Spain, China, Hong Kong, and Italy. Macaro and Aizawa have also identified that only ten articles out of 154 were published in collaboration with both language and content specialists. The review of 19 teacher training providers showed that 11 are based in Anglophone countries (ibid.). Non-anglophone providers delivered training for the teachers who work within these institutions.

The issue of lack of collaboration was discussed by Macaro back in 2018 when this study's proposal had just started to evolve. Reviewing the literature on EME at the end of the study, it is notable that Macaro (2022) brings back the importance of cross-disciplinary collaboration in his most recent article yet again. I anticipate that the research in the field will begin to develop among the content teachers. One reason for that is the growing popularity and implementation of EME globally, and another is the development of an EMEMUS framework, the only existing theoretical framework proposed by Dafouz and Smit (2020). On the one hand, with the observed appropriation of EMI by language specialists, the framework may develop into a solid theoretical base for the whole field. On the other hand, the framework, which is overviewed in the following chapter, has the potential to trigger the interest of content specialists to

research EMI. Moreover, due to the framework's focus on Academic Disciplines, (Language) Management, and Internationalisation and Glocalisation, which are the areas of concern of many content teachers in HEIs, the framework can potentially promote interdisciplinary research in the field of EMI and more particularly, EME.

## Chapter 3

### Theoretical Framework

#### **3.1 Introduction**

The third chapter of the thesis is devoted to the theoretical framework. It begins with a summary of the theories and frameworks briefly mentioned in the literature review. The summary explains why some theories and frameworks were referred to and considered but not chosen as the main guiding theoretical basis for the study. The chapter then focuses on a detailed discussion of the chosen EMEMUS/ROAD-MAPPING framework. After a thorough review of each of its dimensions and a discussion of the central role of discourse in the original framework, ROAD-MAPPING is challenged, and its adapted version is introduced. The review of the dimensions does not follow the exact sequence of how they are placed in ROAD-MAPPING, leaving the two most debatable dimensions to the end of the review. This is done to build an argument and propose changes to the original framework. In the chapter, the updated framework is presented as a figure, but there is a developed 3D model of it that can be accessed [online](#)<sup>i</sup>.

#### **3.2 Theories and Frameworks Considered**

Before discussing the framework chosen to guide the literature review, the data collection tools' design, and the research findings' interpretation, it is important to summarise the theories and frameworks in language policy and planning (LPP). These theories and frameworks were mentioned in the literature review to support and explain the context, link numerous social aspects to the study, and highlight the complexity of EME and EMI. However, none of these theories accurately reflects the nature of EME in Uzbekistan and look at it from either very holistic or too specific angles. Validating the importance of research in the context, the theories and frameworks discussed below explain EME's underlying causes or influences.



The main theories considered initially are related to the context of the study and the topic itself. Firstly, Uzbekistan is historically a post-colonial country. Therefore, it was vital to consider the language issues, particularly the use of the Russian language in the region, from the perspective of post-colonial theory. Heller (2018: 36, cited in Tollefson and Perez-Milans, 2018) argues that “LPP has always been tightly tied to political and economic conditions”, and colonialism is one of them. Since Central Asia was decolonised only in 1991 with the collapse of the Soviet Union, the context was not included in works on post-colonialism (e.g., Bhabha, 1994; Spivak, 1988). Khalid (2007) and Heathershaw and Megoran (2011) argue that Central Asia may be well-compared with other post-colonial regions with reference to their experiences and contextual peculiarities. Therefore, the post-colonial theory is an applicable lens for studies in Central Asia.

Post-colonial theory examines the effects of colonisation on societies. Language and language policies are among the issues discussed in light of the theory. Numerous studies on EMI view English use in postcolonial countries where English is widely spoken (e.g., Milligan and Tikly, 2016; Phan, 2017; Vavrus, 2002). Since Uzbekistan’s postcolonial past is not connected with Anglophone countries, in this research, post-colonial theory helps shed light on a complicated language situation in the region with titular and minority languages, the role of Russian and the implementation of English in education. More importantly, post-colonial theory helps interpret the existing language attitudes and language-power relations, displaying the reality the research is examining. This is also a valuable angle to view Uzbekistan as a context that shares language situation commonalities not only with the Central Asian region and former USSR countries but also with the polities of Hong Kong, India, Malaysia, etc.

In addition to post-colonial theory, I also considered the most prominent framework in the field of language policy. Proposed by Spolsky (2004), this framework (discussed in section 3.3.3.2) views language policy as a combination of interrelated elements that can also be viewed individually. All three components of the framework analysed from both macro and micro levels inform the research on the current EME situation in Uzbekistan. Combining macro and micro-level investigations to give a complete overview of language policies in EME and exploring language behaviours in HE, this framework considers language ecology, ideology, and planning as its main components. All these components are of paramount importance to the study of

language policies. These components analysed from both macro and micro perspectives have informed research on language policy for many years (e.g., Hu and Lei, 2014; Dalton-Puffer et al., 2014). Moreover, one of the reasons why EMEMUS/ROAD-MAPPING was chosen as the main framework for this study is that, according to Dafouz and Smit (2016), Spolsky's framework serves as a sound basis for it.

### **3.3 Evaluation of the ROAD-MAPPING Framework**

Since language policies are never developed in a historical, social, or political vacuum, it is challenging to identify a single approach and one particular theory. There is no generally accepted language planning theory for EME either, mainly because the research to date has been descriptive rather than theoretical. Therefore, research in this area relies on various models and approaches that explain reasons and rationales for language policy implementation taking into account ideologies, agencies, language ecology, and other social, political and economic factors. These approaches and methods borrowed from different disciplines, according to Ricento (2006: 9), make research on language policy "multidisciplinary and an interdisciplinary activity". Because the current project combines macro and micro-level investigations to provide a complete overview of language policies in EME and explore language behaviours in HE, the chosen framework has to be versatile and inclusive of many factors. Since the macro-level or a top-down approach to LPP has to deal with centralized authority, while micro-level or bottom-up LPP is the product of personal choice (e.g., Ben-Rafael et al., 2006; Backhaus, 2007; Shohamy, 2006), the framework has to address both management and administration factors, as well as issues of agency and actual language use.

The combined factors mentioned above are reflected in the conceptual EMEMUS framework proposed by Dafouz and Smit (2016). They claim that the term EMEMUS includes wider research agendas and pedagogical approaches in education than the term EMI itself. At its core, the word "education" includes not only teaching and learning but also management and other factors affecting EME. Focusing only on the tertiary level, the term also makes it clear that the framework suits the multilingual university setting and shows that English does not exist separately from other

languages, which is the case in most local universities in Uzbekistan. Even though, in reality, English co-exists with other languages, in the policies, it is a separate issue.

The framework can apply to top-down and bottom-up language policy regulations. It is worth reminding that for the purposes of the present study, the term EME is not used interchangeably with EMI. They both have their niches and differ from one another. The terminological distinction is discussed in more detail in section 2.3.

The framework is theoretically grounded on sociolinguistic, ecolinguistic and language policy research (Dafouz and Smit, 2020). It also expands the most prominent framework of language policy proposed by Spolsky (2004), where language policy is viewed as a combination of interrelated elements that can also be viewed individually. The diagram below (figure 2) that represents the framework clearly shows that all the components (i.e., Roles of English, Agents, Processes and Practices, Academic Disciplines, Internationalisation and Globalisation) intersect and form the Discourses. In this framework, discourse (i.e., interviews, policy documents, observation, or ethnographic notes) is seen as an informer or access point that may help reach clarity in all six components.

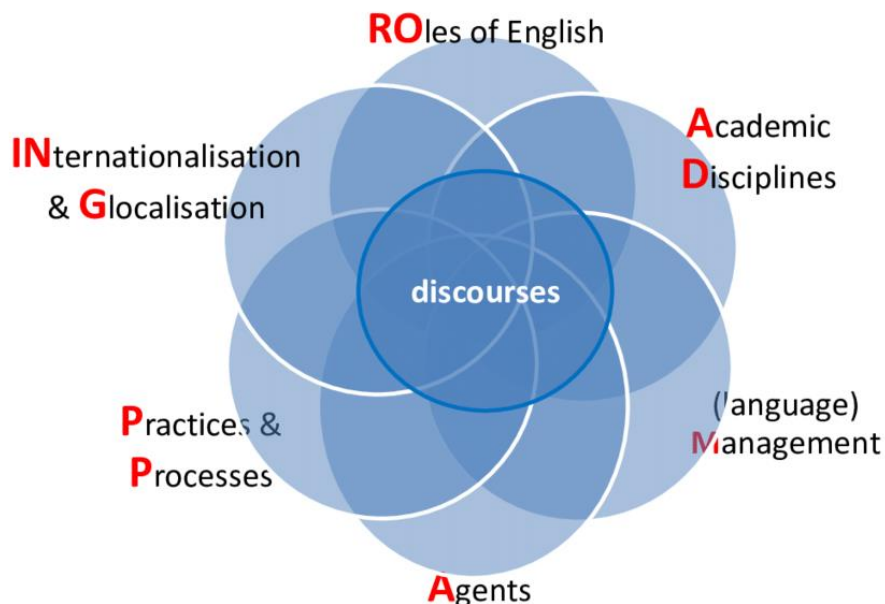


Figure 2. ROAD-MAPPING Framework by Dafouz and Smit (2014).

The name for the framework, ROAD-MAPPING, is coined based on the first letters of the six dimensions. The framework may be applicable at institutional, national, and continental levels. In this study, the framework helps to represent the lived reality of

EMI in Uzbek HEIs, synthesize the findings in a coherent description, and help to identify and map the challenges associated with EME among the students, teachers and administrative staff. Furthermore, since the study evaluates and analyses how EME challenges existing language ideologies, beliefs related to it, and power relations in society, the framework provides an established model to frame the questionnaires and interview questions. It can also help to stay focused and consistent when analysing collected data.

Dafouz and Smit (2020:118) state that:

From a policy perspective [...] ROAD-MAPPING can serve as the first step toward a meta-level needs analysis that may enable policy developers to 'take the pulse' of EMEMUS on a national level. This would allow for a more integrated, comprehensive and, hence, less ad hoc approach to English-medium education [...].

English, a foreign language in Uzbekistan, and its development as a medium of instruction in academia are sustained on a national level by various socio-economic and political forces. Since the framework is theoretically anchored with language policy and ecology research, it systematizes EME's most essential concepts (six framework dimensions). A thorough review of each dimension will help rationalise the application of this framework with several adaptations, which will allow addressing the issues of possible domain loss, social and economic mobility, social inequality, etc. The separate overview of each dimension is also important, mainly to showcase the perspectives of Dafouz and Smit and to judge their applicability in the context of Uzbekistan. Each review of the dimensions starts with the working definition of the dimension provided by Dafouz and Smit (2020). Since the use of the framework is pioneering in the context of Uzbekistan, it will contribute to wider research in the field of EME.

### **3.3.1 Roles of English Dimension**

The working definition of this dimension provided by Dafouz and Smit (2020:60) is as follows:

Roles of English refers to the communicative functions that language fulfils in HEIs, with the focus placed on English as the implicitly or explicitly identified main medium of

education. In view of the diverse linguistic repertoires relevant to the settings in question, English intersects in dynamic, complementary but also conflictual ways with other languages. Additionally, English, and 'language' more generally, are seen as both product and process, being used both as individual codes and as a flexible form of multilingual communication.

English's ultimate role or function in the EMI setting is obvious from its name: a medium of instruction. However, it is not as simple as it looks. The English language has various roles in academia, which adds to the complexity of EME. For example, Baker and Hüttner (2017), in their study of roles and conceptualisations of language in HEIs with EMI, identified that the roles of English were defined in language policies. On the policy level, roles of English ranged from preference towards a standard variety of English, monolingual English-only policy, and multilingual policy. However, outside the policy documents, the roles of English were identified as a "tool" for content learning and a "target" of learning. Applying the ROAD-MAPPING framework in analysing EMI-related policy documents in Vietnamese HEIs, Tri and Moskovsky (2019:1334) also found that English is "an instrument for professional and academic purposes, the benchmark for entry and exit requirements, and linguistic capital". The idea of English being viewed as a tool is also connected with the commodification of English. English in academia plays such roles as gatekeeper in entrance exams, disseminator of research ideas, and the necessity for career success.

The roles of English are also viewed from different theoretical perspectives in academic literature. In countries where English is not a native language, it can function as an additional language (EAL), international language (EIL), and/or foreign language (EFL) or lingua franca (ELF). According to Dafouz and Smit (2017), the most typical roles that English plays include EFL, English for Academic Purposes (EAP), English for Specific Purposes (ESP), and ELF. These four roles characterise both the communicative and institutional use of English and will be discussed below. These main roles are rather general and serve as general descriptors of English used in academia and society. Creating an English teaching continuum, Macaro (2018: 29) places EAP, ESP and EFL at the end of a "language-dominant objectives" side, while EMI itself is placed at the other end of the continuum driven by "content-dominant objectives". In the updated framework, EAP and ESP will be reviewed under the Academic disciplines dimension, which will be rationalised in section 3.3.2.3.

### ***3.3.1.1 English as a Foreign Language***

The most relevant and typical role that English plays in Uzbekistan is EFL. As the name suggests, EFL refers to the language used by non-native speakers of English. In the EFL setting, English is neither widely used for communication nor is it a medium of instruction in education. Even though EME is well-represented in Uzbek education at different levels, it is more of a costly privilege rather than a common, freely accessible type of education. Xiaoqiong and Xianxing (2011) state that in Kachru's World Englishes model, EFL practices fall into the Expanding Circle category. Uzbekistan also belongs to the Expanding Circle.

There are numerous issues associated with English in the EFL setting, namely low teachers' and students' language proficiency, inadequate language support and code-switching. One of the most widely discussed topics in EFL research is native and non-native English professionals. Naming non-native English-speaking teachers as "periphery" teachers and comparing them with "centre" ones (i.e., native English-speaking teachers), Canagarajah (1999: 91) highlights that the ratio of periphery teachers to centre ones is 80% to 20%, respectively. He also states that non-native English-speaking teachers all over the world are as competent in teaching English and through English as native speakers. The ratio may have changed over time, but the main principle remains. The low level of English proficiency remains an issue for both teachers and students, particularly in Uzbekistan. The lower level of English in academia results in lower self-esteem, limited language production and poor understanding of the subject matter. For example, non-native teachers think about themselves as incompetent and not as skilful as native speakers of English (Reves and Medgyes, 1994; Üstünlüoğlu, 2007). EFL students also experience difficulties understanding 60% of lectures taught in English in Korea (Cho, 2012; Khan, 2013), learning discipline-specific terminology in English and understanding classes (e.g., Ellili-Cherif and Alkhateeb, 2015; Aizawa et al., 2020), and speaking during the classes (Khan, 2013; Kamaşak et al. 2021).

In EFL and EME settings, the language problems that students experience are often left unaddressed. One of the main issues is that many discipline teachers teaching in EMI programmes often "neither have the desire nor the expertise [...] to teach disciplinary literacy skills" (Hyland, 2006: 11). With a lack of language support from

teachers and institutions, students often struggle in their studies since “it remains difficult, if not impossible, to separate academic language from academic content” (Lyster, 2017:12).

Low proficiency in English also brings up an issue of L1 use and code-switching. It has been found that teachers’ code-switching mostly happens to elaborate on the meaning of what has been taught (Macaro et al., 2020), repeat the most important point (Haroon, 2005), and translate difficult terminology (Tarnopolsky and Goodman, 2012). Code-switching and the use of languages other than English are discussed in section 5.5.3.4, and their interplay is viewed as an important component of the linguistic ecology in academia.

### ***3.3.1.2 English for Specific and Academic Purposes***

Two more important roles that English plays in Uzbek EME are ESP and EAP. Widely considered in the academic literature on EME, they both have proven to be an important part of EME (e. g., Airey, 2011; Unterberger, 2014; Jiang and Zhang, 2017; Bond, 2020). They are particularly discussed in regard to tertiary education because education, in general, and EME, in particular, incorporate not only discipline-specific language but also communicative skills that ESP and EAP entail (Schmidt-Unterberger, 2018). In European HE, the number of ESP and EAP courses and hours of teaching are constantly being reduced due to the implementation of the Bologna structure of the three-cycle degree, and many curriculum designers prioritise content over language courses (Wilkinson, 2008). In Uzbek HEIs, their use varies from university to university. The main commonality is that EAP and ESP courses are mainly taught during the first year and very rarely throughout the whole course of study.

ESP is considered an umbrella term for EAP, EOP (English for Occupational Purposes), and EVP (English for Vocational Purposes) (Paltridge and Starfield, 2013). ESP aims to equip students with the language skills necessary for their professions in the studied discipline. The discipline-specific language is its focus. According to Basturkmen (2010: 36), ESP “endeavours to teach the language the learners need to communicate effectively in their work or study areas”. ESP also strongly focuses on discipline-specific methodology, lexis and genre-specific conventions of the studied

discipline. Even though it is believed that terminology is a key attribute of ESP courses, it is rather the awareness of discipline-specific genres, registers, and discourses (Macaro, 2018). It is important to note that ESP teachers are usually language specialists rather than content experts (Dudley-Evans and St. John, 1998).

According to Feak (2012), the application of ESP curricula in EMI programmes is problematic because it is written-text-oriented, and students lack the oral communication needed in academia. In Uzbekistan, ESP courses are taught at HEIs with very specific majors such as Medicine, International Relations, and Business. From a practical perspective, running numerous ESP courses at the HEIs with various discipline degrees may be costly and difficult to organise. Therefore, most HEIs with EMI prefer EAP over ESP.

The idea of EAP is similar to ESP, but only to some extent. Academic communication and study skills are more focused on EAP than ESP. Hyland and Shaw (2016:15) define EAP as “language research and instruction that focuses on the communicative needs and practices of individuals working in academic contexts”. Often seen as an important element of the transition from state to the international university, EAP is a course that is delivered worldwide. Hyland (2006) argues that the popularity and importance of EAP partly depend on the process of internationalisation in HE and the growing number of EMI programmes. What also defines EAP is its focus on skills that are “transferable across different disciplines” (Hyland, 2006: 9). More specifically, EAP aims at equipping students in HE with academic literacy skills, including note-taking, giving presentations, reading and listening effectively, writing in various academic genres, etc. Moreover, Dippold et al. (2019) state that non-native speakers of English mostly attend EAP classes. The studies show that EAP courses help students realise the value of autonomy in English language learning (Zhong, 2014; Li and Ruan, 2015) and peer communication in English (Yang and Kim, 2011; Li and Ruan, 2015).

In EME, both ESP and EAP are often present. Macaro et al. (2018) identified three models of EMI: pre-institutional selection, preparatory or foundation year, and institutional support. These three models show that the focus on English language development diminishes with every academic year and evolves from a focus on general English skills to EAP and ESP. Since the pre-institution selection is mainly concerned with the entrance requirements and is very test-specific, not much attention is paid to the development of specific language skills. However, during the study in the



preparatory or foundation year, EAP courses are made compulsory. The choice between EAP and ESP depends on the level of student proficiency and their speciality.

### ***3.3.1.3 English as a Lingua Franca***

Being a topical issue in the literature, ELF is also relevant for Uzbek teachers and learners. While EAP, ESP, and EFL can be easily detected and differentiated in Uzbek HE, it may be difficult to refer to ELF to explain the situation in Uzbekistan. The globalisation and internationalisation of education are two main reasons for English to become a lingua franca and function as the language of academia, technology, economy, politics, etc. (Seidlhofer, 2001; Alptekin, 2002). Jenkins (2009: 200) defines ELF as a communication context where “English [being used as a lingua franca] is the common language of choice, among speakers who come from different linguacultural backgrounds”. Crystal (2003) and Graddol (2006), for example, characterise ELF as a means of communication in the Expanding Circle of Kachru’s World Englishes model. In the Inner and Outer Circles, ELF is also commonly used for communication. ELF communication is also characterised by numerous “departures” from native-speaker norms of pronunciation, grammar, lexis and pragmatics (Seidlhofer, 2001; Jenkins, 2009). However, Kirkpatrick (2010) and Cogo and Dewey (2012) found that across the L1s, the patterns of language use are consistent, for example, in pronunciation, grammar and lexis. In regard to English language teaching, Jenkins (2012: 492) states that “it is for ELT practitioners to decide whether/to what extent ELF is relevant for their learners in their context”. It is important to note that ELF as a concept has been criticised for its lack of versatility and monolithic entity to become a “one-size-fits-all model” (Saraceni, 2008: 22). ELF was also suggested to be reconceptualised by Park and Wee (2011), who propose to view it not as a variety but as an activity to address the ELF more sensitively regarding the issues of power, and intelligibility, language ideology, culture and pedagogy.

There are not many pedagogical implications of ELF in EMI that are raised in the research. Among a few, for example, are Kirkpatrick's (2010) and Saraceni's (2015) questions regarding whether English should be used as a medium of instruction at all, who should teach through English and in what disciplines, and what variety to use in

teaching. The role of the teacher in the EMI classroom is often discussed in the academic literature. For example, Macaro (2018) states that EMI teachers may be more open to different non-native English varieties than EFL teachers because it is not their speciality. Matsuda and Friedrich (2012) suggest that teachers in EMI should try to adopt either a standard variety of English or an established variety used in the Outer Circle. They also state that teachers may adopt one of their own varieties. This study findings show that discipline-specific teachers in Uzbek EME do not follow this advice or are not concerned about a particular type of variety. Lastly, Macaro (2018) states that since there is still an equivocal opinion about the concept of ELF, the main pedagogical suggestion or implication for EMI is to bring content teachers' awareness of the linguistic phenomenon of ELF. In this particular situation, a well-articulated language policy could serve as guidance for the expected actions.

### **3.3.1.4 Sub-dimensions**

In the ROAD-MAPPING framework, even though this dimension considers English as the dominant language in academia, the multilingual nature of communication is addressed. Different settings where English is used in academia suggest a more expanded interpretation of the roles. The roles are diverse and multi-layered; therefore, in an attempt to classify them, Dafouz and Smit (2017: 299) come up with sub-dimensions (table 2).

<b>Sub-dimensions</b>	<b>Factors</b>	<b>Exemplification</b>
<b>Societal</b>	Functions of English and other languages outside the institution	First foreign language at schools; the language of the environment; language in (inter)national relations
<b>Institutional</b>	Teaching	Language as a subject
	Research	Discipline-specific
	Administration	Internal and external communication(s)

<b>Pedagogical</b>	Language as a learning aim and assessment criterion	Explicit; implicit
	Teaching formats and materials	Teacher talk vs group work; PPT slides; printed and online resources
<b>Communicational</b>	Codes used	Bi/multilingual; English as the only shared medium
	Purposes pursued	Institutional; instructional
	Language skills	Writing; Speaking
	Linguistic repertoire	C2 (i.e., CEFR) in Spanish and B2 in English

Table 2. Roles of English sub-dimension.

According to the findings of the study carried out in three Central Asian countries, all these sub-dimensions are well-represented in Uzbek HEIs with EMI (Bezborodova and Radjabzade, 2021). What became apparent is that the roles that English plays on each level are interconnected and affect one another. The results also showed that in Uzbekistan, English does not exist in isolation from other languages.

The literature review shows that multiple roles of English should be recognised when studying EMI. To gain a deeper understanding of the complexity of roles English plays in Uzbek HEIs with EMI, the study addresses the conceptualisation of roles from multiple perspectives through the analysis of beliefs, documents, and classroom practices. The general role of English in Uzbek HEIs is EFL; however, a more thorough analysis of sub-dimensions identified by Dafouz and Smit (2017) is needed. Since in Uzbek HEIs with EMI, the majority of teachers and students are non-native speakers, the use of other languages takes place. Therefore, this study also examines if these agents' language proficiency is in any way supported on societal, institutional, pedagogical, and communicational levels. This study also looks at the incorporation of ESP and EAP courses into the curricula to support students' language development.

### **3.3.2 Academic Disciplines Dimension**

The working definition of this dimension provided by Dafouz and Smit (2020:60) is as follows:

Academic Disciplines encompasses two related notions: academic literacies and academic (disciplinary) culture. Academic literacies refer to the diverse range of academic products (whether spoken or written) typically developed in an educational setting and conforming to socially conventionalised situated practices. By disciplinary culture we mean more particularly the subject-specific conventions, norms and values that define different disciplinary areas. Both notions together are essential as a means of exploring and constructing knowledge and for acculturating into the academic communities of practice.

In the ROAD-MAPPING framework, the Academic Disciplines dimension addresses the difficulties students and teachers face coping with studying in a foreign language while acquiring disciplinary discourse conventions and developing disciplinary literacy. The concepts of disciplinary literacy and culture will be reviewed after a brief literature overview of the main frameworks and principles behind the idea of academic disciplines. The effects of disciplinary differences have been discussed in academic literature (e.g., Becher, 1989; Becher and Trowler, 2001; Neumann and Becher, 2002), and several seminal studies have explored this issue in relation to EMI (e.g., Bolton and Kuteeva, 2012; Airey et al., 2015; Airey, 2020). Even though the discussed classifications of academic disciplines may be a subject for debate, disciplinary-specific differences need to be taken into account when planning the curriculum in any EMEMUS context.

#### ***3.3.2.1 Academic Disciplines***

It is very demanding for students to study at HEIs with EMI because they often start their study not only in their non-native language but also in a new disciplinary field. EMI also compels students to function in a new disciplinary culture and discourse. Initially, it has been assumed that there is a preference for EMI in certain disciplines. Still, the literature review shows that there is no pattern except that the Humanities and Social Sciences are less represented in EME. For example, Airey et al. (2015) state that

in the Nordic countries, EMI prevails in Natural Sciences and Engineering, followed by Social Sciences and much less EMI in Arts and Humanities. However, Salö (2014) reports that in Sweden, the distribution of EMI across the disciplines is not even, and Social Sciences are taught through English twice as much as Humanities. Studying EMI in 19 European countries, Sandström and Neghina (2017) found the contrary results. The top EMI disciplines were Management and Business, Social Sciences, Engineering, IT and Technology, Natural Sciences and Mathematics. In Uzbekistan, the top universities with EMI focus on the areas of Economics, Management, Business, and IT. In addition, some programmes teach Law, Medicine, Tourism and International Relations.

According to Kuteeva and Airey (2014: 546), disciplinary variations in the use of EMI depend “on the nature and knowledge-making practices of the academic discipline”. Bolton and Kuteeva (2012) explain that the choice of EMI for certain disciplines depends on the attitudes towards EMI within the field of study. Taking this idea further, Kuteeva and Airey (2014) argue that these attitudes are also related to the types of knowledge studied in the discipline. They also state that the use of English in different disciplines varies based on educational goals. Airey (2010) claims that many countries often have two languages, local language and English, involved in academic literacy development and acquisition of disciplinary knowledge. In the case of Uzbekistan and other Central Asian countries, the number of languages may vary from three to more.

### ***3.3.2.2 Classifications***

The knowledge within different disciplines in education has been studied for many years. The two most popular classifications of disciplines are the ones proposed by Biglan in 1973 and further developed by Becher in 1989 (Kuteeva and Airey, 2014). Since the classification is based on two seminal works, it is often referred to as the Becher-Biglan typology (Coughlan and Perryman, 2011). It differentiates four types of disciplines: “pure hard”, “pure soft”, “applied hard”, and “applied soft”. In general, “pure hard” disciplines focus on logical reasoning in testing theoretical ideas, while “soft pure” disciplines critically explore familiar or broader general knowledge. “Applied soft” and

“applied hard” disciplines, on the contrary, focus on the improvement of professional training and its use in practice.

Mapping the main differences between each type and giving each an epistemological clarification with examples for each of the four disciplines, Neuman and Becher (2002:406) state that there are significant differences in the preference for the teaching and assessment methods in each of these four types (table 3).

<b>Type of discipline</b>	<b>Knowledge focus</b>	<b>Example of subjects</b>	<b>Teaching and assessment methods</b>
<b>Pure hard</b>	“Cumulative, atomistic structure, concerned with universals, simplification and a quantitative emphasis.”	Physics and Chemistry	E.g., lectures, seminars, written essays and verbal presentations, analysis and synthesis of content, etc.
<b>Pure soft</b>	“Reiterative, holistic, concerned with particulars and having a qualitative bias.”	History and Anthropology	
<b>Applied hard</b>	“Concerned with mastery of the physical environment and geared towards products and techniques.”	Engineering and Technology	E.g., problem-solving tasks, open-ended and multiple-choice questions on tests, practical reports, developed products, etc.
<b>Applied soft</b>	“Concerned with the enhancement of professional practice and aiming to yield protocols and procedures.”	Education and Business studies	

Table 3. Becher-Biglan typology of academic disciplines.

A different perspective on the discipline knowledge structure known as “vertical discourse” is presented by Bernstein (1999) (figure 3). This taxonomy views knowledge construction against theories and main principles existing in the discipline. Combining knowledge structures of different disciplines, the vertical discourse is separated into hierarchical and horizontal knowledge structures at each end of the continuum; it is further divided into science (e.g., physics and biology), social science (e.g., linguistics

and sociology) and humanities (e.g., history and literary studies). In science, knowledge structure is heavily based on experimental research, while in humanities, knowledge is created through the analysis of artefacts. According to Muller (2007), science tests theories against data, and there is usually a single theory that takes over others, while humanities use various theories to understand and explain data. As for social and natural sciences, even though these disciplines are sometimes based on a central theory, there is no dominant theory for the discipline.

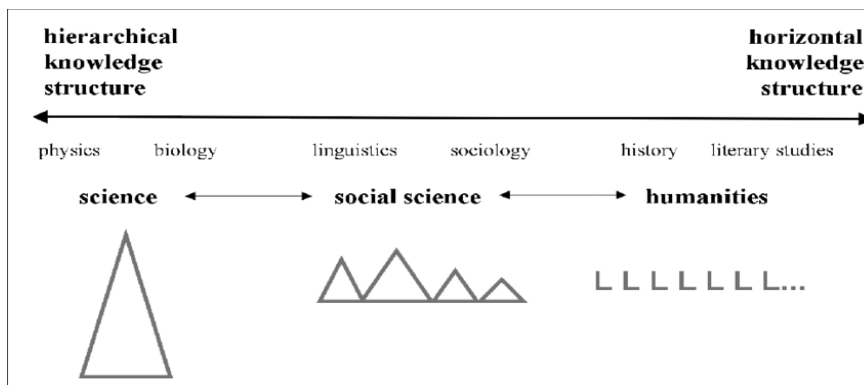


Figure 3. Bernstein's vertical discourse.

The most recent standpoint on the disciplines is by Trowler (2014:1725), who argues that “disciplines can have multiple and variable characteristics, depending on their sets of relations and the level of analysis at which they are used”. He criticises the previous taxonomies for their attempt to classify disciplines homogeneously, ignoring settings, cultures, and periods of their use in academia. Trowler, however, admits that disciplines have some similar characteristics and different properties of power. He is also the first to highlight the importance of languages used to construct knowledge. According to Dafouz and Smit (2020:51), Trowler’s perspective on academic disciplines shows that EMI impacts “stakeholders’ academic socialisation and on the disciplinary artefacts produced”. The use of EMI also has the power to change the academic culture within the disciplines.

In general, knowledge-making practices become visible through the texts or discourses used in the discipline, where language shapes the disciplinary practices. Language is used to transmit knowledge, and it both shapes the discipline and is shaped by it. In the context of EMEMUS, disciplinary knowledge formed in a foreign language affects both the use of English and the formation of academic disciplinary literacies and the formation of academic cultures. The main aim of this overview is to show different

perspectives on the nature of academic disciplines and their associated characteristics. To what extent these peculiarities are addressed in the curriculum in Uzbek HEIs is discussed in section 3.3.5. In Uzbekistan, the academic literacies that ideally should be integrated into the curriculum are only partly addressed by internationally affiliated universities. The curriculum at state universities is hardly considering the development of academic literacies. One of the dimensions that will be further reviewed, namely Globalisation and Glocalisation, will revisit this idea.

### ***3.3.2.3 Academic Disciplinary Literacy***

Academic literacy, defined by Airey (2011) as an ability to communicate within a discipline effectively, should be at the core of any education programme. Numerous studies (e.g., Kennelly, Maldoni, and Davis, 2010; Hocking and Fieldhouse, 2011) state that only through the integration of academic literacies in the curriculum may students grasp differences in the disciplinary genres. Airey (2020) represents disciplines in the form of a triangle with three main sites: society, the academy, and the workplace. Consequently, there are three corresponding interrelated literacies: societal, academic, and vocational. While societal disciplinary literacy refers to communication in the world of popular science publications, vocational disciplinary literacy refers to communication in professional settings. Even though these literacies are not the ultimate goals of all educational institutions, they have become a requirement of HEIs. In HEIs, all disciplines can encompass the elements of all three literacies. In addition, an important aspect of academic literacy development is the coexistence of two main interrelated aspects: content and language. Therefore, in the EMEMUS, it is also important to address the interplay of academic and subject-specific skills. The key aspect of this interdependent skills development is not to separate language learning from content teaching. However, the lack of integration of both in a separate discipline may lead to poor development of one or both of the skills. Therefore, it is particularly important to view subject-specific and academic literacy as a whole. This research identifies if EME in Uzbekistan is a subject-specific-led phenomenon (i.e., the focus is primarily on the content) or a literacy-led phenomenon (i.e., the focus is primarily on the academic



language skills). Where EME in Uzbekistan sits on this continuum and what that reality suggests about how to develop EME practices is also researched in this study.

Academic literacies in EME are sometimes associated with concerns. Some of the basic academic literacies in EME include academic writing and reading, listening to lectures, participating in seminars and acquiring specialist vocabulary. Most of the research studies on academic literacy development focus only on the first aspect. To illustrate, the academic writing and reading experiences of students in various contexts were studied on different levels and in various settings (e.g., Cumming, 2013; Grabe and Zhang, 2016; Leki, 2017; Shrestha and Parry, 2019; Kamaşak et al., 2021). It is also evident from the literature that to support the development of academic literacies; many HEIs run either EAP or ESP courses (discussed in more detail in section 3.3.1.2). At the same time, however, some HEIs also remove these courses from the curriculum relying on incidental language learning (Arnó-Macià and Mancho-Barés, 2015), which implies the development of academic literacies.

Since the ROAD-MAPPING framework has interrelated dimensions, separating them is difficult. Therefore, another major issue, the involvement of agency, discussed further is a discipline or content lecturers' belief that academic literacy development is not their primary concern and they do not have enough expertise in it (Airey, 2009; Kuteeva and Airey, 2014). Moreover, content teachers' understanding of the language component is often limited only to understanding the main concepts. For example, Arabic teachers in science prefer Arabic over English because the latter is academically challenging for students to understand scientific concepts (Alhamami, 2015). Block and Moncada-Comas (2019) also state that Catalanian STEM teachers in HE with EMI self-positioned themselves as not language teachers and focused only on subject knowledge. Therefore, it is crucial that content specialists in EMI settings raise their awareness of the role of language in learning, which is often limited to the discipline-specific glossary of terms (Martin, 2009). The findings by Breeze and Dafouz (2017) also show that content lecturers think that the language entry requirements to the HEIs with EMI serve as proof of students' English language proficiency and a guarantee of their ability to acquire disciplinary literacy skills without any additional support from the lecturers.

Moreover, teachers' lack of professional training and awareness about the importance of academic literacy makes discipline lecturers consider it time-consuming and unnecessary. On an undergraduate level, when students do not yet see themselves

as future academics, the negligence towards the development of academic literacy may not be as strong as at the graduate level, where most students need to be familiar with the genre conventions and disciplinary discourses. In EMEMUS, where educational practices follow or strive to follow international education standards, students navigate between local and foreign discipline-specific practices and conventions.

Another major concern in the literature on LPP is whether the general language policies address or consider the disciplinary differences in academia. For example, Kuteeva and Airey (2014) state that “one-size-fits-all” language policies do not address discipline-specific use of English. These language policies may also neglect to address different factors, including knowledge structures studied in academia, general attitudes to EMI, and socioeconomic movements in different contexts. This research shows that in Uzbekistan, where EMI is not yet well-established, the idea of academic literacy development within academic disciplines is not addressed at all, especially in state universities. It can be explained by the fact that discipline teachers who develop their courses may not be aware of the importance of academic literacies development, may be ignorant of it prioritising the content, or simply neglect it for their lack of expertise in teaching and learning. Even though HE teachers occasionally receive professional training on teaching skills development (e.g., British Council and NILE project) in practice, they do not often have knowledge or awareness about the academic literacies’ development in EME (Bezborodova and Linn, 2022).

Overall, the Academic Disciplines dimension, as all previously reviewed dimensions of the framework, is interconnected with others. The role of agents in this matter is very strong. Reflecting on the future of EME, Airey (2020) states that linguists will only remain relevant in EMI if content language teachers take linguistic research seriously. The understanding that EME is also about pedagogies and practices and not just about language skills and knowledge development is crucial. Since there is no universal EME pedagogy, academic literacy development in EMI may be perceived as interfering or insignificant by disciplinary teachers, students, and other stakeholders. The status of EME and its perceived benefits also tie in with the subjects taught in academia. It is very difficult to judge if the status of the discipline attracts the use of EMI or vice versa, but what is apparent is that disciplinary knowledge is inseparable from academic literacy.

### **3.3.3 (Language) Management Dimension**

The working definition of this dimension provided by Dafouz and Smit (2020:60) is as follows:

(Language) Management is concerned with 'direct efforts to [influence and] manipulate the language situation' (Spolsky, 2004, p. 8) in the form of language policy statements and documents. These texts differ in terms of policy type, but also with regard to which language(s) and which communicational activities are dealt with to what extent and in what ways.

This review of the literature addresses the main definitions and concepts discussed in the area of language management. It starts with an overview of the main LPP frameworks and models, which serve as a theoretical base for language management. It then moves to the language management aspect and focuses on the three main perspectives that Dafouz and Smit (2020) address in their literature review, looking at language management from the EME perspective. It is important to note that Dafouz and Smit's (2020) explanation of the Language Management dimension is mostly viewed from a document or language policy statement perspective, which may not be so applicable to the Uzbek HEIs with EMI. Therefore, since the written language policy documents that solely address the English language at the state level and language policies at the university level are absent, the proposed study analyses the common English language practices and overt policies at HEIs.

#### ***3.3.3.1 LPP Frameworks and Models***

The field of LPP, initially called language engineering, is an area of linguistics that became widely discussed after World War II; it has been promoted and studied by many researchers (e.g., Haugen, 1983; Fishman, 1987; Jernudd, 1990; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997, 2005; Spolsky, 2004; Baldauf, 2005, 2012; Kaplan, 2011; Macaro, 2018; Macaro et al., 2018, 2019, 2020; Aizawa and Rose, 2019; Dafouz and Smit, 2020; Bowles and Murphy, 2020; Galloway, 2020; Lasagabaster, 2022; etc.). Baldauf (2012) states that even though language planning and language policy are often used interchangeably,

they differ. Language policy is considered to be a physical or abstract plan of “the laws, regulations, rules and pronouncements or statements of intent”, while language planning is the implementation of this plan (Baldauf, 2012: 235). Poon (2004) provides a different perspective differentiating these two concepts by the level of influence. She states that language policy is a macro-sociological activity carried out on national and government levels, while language planning is a micro-sociological activity on government, national and institutional levels. This study supports Poon’s perspective since it follows similar analytical categories.

There are several main approaches and frameworks for LPP. The first LPP approach, the domain approach, was proposed by Fishman (1971), who claimed that language might be assigned a status and a role in various domains (e. g., language in the family, at school, hospital, etc.). The main components of the approach were practice, ideology and management. Fishman’s ideas were further developed by Spolsky (2004), who proposed the most well-known LPP framework.

The original or classical approach to LPP, also known as the traditional and neoclassic approach, was developed around Haugen’s (1983) synthesis of the literature. This approach describes language policy from status, corpus, and acquisition planning perspectives (Hornberger, 2006). Each type has a clear focus. To elaborate, status planning focuses on the functions of language. It functions on a societal level and has to do with the nationalisation and officialisation of languages, their spread, revitalisation and maintenance in society. Corpus planning focuses on the creation of language standards. In other words, its main concern is language standardisation with a focus on grammar, lexis and orthography. The third perspective is acquisition planning, which focuses on efforts to influence language learning and teaching. Both status and acquisition planning are relevant for this research. However, to address the most recent developments in LPP, the classical approach was later revisited by Kaplan and Baldauf (1997; 2005). As a result, the classical approach was updated and included, along with the status and corpus planning approaches, two more LPP elements: language-in-education combined acquisition planning and policy development (i.e., the linguistic component in curricula and language management in education) and prestige planning, the “image” of society transmitted through the language. Baldauf (2005: 962) admits that “this view of a language planning framework is not the only way of conceptualizing the discipline”. The idea of prestige planning can be taken forward in this study because

prestige planning promotes language at government, institutional and individual levels by boosting or diminishing its image, which is the case in Uzbekistan.

Another major approach to LPP is the language management approach established by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987, cited in Nekvapil, 2016). Focused on the implementation of new language norms, this approach developed almost in the same timeframe as the classical approach. Being different from what Spolsky (2004) means by language management, the language management approach focuses on language or communication, which is viewed from a sociolinguistic and sociocultural perspective. In other words, it focuses more on language use rather than language as a planned whole. Explaining the language management approach, Nekvapil (2011: 880) states that its main concerns are the “management of utterances (communicative acts)” and the “concrete interactions (conversations) of individuals in institutions”. It follows four main stages where language planning begins with identifying deviation from language use, followed by evaluating its use. It then implements a new norm, evaluates it and follows the cycle again. Since this research does not look at the utterances and concrete interactions, this approach is not used in this study. However, the review of the approaches above shows that the early work in LPP mostly included ontological and epistemological concepts with clear boundaries between them. Therefore, the LPP research findings mostly generated descriptive data about language policies in various post-war contexts.

Later, the focus shifted, and researchers started to examine the social consequences of language policy developments, which resulted in the appearance of a critical approach. This approach helps to evaluate and analyze how language challenges existing language ideologies, beliefs associated with it, and power relations in society. This approach draws on social, political, and economic forces to combat various forms of inequality. Influenced by critical theory, it highlights the concept of power in institutions that contribute to inequality (Tollefson, 2005). Baldauf (2012: 238) also states that the critical approach is largely informed by critical theory and the “key ideas of power, struggle, colonisation, hegemony and ideology and resistance.” EMI, in its nature, is one of those forces that may be seen to reproduce inequality and, due to its elitism, limits access to HE with EMI.

Moreover, the critical approach was criticized by Davis (1999), who proposed the ethnographic approach as a more thorough way to explore the intricacy of language

policy processes. The ethnographic approach, with its roots in anthropology, combines not only its methodology of data collection (i.e., observation, interviews, documents) but also epistemological and ontological approaches to examining peoples' lives (Hornberger, 2020). In addition, Johnson (2009:142) states that “ethnographic and critical approaches to language policy are not mutually exclusive”, claiming that “ethnography of language policy should include both critical analyses of local, state, and national policy texts and discourses as well as data collection on how such policy texts and discourses are interpreted and appropriated”. In this study, the elements of critical and ethnographic approaches will be used because they fit the research questions very well. In addition to the interviews and lesson observations, the data will be gathered through ethnographic notes taken during the visits to different HEIs in Uzbekistan.

### 3.3.3.2 Language Management

The most widely pursued Language Policy framework was proposed by Spolsky (2004), who viewed language policy as a combination of interrelated elements (i.e., language practice, language beliefs, and language management) that can also be viewed individually (figure 4).

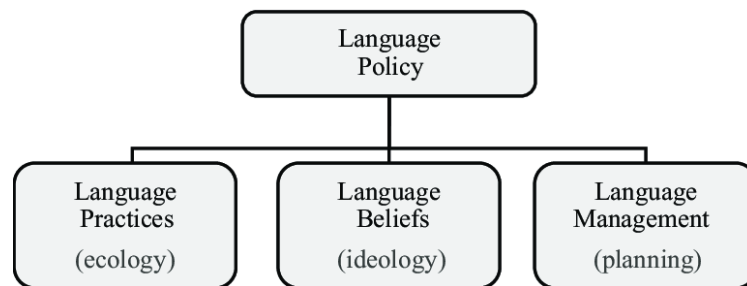


Figure 4. Language Policy by Spolsky (2004).

Language management is the third component of the framework. The idea and definition of this component serve as a base for the (Language) Management dimension of the ROAD-MAPPING framework. Along with language practices and language beliefs, it contributes to the understanding of what language policy is by examining what “some individual or group or institution set out to modify the practices and beliefs of members of the community” (Spolsky, 2019: 326). Reviewing the studies that explored language management in a different context, Spolsky concludes that the complexity of non-

linguistic factors that affect state language policy making, maintenance of minority languages, and small languages extinction makes policy development, promulgation, and management very difficult. These factors include corruption, genocide, colonisation, diseases, slavery, and natural disasters. Therefore, the original framework was revisited, and several important modifications were made to the component of language management. Spolsky added *advocates without power* (i.e., “individuals or groups who lack the authority of managers but still wish to change its practices”) and *self-management* (i.e., “the attempt of speakers to modify their own linguistic proficiency and repertoire”) (2019: 326). In the Uzbek context, these advocates are usually the teachers and students who wish to change EME practices but do not have many rights to do so, especially at the state HEIs. The major factors in the implementation of policy in Uzbekistan would be a high level of corruption, lack of funding, professional incompetence, bureaucracy, etc. Therefore, these advocates are often motivated to self-improve, usually outside the institution. Spolsky’s framework is different to the Jernudd and Neustupný (1987, cited in Nekvapil, 2016) model for its wholistic view of language (discussed in more detail in section 3.3.3.1).

In the ROAD-MAPPING framework, the language management dimension, mainly viewed from a “policy as text” perspective by Dafouz and Smit (2020), is reviewed from three main standpoints: policies’ communicational function, policy types, and languages used. Having reviewed various LPP theories and models, the current study also views language management in this light, but with slight contextual variations discussed below.

The communicational function of language management includes the activities discussed in the Roles of English dimension (i.e., language for communication on different levels and for different purposes). This function is also connected with the Academic Disciplines dimension since the communication activities may differ from one subject area to another and follow different discipline-specific conventions (e.g., assessment, teaching formats and materials).

Policy types, proposed by Johnson (2013), are divided into pairs with opposing components: top-down and bottom-up, overt and covert, explicit and implicit, as well as de jure and de facto. Applying the ROAD-MAPPING framework in their study carried out in Vietnam, Tri and Moskovsky (2019: 1337) found that the top-down language policy texts focused on language requirements and language practices for students and

teachers; they did not promote multilingualism but rather focused on “100% English”. While in Uzbek EME, where top-down, explicit, overt and/or de jure policy documents are expectation-driven, bottom-up, covert, implicit, and de facto policies exist in numerous ways and forms. These later policies differ from an individual-to-individual agent, exist in various classroom practices, and be interpreted differently by everyone involved in EME. Therefore, the data for the study has been collected through surveys, interviews and class observations, which help to trace these micro-aspects. These policies are difficult to manage, and it is, therefore, crucial to classify the existing policies to characterise them and suggest recommendations.

Lastly, the language aspect, which is discussed in the framework in relation to the policy texts, is connected with internationalisation and resulted from its hegemony of English in education, domain loss, growth of ELF status, and lack of attention to the minority languages. Even though Dafouz and Smit (2020: 54) admit that the policy texts may not exist, referring to this situation as “the most extreme case”. They state that even with the texts being present, focusing on language, policy type, and communicational functions may not be enough. In the case of Uzbekistan, the situation is assumed to be far more complex in this regard since the covert and implicit language practices may differ from institution to institution and from classroom to classroom. The online survey helps capture these practices. Finally, in their review of the dimension, Dafouz and Smit (2020:54) refer to their statement made in their 2016 article, when the framework was first introduced, about “the risk of camouflaging the unique status of English behind a call for multilingualism”. This statement, yet again, may only be partially relevant to the Uzbek setting, where there is a strong preference for an English-only policy that is not followed in practice due to the multilingual language ecology.

In the current research, interviews were held with Ministry representatives, shedding light on what approach to LPP is followed when promoting EME. It is also important to note that in the Uzbek context, the policies are often implicit and may emerge only through practice, which only becomes evident during class observations, interviews with stakeholders, and university visits. For many agents involved in language management in Uzbekistan, the top-down approach is assumed and implied. Therefore, language-in-education policy and EMI research are critically important in the chosen context. Since EME in the region may well occupy an extensive part of the



education domain if the spread of it continues and is encouraged by the government, the potential value of the findings within this dimension is very high.

### **3.3.4 Agents Dimension**

The working definition of this dimension provided by Dafouz and Smit (2020: 60) is as follows:

The Agents dimension encompasses the different social players (whether conceptualised as individuals or as collectives, concretely or abstractly) that are engaged in EMEMUS at diverse sociopolitical, institutional and hierarchical levels. Agents may adopt different roles and identities and thus implement (or not) changes in their respective HEIs, depending on their hierarchical status within such organisations, their professional concerns and/or their English language proficiency.

#### ***3.3.4.1 The Concept of Agency***

Examining the experience of English through a critical lens of the agency is important because, according to Babino and Stewart (2018), global agents and people with power directly influence the classroom microsystem where teachers and students reproduce language policy agendas through the lenses of their own beliefs, attitudes, perception, and practices. Largely ignored in historical and structural approaches to language policy research in the 1990s, agency is currently gaining greater interest, being analysed through a critical lens (Tollefson and Perez-Milans, 2018). The concept of agency has multifarious angles since it relates “to such notions as volition, initiative, autonomy and motivation”, which makes it difficult to research (Jiang and Zhang, 2019: 325). It is a complex concept, particularly due to its sociological nature and the fact that agents function in wider structural and cultural realities.

Agency in LPP was initially identified and recognised in government organisations and official education bodies that initiate macro-level language policy (Kaplan, 2011; Kaplan and Baldauf, 1997). However, with time agency was redefined since it became apparent that actors operate not only at the macro but also meso- and micro-levels

(Chua and Baldauf, 2011; Hamid and Baldauf, 2014). To specify and exemplify what policy represents on each of these levels, Bianco (2010) differentiates between public texts (i.e., macro-level), public discourses (i.e., meso-level), and performative actions (i.e., micro-level). From the language ecology perspective, members of society use language in various ways within various contexts. According to Kaplan and Baldauf (1997:13), these contexts include human communication “within vast cultural, educational, historical, demographic, political, and social structures”. Communication and language are used to form beliefs and shape the ideologies that are reflected in language policies. Social players’ language beliefs directly affect a language ecology primarily because these beliefs may often be potentially different and conflicting (Spolsky, 2014). In the HE sector, agents function on different hierarchical levels within institutions, ministries of education, and external organisations involved in language policy decisions. Marginson and Rhoades (2002, cited in Dafouz et al., 2020) name this type of agency “glocal”, suggesting that all people involved in covert and overt language policy-making function not only nationally and locally but also globally.

The ROAD-MAPPING framework and a broader concept of EMEMUS reflect this viewpoint as well through the dimension of internationalisation and glocalisation. EMEMUS also explicitly focuses on the multilingual sociolinguistic setting where English language use reflects a top-down policy or bottom-up classroom practices (Dafouz and Smit, 2020). Both perspectives involve different individual social players (agents) or groups of them. For example, individual agents, including students, teachers, and administrative staff, may form departments, unions and boards. These individual and group agents are often involved in complex and multi-layered EME on institutional and socio-political levels. Individual agency's role in policy-making is discussed in academic research (e.g., Hult, 2010; Menken and García, 2010; McCarty, 2011). On an institutional level, these actors handle EME programmes and instigate these practices in the classroom. From a socio-political perspective, they initiate innovations in EME that have to do with state-level policy and curricular guidelines.

In the process of language planning, agents can work at any level taking part in the initial phases of policy creation to the final implementation (Liddicoat and Baldauf, 2008). Examining the agents in LPP at different levels of planning, Wiley and García (2016) identified the following actors: “actors in government planning; language strategists; de facto planners or arbiters; stakeholders, especially those in families and

local communities”. However, it is important to identify the main players and the power relationship between them. Zhao and Baldauf (2012) highlight that agents who influence change act within four broad categories: people with power, people with expertise, influence, and interest (table 4). This study represented actors of different types and power, including Ministry of Education representatives- actors in government, British Council and the US Embassy representatives-people with influence, university teachers- people with expertise, and students-people with interest. The table below provides the main characteristics and examples for each of these four categories.

<b>Category</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>	<b>Example</b>
<b>People with power</b>	Official authorities with legislative power	Officials and administration
<b>People with influence</b>	People with a high standing and public profile within a community or society	Politicians
<b>People with expertise</b>	Specialists with knowledge of the language(s) and language systems	Linguists and language educators
<b>People with interest</b>	Unconscious and passive decision-makers about language use for themselves and others	Professionals (employers and funders), students or parents

Table 4. Zhao and Baldauf's classification.

### ***3.3.4.2 Macro-level Agency***

As noted above, agency was initially considered to belong to a macro-level LPP. Therefore, macro-level institutions with legal power over their decisions are often included in the early definition of LPP. This top-down approach shows that language policy was viewed from the position of power. Even though in 1990 Haarmann suggested that other types of agency, including micro-level individual agency, should be considered, macro-level research on agency still prevails. Watson (2007) states that macro-level policies promoted by the government exclude and suppress other agents/actors instead of promoting their involvement in this process. However, these

actors may also be officials who declare laws, write policies and decide on institutional rules.

The associated power and authority remain distinct features of macro-level LPP. For example, Spolsky (2009:4) defined language management as “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”. However, it has been found that the practices and beliefs of the micro-level agency may not tie with the ideologies of management macro-level policy. For example, Hamid and Nguyen (2016), Hu and Lei (2014), and Liddicoat (2016) found that standard monolingual language policies promoted by authoritative organisations have been transformed to some extent into multilingual and more open language practices by micro-level agents (i.e., teachers and students). The sociolinguistic nature of this process leads to the modification of beliefs and practices that, as a result, influence language choices. Moreover, the mismatch of interests may lead to tensions and result in conflicts. For example, Haarmann (1990: 123) states that “most inconsistencies in practical language planning result from conflicts of interest”. Language policy implementation is, therefore, most effective if all actors agree on the main outcomes of LPP. Lastly, since one of the main drivers of EMI-oriented LPP is internationalisation (Altbach and Knight, 2007), it is due to internationalisation many macro-level agents adopt new language policies that indicate the use of English as a response to globalisation. The concepts of internationalisation and globalisation were discussed in section 2.5.1 and will be discussed in more detail in the following dimension, but what is important to note is that macro-level agency is often guided by these concepts, ignoring the local reality and the needs of the micro-level agents. These factors also influence the macro-level English LPP in Uzbekistan. The numerous Presidential and Ministry Decrees that promote English use in the country, which strives to enter the global market, aim to develop education that corresponds to international standards. Overall, the concept of Decrees is an interesting locally specific form of discourse, which will be addressed in the analysis.

### ***3.3.4.3 Micro-level Agency***

Functioning on a micro-level, the individual agency of teachers is widely discussed in numerous studies that show the significant role of teachers in language policy (Baldauf, 2005; Shohamy, 2006; Baldauf, Li, and Zhao, 2008; Menken and Garcia, 2010; Zhao, 2011; Zhao and Baldauf, 2012; Nguyen and Bui, 2016; Hamid and Nguyen, 2016). Hamid and Nguyen (2016) state that teachers' agency in micro-level language policy is often not one's own volition but rather an involuntary act of support conditioned by the macro-level policy. They found out that teachers in Asia are forced to help students to achieve the goals stated in the policy. Viewing language policy as a combination of context, structure, and constraints, Garcia and Menken (2010: 256) highlight the role of teachers in shaping language education policies stating that it is "the joint product of the educators' constructive activity, as well as the context in which this constructive activity is built". Also, Zhao and Baldauf (2012: 6) state that teachers' agency is "passive, unconscious, intermittent and ad hoc" because teachers do not have enough power to be involved in decision-making. Hamid and Nguyen (2016) characterise the implementation of the macro-level policy by micro-level agents as a "sink or swim" situation. Ali and Hamid (2018) also state that the individuality of teacher agency is a problem in itself because an individual effort on a micro-level does not necessarily lead to a bigger goal reflected in a macro-level policy. Therefore, they suggest that the institution should mediate macro and micro-level policy implementation. One obvious way to address it is through a clear de facto university-wide language policy that would help to align individual agency intentions to macro-level goals.

Petrovic and Kuntz (2013) first identified three typical responses to macro-level policy and presented these three responses as a continuum of agentic strategies. They stated that teachers might follow the policies, interpret them and implement based on their interpretation, or interpret and adapt them in their own ways. This continuum was further developed by Ali and Hamid (2018), who, in their study conducted at one Malaysian HEI with EMI, found three types of teacher agency: resistance, accommodation, and dedication. As the names suggest, teachers either do not follow the macro-level order, adjust to cater to the needs of students or strictly follow the order. Both resistance and accommodation to the macro-level language policies by

micro-level players were described in several studies (e.g., Aguilar and Rodriguez, 2012; Costa and Coleman, 2012).

A recent study by Hamid et al. (2019) identified more forms of agency. Investigating agentive engagement of EMI lecturers in Vietnamese HE, they identified four types of agencies: adaptive, compliant, supportive and supportive non-engaging agencies. The adaptive agency stands for a flexible understanding of the EMI policy where teaching serves the needs of students. Contrary to the adaptive agency, compliant teachers were strictly following the English-only policy and did not show any flexibility in their teaching. The supportive agency was represented by teachers who managed to scaffold both content learning and language proficiency development of their students. Non-engaged agents feel powerless and frustrated in the EMI setting and engage with neither of the above.

Viewing policy as an interactive process, Levinson et al. (2009) claim that teachers are involved in a socio-cultural language policy implementation and appropriation process. According to Levinson et al. (2009:779), appropriation refers to “the ways creative agents interpret and take in elements of policy, thereby incorporating these discursive resources into their own schemes of interest, motivation, and action”. Through appropriation, teachers manage to make policies of their own while still reflecting the authoritative vision. The research by Ali and Hamid (2018) also shows that even though EMI teachers in Malaysia understood the macro-level policy, they employed different agency forms in response to their classroom experiences, professional lives, and understanding of EMI nature. Therefore, the implementation of EMI policies imposed by macro-level players is never uniformly followed and varies from context to context. What is also apparent is that the teachers’ agency directly influences students’ experiences in EMI, which may affect the learning of both content and language. Furthermore, teachers endeavour to operate in academia through a foreign language medium in a wide range of contexts and disciplines. Therefore, focusing on their views of EMI can provide insights into so-called situated practice and broaden the understanding of tensions and contradictions in a top-down approach to language policy.

In addition to the teachers’ agency, micro-level language planning also includes students’ agency. Since students are the prime receivers of language-in-education policy outcomes, their perceptions and agentive roles in academia contribute to how policies

are implemented in the classroom. In this study, students' feedback on the implementation of de facto policies is an informant of the changes to the existing language practices. Drawing on my personal experience in Uzbek HEIs, this is also the case because students' feedback, their language proficiency, and class participation may shape actual classroom practices and teachers' use of English. Both these individual agencies are considered in what follows.

Lastly, LPP is metaphorically represented as an onion by Ricento and Hornberger (1966) for its multi-layered nature and combination of various components. One of these components is agency. The authors stress that the "essential LPP components - agents, levels, and processes of LPP - permeate and interact with each other in multiple and complex ways as they enact various types, approaches, and goals of LPP" (1966: 419). Being interconnected with other components, both group and individual agency functions are very complex and depend on the context and LPP approach. The onion metaphor also clearly demonstrates that both top-down and macro-level agency (i.e., the outer layer of the onion) and bottom-up or micro-level agency (i.e., inner layers of the onion) shape, interpret, configure, and implement language policies. Therefore, when discussing the future of agency research in LPP, Johnson (2013) calls for more studies on exploring the nature and use of agency in this process. Identifying the actual key agents in the Uzbek contexts and mapping them out under the various categories are key priorities for this study. The roles of individual and group agency, as well as agency of macro and micro levels of LPP in Uzbek HE, should be explored to see if any tensions or conflicts of interest are involved. Clear identification of where the interests of macro and micro agents collide may shape LPP in a way that it will play the role of tension resolver between different levels of the agency. The use of an updated framework should be able to model the collision.

Overall, the onion metaphor by Ricento and Hornberger (1966) and the runaway train metaphor by Macaro (2015) represent the general movement towards the importance of agency, along with other factors that influence the development of EME all over the world. To my mind, the ROAD-MAPPING framework also reflects a certain metaphorical idea, a map. The model's name suggests that it may serve as a guiding principle for EME practices in HEIs. Even though the models reconcile some of the main LPP principles and factors (i.e., the role of agency, the speed of the trend development, the versatile and multi-layered nature of the concept, etc.), they serve more as an image

representation rather than a guiding principle. The onion and ROAD-MAPPING models resemble each other, following the intersection principle as all their dimensions and layers conjoin. The fact that there are several visual metaphors of EME is also an interesting observation. Since metaphors are generally used for rhetorical and figurative representation, they propose food for thought to anyone who interprets them. At the same time, the interpretations may vary, and the connotations drawn from the images may vary.

### **3.3.5 Internationalisation and Glocalisation Dimension**

The working definition of this dimension provided by Dafouz and Smit (2020:60) is as follows:

Internationalisation and Glocalisation refer to the ‘the tensions but also the synergies’ (Scott, 2011: 61) that govern twenty-first-century HEIs, and portray such organisations as transnational sites where stakeholders from different social settings, linguistic and cultural backgrounds and educational models are gaining presence. Equally important, nonetheless, are national and local drivers, such as the national and regional languages used in particular HE settings or the cultural and pedagogical models for present-day HEIs to remain relevant in their respective societies.

Since the concepts of globalisation and internationalisation, as well as their influence on EMI development, have already been reviewed in section 2.5.1, this section will review the specific points not discussed before and focus on glocalisation as well as issues revolving around it. Even though the focus of this section is glocalisation in EME, there are only a few articles that address it. Therefore, the review looks at the glocalisation of English, international curriculum and teaching and learning materials. Often discussed along with English language glocalisation is its nativisation. To specify, the fact that English is used for communication and in education in many non-Anglophone countries resulted in the nativisation of different Englishes, which is becoming the case in Uzbekistan, where English is not widely spoken. Even though English nativisation is not the focus of this review, ELF remains a relevant topic for discussion in the Uzbek context.



### **3.3.5.1 Internationalisation and Glocalisation**

Knight (2018:18) states that the internationalisation of HE is becoming less oriented on the “values of cooperation, partnership, exchange, mutual benefits and capacity building”, and it is rather “increasingly characterised by competition, commercialisation, self-interest and status building”. Currently, the internationalisation of HE has become a business that is implemented differently in various settings. For example, in Uzbekistan, it is implemented with active advertising of affiliation with the foreign university and with EMI. This is especially the case for newly opened universities (screenshot in Appendix 1). Overall, globalisation and the internationalisation of HE initiated an extensive discussion of EMI in academic research. Macaro et al. (2019) state that many HEIs implement EMI to receive a higher ranking in international league tables and, as a result, more funding to meet the international requirements of the current trends in education and to attract more students.

Viewed from different angles, EME largely contributes to the dominance of the English language in HE (Jenkins, 2014), English language commodification (Cameron, 2012), and student mobility (Castro et al., 2016). However, the mobility that globalisation entails is often not physical. For instance, in Uzbekistan and other non-Anglophone countries, an opportunity to receive an internationally recognised degree without leaving the home country is becoming very popular. Students receive the same qualification as provided at the affiliated university abroad by the end of their studies. Therefore, one more issue associated with EMI and EME is the internationalisation of the curriculum. It is defined by Leask (2009: 209) as the “incorporation of an international and intercultural dimension into the preparation, delivery and outcomes of the programme of study”. Internationalisation of curriculum may also bring global perspectives, internationally oriented content, and examples in education without physical mobility. Known as “internationalisation at home” (Crowther et al., 2001), it addresses transnational issues across the disciplines.

Lastly, studies (e.g., Holliday, 1994; Sung, 2010) on the use of English in light of globalisation point out that the global role that English plays may overpower the contextual factors of its local use. Applying a similar idea to the concept of international curriculum, Hughes (2008:15) states that a “curriculum may be extremely high quality in terms of the teaching culture and communicative norms of the country in which it

originates [... but could be] highly inaccessible to a diverse student body with very different expectations and language abilities”. Therefore, it is currently debated if academic literacies should be imported or adapted into EMEMUS contexts (Dafouz and Smit, 2020). On the one hand, it is important to acquire international academic literacy in the globalised world. On the other hand, their application in the local reality may not be needed. Rather, the development of glocalised academic literacies may be in demand. These opposing views bring us to the discussion of glocalisation.

### **3.3.5.2 Glocalisation**

According to Robertson (1995), who coined the term *glocalisation*, the relationship between the global and the local is reciprocal, but at the same time, the power relations between them are very different. Baraldi (2006: 54) highlights that glocalisation “has intercultural meaning and is created through communication”. It is assumed that in Uzbekistan, a multicultural society, glocalisation takes place in many spheres, and education is not an exception. Even though the regions may be less international in their demographics compared to Tashkent, they are still very multicultural in a different way. For example, Hasanova (2021) states that in Bukhara, the second-largest city in Uzbekistan after Tashkent, the majority of people use Tajik as their mother tongue. While Tajik has no official status in the country, it retains its historical tradition of being a language of the whole region that used to be a part of the Persian Empire.

According to Lo Bianco et al. (1999: 1), “active multicultural societies/nations where language education is highly valued are better prepared for participation in global interculturalism on the world stage”. A similar view is shared by East (2008), who states that glocalisation facilitates multilingualism and multiculturality. Moreover, because the implementation of international education with a strong focus on EMI is becoming popular in economic, social, cultural and political settings where English is neither a native nor second language, the strong influence of globalisation is on the verge of glocalisation (Jones et al., 2016). How to reach a balance between these two issues, maintain global and local practices and academic literacies, and avoid “curricular homogenisation and the imposition of Westernised approaches and paradigms on local academic cultures” (Dafouz and Smit, 2020: 58) are some of the main issues of concern

identified in the academic literature but presumably completely ignored by Ministries of Education and HEIs.

Among the other major issues that are discussed regarding glocalisation are culturally appropriate content and teaching materials used in the curriculum or programme of study (Can et al., 2020). Rhedding-Jones (2002) argues that any international English-based curricula should address local differences, which may allow both students and teachers to feel empowered. The two main goals that any English language teacher has to pursue were identified by East (2008), who states that students should be taught to communicate in a contextually and culturally appropriate manner and, at the same time, appreciate their language and culture. Given the multiple advantages associated with EME, this should also be inclusive of “appreciation” of the discipline-specific academic literacies.

Hajar and Shakila (2013) found that in ELT, glocal cultural content inclusive of both global and local cultures can positively affect language learning. Also, cultural factors are often the ones that are mostly referred to when discussing the use of English in education materials (Tomlinson, 2012; Xu, 2014; Sharifian, 2013, 2016). Exploring the cultural content of ELT textbooks in Malaysia, Abdul Rahim and Daghigh (2020) found that the content of the local textbooks has wider cultural content than the imported book. Through the glocalisation of English, non-English speakers grasp, blend, and encode cultural conceptualisations associated with English (Sharifian, 2016). However, the level of glocalisation and its use differ from context to context. To illustrate, Choi (2016: 17), researching the glocalisation of English language education in Japan, Korea and Hong Kong, states that glocalisation differences were reflected based on “history, resources, and perceived prime needs” in each of the three countries.

Arguing for the usefulness of glocalisation of learning activities, Rai and Deng (2016) state that glocal learning activities should be used in teaching to motivate students’ interest and make study less difficult and more meaningful. They also state that learning materials should be glocal to help students improve their English. In Uzbekistan, where most students are local in the EME context, this is a possibility, while in the courses taken by international students, glocalisation is rather questionable. Researching these issues in the Chinese context, Rai and Deng (2016) find that Chinese students would appreciate authentic materials that are based on the local context. Overall, Rai and Deng (2016) claim glocalisation has become very popular in Asian

countries, where English has the status of an international language, but, at the same time, it plays the role of a global-local language supporting communication between people.

Lastly, East (2008) states that there are two main implications for the glocalisation of English: the rise of local Englishes and tension between the use of English and other languages. It has also been previously addressed that the use of English may create tensions and result in conflicts or polarity in the use of languages. However, in Uzbekistan, the second implication is not the case. The English language is not yet seen as a threat to native Uzbek and the language of intercultural communication, Russian (Linn, Bezborodova and Radjabzade, 2020). The education domain loss may become more visible in the near future.

In the dynamic world, where the glocalisation of English increases, international education is often viewed from new glocal and cultural perspectives. Students' background is considered when developing programmes, curriculum, materials and teaching activities. It is also common that in different non-Anglophone settings, English is adapted to the local context and functions in various varieties. Since glocalisation has been extensively studied in regard to English teaching and learning, the research studies that address the development of glocal Englishes mostly prevail in the field of TESOL. Unfortunately, there is a great gap in research on glocalisation in EME. This study shows that Uzbek HEIs employ both global and local perspectives when it comes to EME. However, these perspectives are not balanced in Uzbek HEIs. To understand the concept of glocalisation of English in Uzbek HEIs, it is important to look at the role of teacher agency (e.g., the curriculum or material developer, administrative staff, or practitioner), as well as student agency, which have a very strong influence in the "Internationalisation and Glocalisation" dimension. Analysing the language support both agencies have during the EME, the level of priority given to EME development, and the main goals of its implementation can influence the processes of internationalisation and glocalisation.

### **3.3.6 Practices and Processes Dimension**

The working definition of this dimension provided by Dafouz and Smit (2020:60) is as follows:

Practices and Processes are based on the understanding of social practices as ‘cultural conception[s] of particular ways of thinking about and doing’ (Leung & Street, 2012a, p. 9). It is thus concerned with the administrative, research and educational activities that construct and are constructed by EMEMUS realities. Such a process-focused perspective allows for dynamic analyses at all levels, for example, classroom discourse, teacher professional development or stages of internationalisation.

When the framework was first introduced, Dafouz and Smit (2016: 407) stated that this dimension has a “process rather than product view to analyse praxis and development that might otherwise go undetected”. They have also admitted that the dimension is very broad and complex since the EMEMUS practices and processes are inclusive of administrative activities, research, and educational activities, such as classroom interactions and teacher-professional development. Understanding the risk of being too broad, the authors of the framework, thus, limit their overview to the discussion of micro-and macro-level practices and processes: students’ classroom interaction, teachers’ collaboration and professional development, and institutionalised internationalisation. The last one, which is thoroughly discussed in section 2.5.1, was not discussed much in Dafouz and Smit’s review and will not be discussed again in this section either. This section will instead focus on classroom interaction and teacher professional development. The review will also conclude with an attempt to challenge the dimension and propose amendments to the framework itself.

#### ***3.3.6.1 Students’ Classroom Interaction***

In the EMEMUS context, where English is a foreign language that co-exists with many other languages, classroom discourse is an important issue to research. A lot has already been written about the demanding reality of studying through EMI, where students’ knowledge development and learning of subject-specific knowledge go hand

in hand with English language development. Multilingualism, which is an inevitable component of studying and learning in an EME environment, results in translanguaging (i.e., “use of the linguistic resources at their disposal when engaging with each other and with texts to create meaning and deepen learning” (Palfreyman and Van der Walt, 2017: 12). Dafouz and Smit (2020: 56) state that “translanguaging presupposes a classroom culture that embraces linguistic diversity as well as active student participation”. In a study by Linn, Bezborodova, and Radjabzade (2020), some Uzbek students at the Westminster International University in Tashkent, being the proponents of an “English-only policy”, were translanguaging and switching codes to converse in multiple languages during and outside the class but thought that it was wrong and demanded to be controlled by teachers and administration to use only English.

### ***3.3.6.2 Teachers’ Collaboration and Teacher Training***

Dafouz and Smit (2020: 57) pay attention to teachers’ collaboration and teacher training in EME, claiming that only through teachers’ involvement in them can they “develop EME- adequate practice”. Moreover, this kind of collaboration should enhance the importance of the development of academic literacy discussed in the Academic Discipline dimension. Brown (2017) states that teacher collaboration would improve the curriculum as content and language teachers would be actively involved in its planning and development. The collaboration between content teachers may also result in interdisciplinary programmes and research collaborations.

Regarding teacher training, its traditional understanding includes pedagogy and methodology of teaching; however, in EME, the focus may and should also be inclusive of English itself. The EMI teacher training could include the language focus and development of English proficiency and EMI pedagogy in HE. O’Dowd (2018: 554) states that teachers are “forced to come to terms with the challenges as they teach through English on a daily basis” because they lack professional training. Park et al. (2022) identified that the professional development model offered to the teachers at the universities of South Korea mainly focuses on institutional needs while disregarding the needs of the faculty. The EMI teacher training offered in Uzbekistan is not a sustainable practice as well. Back in 2018, the Republican Research Centre for Development of

Innovative Methods in Teaching Foreign Languages (mentioned in section 2.2.1) organised a teacher training course for content teachers, “Teaching Other Subjects Through English”. The course was partly successful, according to its organisers’ opinion. However, many teachers did not complete all three modules and, as a result, could not get a certificate. Unfortunately, since it is often not common for course organisers to conduct a needs analysis, review the outcomes, and make the results public, there are no figures available. The measures were not provided upon the formal request, and the outcomes can only be judged based on the interview data with the course organiser. Because of the lack of funding provided by the Ministry of Education, it has never been run again.

In 2020, the British Council Uzbekistan organised the first-ever EMI training course for 55 EMI teachers from 16 HEIs. They took an online course developed by the Norwich Institute of Language Education. This course is a part of a big British Council programme, Higher Education for Employability, which aimed at developing a national strategy for EMI teachers at Uzbek HEIs. The outcomes of the projects were reviewed by Bezborodova and Linn (2022), and the Methodological Recommendations (Descriptors) for Teaching English as EMI in HEIs have already been published<sup>11</sup>. Diallo and Liddicoat (2014:116) claim that “where pedagogy is not attended to in the implementation of language policy, this results in problems for implementation that can severely compromise the policy [of EMI] and its objectives”.

Overall, the review and focus of the Practices and Processes dimension by Dafouz and Smit (2020) is debatable since this dimension, appearing to be the broadest, is the least discussed in their book. On the one hand, the authors admit that the dimension is broad, which is difficult to navigate for anyone implementing this framework for their research. On the other hand, they do not provide boundaries to the topics that should be discussed within the dimension, which makes the dimension fit-for-all purposes. At the same time, the authors limit their review of the dimension to student interaction in class, teachers’ professional development and collaboration activities, as well as the institutional practice of internationalisation. Trying to cover the major activities on the macro-and micro-level in EMEMUS, the authors do not clearly state these specific

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<sup>11</sup> [https://www.britishcouncil.uz/sites/default/files/method\\_recom\\_emi\\_eng\\_2022.pdf](https://www.britishcouncil.uz/sites/default/files/method_recom_emi_eng_2022.pdf)

activities, allowing room for misinterpretation. To my mind, the description of the dimension by Dafouz and Smit (2020) requires further development.

Since even the title of the current project includes the words “Practices and Processes”, this dimension is central to my research. Therefore, there are certain changes to the structure of the framework that I propose to make since I see this dimension to be crucial and central. The least fully developed dimension in the original ROAD-MAPPING Framework, the Practices and Process dimension, is centred in the updated 3D model. The findings of this study within this dimension, thus, make an original contribution to knowledge and the development of the ROAD-MAPPING Framework.

### **3.3.7 Discourse as Social Practice**

In the original EMEMUS framework, all six dimensions are located around Discourse. According to Jaworski and Coupland (2006), discourse is a social action that fulfils not only communicative but also social functions that help people shape the social order and the events they take part in. Discourse, placed at the centre of the framework, “is seen as the intersecting access point through which all six dimensions can be examined” (Dafouz and Smit, 2016: 403). In other words, while in a classic or traditional understanding, discourse is referred to as “language in context” (McCarthy, 2002: 5), in the EMEMUS framework, it is understood more broadly with reference to social practices built through discourse.

Rojo (2001:48) defines the social practice as “a mode of action, shaped by social structures, which also has significant social implications”. Discourse, in her view, is determined and regulated by social practices and structures, and at the same time, it challenges and questions, reinforces and maintains, as well as reproduces and reflects these practices. In academia, these social practices may include student assessment, training, live and online interaction between students, teachers, and administration, existing de jure and de facto language policies, discussions of various agents and management about languages, their beliefs and attitudes about language use, etc. Moreover, discourses are co-constructed and co-shaped in different academic disciplines. These examples illustrate that discourse is dynamic and it is an integral part



of all dimensions in the EMEMUS framework. All these practices are built through discourses, which can be used as sources of data for language policy research. This conceptualisation of discourse as social practice, therefore, makes it very difficult to draw a line, particularly between the “Discourse” and “Practices and Processes” dimensions and separate one from another. Even though the authors of the framework conceptualise discourse as a social practice that is built through discourse, the fact that it is considered an access point for the analysis of other dimensions itself calls for deeper analysis.

### ***3.3.7.1 The Centrality of Discourse in the ROAD-MAPPING Framework***

The centrality of discourse in the framework not only makes it an access point but also denotes a certain approach to the use of the framework. Firstly, with discourse placed at the centre of the framework, the discourse analytic approach in regard to the other six dimensions becomes prominent as well. Discourse analysis is multidisciplinary (Van Dijk, 2011), and in the field of education, discourse analysis is used not only to study linguistic practices in teaching, learning, educational administration and research but also helps to identify contextual factors that affect them. Some of the most commonly researched sites in EME are classroom discourse (Nikula, Dalton-Puffer, and García, 2013; Rymes, 2015; Dalton-Puffer, 2017; Smit, 2010) and discourse of language policy documents (Johnson, 2011; Hult, 2012; Bamgboşe, 2019). According to Hult (2017: 113), language policy can be viewed as “policy-as-text and policy-as-discourse”. Language policy perceived as text is a somewhat narrow reflection of it, but it serves the purpose of numerous researchers who implement traditional textual analysis to cover all six dimensions of the framework.

Firstly, the centrality of discourse is viewed as a guide for language policy textual analysis. Tri and Moskovsky (2019) used ROAD-MAPPING to analyse Vietnamese top-down policy documents to show the multidimensional nature of EMI programmes in Higher Education. Secondly, it is important to note that discourse, conceptualised as a means of social practice building placed at the centre, can be accessed not only through the record of classroom interaction and policy texts but also through interviews with various agents. To illustrate, in a recent research article by Dafouz (2020), ROAD-

MAPPING was used to map the perspectives of teachers about their students' academic writing. The data was collected through four open-ended questions that 26 Business Administration teachers had to answer via email. Collected answers were analysed through general content analysis and with the use of a word frequency search tool. This methodology shows that even though it is clearly stated that the research had the Practices and Process dimension as its focus, they are analysed through the discourse used by the teachers when answering the questions. In the case of Dafouz's (2020) study, discourse is viewed as a text that reflects the practice. In other words, the textual analysis is yet again presupposed by the framework. Even though, Dafouz and Smit (2016:402) state that in the EMEMUS framework, discourse "is not seen simply as a way to make the situationally relevant factors visible and explicit", it still fulfils this function.

Lastly, the framework that the authors state to be the blueprint for mapping EMI in multilingual settings is also used to identify and describe EMI and EME. For instance, Bradford and Brown (2018) used the framework and reviewed each dimension to illustrate and synthesise the empirical findings on EMI in Japanese HE. These findings were gathered in 2015 by Bradford in three well-established English-taught programmes at HEIs and by Brown through a survey of 95 universities with EMI programmes. Since there is no mention of discourse in the publication, it is assumed that the authors treated collected data as a discourse. A similar approach to the use of the framework was used in the study by Zohreh et al. (2020), who examined HE in Qatar to provide recommendations for language policy and research. Bezborodova and Radjabzade (2021) also used the ROAD-MAPPING framework to analyse the roles of English in HEIs in Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. Again, the data collected through surveys and interviews were understood as discourse and were used to interpret the findings.

### ***3.4 Updated Framework***

To reiterate, discourse is understood as a "social practice" by Dafouz and Smit (2020:31), who highlight the importance of interconnection between policy and practice. In regard to policy, they refer to a broad notion of policy as both text and discourse. For this study, the original framework is reconsidered and revised to address

the research questions at focus and adapt it to the context of Uzbekistan, where cohesive EMI policy-as-text and universal policy-as-discourse do not exist. In this study, discourse is also viewed as a social practice, which is inseparable from the Practices and Process dimension. I argue that discourse, together with the practices and process, are the integral parts of each dimension because language and social practice are not inseparable and serve as a means of explaining attitudes and beliefs, studying practices in academic disciplines, and clarifying language management and internationalisation procedures used by different agents in education.

In light of the literature review of the Practices and Process dimension, it became apparent that its placement in the framework should be reconsidered for the current study. Thus, it is proposed to place it in the middle of the existing framework along with Discourse. Discourse in the framework does not follow its commonly accepted definition (as spoken or written communication between people) but rather represents a “centrally discursive nature of the social practices that construct and are constructed dynamically in EMEMUS” (Dafouz and Smit, 2020: 46). Understood as an inseparable component and one of the main processes in EMEMUS, to my mind, it should be included in rather than stand-alone from the Practices and Process dimension as well as in all other dimensions (image 1).

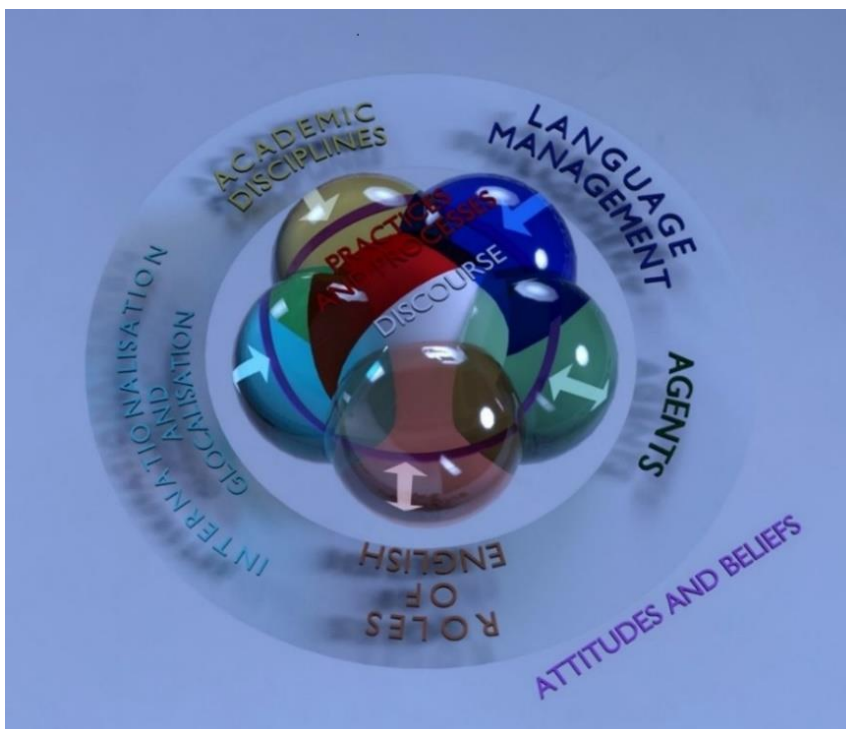


Image 1. Updated Framework.

Since, according to the framework authors, the Practices and Processes dimension prioritises process over product, placing it in the middle of the framework will cater to the reality of numerous research contexts better than the original framework. In other words, the updated framework also allows us to focus on language planning (i.e., practices and processes) rather than solely language policy (i.e., discourse), as it is now set out above. This approach will help to understand the micro-level practices and processes to inform policy in a bottom-up manner. The idea of discourse is, thus, not eliminated from the framework, but it is proposed to include Discourse (i.e., discourse of the policy texts, social practices that are built through discourse, etc.) in the Practices and Processes category. The proposed changes make the Practices and Processes dimension a central piece, which is largely informed by the rest of the five dimensions. Practices and Processes can also influence and inform the rest of the dimensions. While other dimensions interacting with the central piece determine these practices and processes, the centrality of the Practices and Process dimension with Discourse puts day-to-day realities and people at the heart of the model. The main argument behind this change is the research context, where the Practices and Processes remain the main focus. To build a comprehensive picture of them, this research studies all five remaining dimensions to inform the central tenet of the framework.

To de-centralise discourse but show that it is still integral in all practices and processes of multilingual university ecologies, as well as to display that it is present in every other dimension, discourse is placed within the practices and process dimension, which represents the ecology itself. This representation of discourse as the ecological space also stresses the relationship between each sub-dimension and highlights the idea of university ecology, where linguistic resources are dynamic and not static. They are integral parts of the EME habitat, which are relatively easy to measure but very difficult to locate as a stand-alone dimension.

### **3.4.1 The Role of Attitudes and Beliefs**

I also claim that “Attitudes and Beliefs” should be integrated into the framework not only because they are also examined in the study but because they play an important role in shaping EME practices globally. In the adapted EMEMUS framework, they are

also reflected and integrated. The idea of attitudes and beliefs is briefly discussed in the dimension of Agency by the authors of the original framework, but it seems to be less of a focus if it is not explicitly marked in the framework. Researching attitudes and beliefs in any language-related research gives more scope to explore the covert, hidden, and less explicit practices that may be less apparent. For language policy research, attitudes and beliefs are vital to study to grasp the bottom-up policies that exist in academia. Being interconnected with all the dimensions, attitudes and beliefs, similarly to discourse functions, co-construct and shape the processes. The reciprocity of this effect is shown through the arrows (image 1). In other words, each dimension may have certain attitudes and beliefs, and they may affect the way EME functions in academia. As well as this, the existing EME process and practices may shape the attitudes and beliefs in every dimension.

Therefore, attitudes and beliefs are addressed in the questionnaire, the main data collection instrument of the study. Attitudes and Beliefs shape how the Practices and Processes are organised in EMEMUS, being a bridge that interconnects all other dimensions. They do not only belong to the Agents dimension but are also largely present in all other ones. To illustrate, in the Roles of the English dimension, they serve as a driving force for English to play one role or another; in the Language Management dimension, they shape the covert policies; in Internationalisation and Glocalisation dimension, they motivate the choice of materials used and determine the research agenda, and in Academic Disciplines dimension, they shape the choice of methodology by the content teachers. These are only a few examples that show the importance of reflecting attitudes and beliefs in the framework. What is more important, adding Attitudes and Beliefs to the model humanises it even more because they show what people believe in and how it unfolds the processes and practices. Adding this point to the framework may suggest new avenues in EME research, especially in poorly researched contexts. The exploratory findings may bring awareness of real practices of assessment, teaching, learning and research in EME and inform changes in language policies.

Taking everything written above into consideration, the updated framework is also presented using a different form of representation. The framework is designed in 3D, and the interconnectedness of the dimensions within it will be better observed [online](#), also encapsulating the reality of EME being multidimensional.

### **3.4.2 The Role and Purpose of the Framework for the Current Study**

The ROAD-MAPPING framework informs and shapes the research but does not determine it. The original framework is a starting point, something that is interrogated and refined by my study. The updated framework emerged from a context, and it is a solid basis for my research because it centralised the practices and process of EMEMUS in Uzbek HEIs. The proposed updated EMEMUS framework may apply to all EMEs where language policies are limited or non-existent. It is assumed that the changes may not be specific only to the Uzbek context but rather function to represent quasi-universals and, at the same time, explain specific contexts. The developed 3D model of the framework, developed over the course of the study, also intends to show that the model can be potentially used as an accessible framework that can be easily manipulated online to serve as a building principle for any potential further research on EME in different contexts.

The updated framework is not the reorganisation of the original model to better fit the context of the study. In this version, of course, it bursts out of the memorable acronym, ROAD-MAPPING. The original name presupposes a fixed structure where Discourse is a starting point. The updated framework, by contrast, is designed to be more versatile and can be used to study any of the dimensions separately, making it a starting point analysed through the lens of any other dimension. The framework addresses the contexts where language policy documents may be lacking or wholly absent, as well as the research studies that examine language policy practices and address matters of attitudes and beliefs. In the multilingual universities in Uzbekistan, where English is a foreign language, Practices and Processes carried out through discourse may affect or be affected by existing attitudes and beliefs. Discourse, illustrated in the diagram as part of the Practices and Process dimension, now reflects its dynamic nature and prevents it from being the sole point of access.

## **Chapter 4**

### **Methodology**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter describes the research methodology highlighting the guiding theoretical principles that underlie the methods of data collection, design of data collection tools, data collection process, analysis, and interpretation of the results. The choice of research methods is supported by a brief overview of methods used in other studies on EME. This section builds on the main principles discussed in regard to the updated framework and describes actions taken to collect and analyse the data. The application of data collection methods is guided by reviewing the literature on EME and EMI that shaped my understanding of the research topic. To clarify the pedigree of the chosen methodology, this section starts with an overview of the research methods commonly used in LPP. Then it discusses the methods and data collection tools used in this research. Taking into account ethical and methodological considerations, the limitations of the design are evaluated. Along with that, the section provides information about the research participants and discusses the data collection process that was hampered by the onset of the COVID pandemic. The approach to data analysis will also be addressed. The chapter reports on collected data at 14 participating universities, clarifies how the data was analysed and shows how it is further presented in the following chapters. It concludes with a discussion of ethical considerations germane to the research reality in Uzbekistan.

#### **4.2 Research Methods in Language Policy and Planning**

Since this research study includes information gathered from various HEIs, including foreign “elite” and national universities situated both centrally and regionally, the research project is issue-focused (Hornberger, 2006) and deals mostly with status planning because it investigates the functions of EME in Uzbek HEIs. Moreover, because there is barely any prior research on EME in HE in Uzbekistan, it is important to look at

the topic from multiple perspectives, implementing not one but several methods and approaches. Literature on research methods in LPP often suggests focusing on historical and sociopolitical processes that affected the development of language policies. These approaches were used to set the scene for the context using what Tollefson (2015) refers to as the historical-structural approach. Historical processes within which EME in Central Asia may be analysed include globalisation and institutional forms and practices in present HE systems that create a disadvantage for students outside EME. As mentioned in section 3.2, looking at the development of languages in the region from the post-colonial perspective may contribute to understanding the research context. This perspective has been used to structure the literature review and provide a background to the study. However, since it did not fully address the nature and purposes of the study, it did not guide the design of the methods. Therefore, as in other areas of research, the sufficiency of data and the inferential relation between theory and data are two cornerstones of methodology; the main guiding principle was the updated EMEMUS framework.

The study itself could not be carried out without properly chosen data collection methods. Hornberger (2015) states that the most common data collection methods used in language policy and planning are: surveys, interviews, field notes, census and/or demographic data, linguistic databases, policy documents, and audio and video recordings. To illustrate the array of research studies that shaped my understanding and vision of EME and EMI from around the world, the studies are organised in a table (Appendix 2), showing the scope of research questions studied through quantitative, qualitative, and mixed methods. Carried out in different countries over the past decade, the studies summarise the methods of data collection along with the research questions or aims of these studies.

A review of these studies illustrates that questionnaires and interviews are the two most popular data collection methods, along with observations and focus group discussions. Being conducted with teachers, administration, students and even their parents, these data collection tools allow for collecting a variety of data. In this study, I also use the mixed-method approach, which enables the collection of rich data. This approach also allows triangulation. Overall, the central premise of mixed methods research is that using both quantitative and qualitative approaches offers a better understanding of a research problem than each of these approaches separately (Cohen



et al., 2018). Leech and Onwuegbuzie (2009) state that data collection, analysis, and interpretation in mixed-method studies usually address a particular phenomenon in complex settings. The current research also studies an EME phenomenon in context where English is not widely spoken. Moreover, Denscombe (2014) claims that the mixed-method approach increases data accuracy and reliability through triangulation, and it reduces bias. Addressing all dimensions of the framework, the use of a mixed-method approach with the embedded design of the updated framework allows for analysing and interpreting the findings by integrating qualitative and quantitative data.

Along with the mixed method, I implement an ethnographic observation of practices proposed by Hornberger (1988). Canagarajah (2006) claims that ethnography is a well-suited method for studies that explore how stakeholders interpret and contest language policies in the education setting. Watson-Gegeo (1992, cited in Tollefson and Perez-Millans, 2018: 402) states that it is essential to implement critical ethnography in combination with critical discourse analysis to “move beyond thick description and thick explanation” when relating macro- to micro-level of LPP. According to McCarthy (2015), critical ethnography in language policy research views the issue as a sociocultural practice which is largely based on observation and reflection. This type of ethnography dismantles power relations and challenges inequalities. To do so, I took field notes to reflect upon my assumptions and observations of the EME situation in Uzbekistan.

The study also used discourse analysis of the Presidential and Ministry of Higher Education decrees about English. The university-level policies in the context do not exist on paper and are rather covert. In Uzbek HEIs, this was one of the greatest gaps. To accommodate this gap, the chosen research methodology had to be framed differently, and I looked at the instances of reference to EMI on the official websites of the universities. Overall, the mixed data collection method helped me access richer data and allowed for a more accurate interpretation of the results.

### **4.3 Ontology, Epistemology, and Paradigm**

To discuss the choice of methodology for the research, it is important to clarify the choice of ontological and epistemological orientations in this study. Since any academic

research needs to have its philosophical component to direct, contextualise, and interpret it, this section briefly discusses the main ontological and epistemological assumptions that define the research paradigm. In this study, the concept of EME is inclusive of numerous factors such as agents, contexts, behaviours, and experiences. Thus, from an ontological perspective, the EME reality is constantly negotiated, debated, or interpreted as all these factors are practice-driven. Having the “Practices and Process” dimension at its core, the chosen revisited theoretical framework also follows the ontology of action.

From the epistemological stance, knowledge about EME can only be built and modified through actions (i.e., analysis of policy documents, observations of classroom practices, fieldwork ethnographic notes) and interactions of and with people. Therefore, given the epistemological position and the qualitative and ethnographic elements, the knowledge about EME can be gathered using whatever tools are best suited to solve the problem. Referring back to the chosen theoretical framework, the research is set out epistemologically to consider all dimensions to look at the relationship between them and as a whole.

Considering the ontological and epistemological orientations discussed above, the best paradigm is pragmatism. From a pragmatist perspective, the accuracy of how you seek knowledge is tightly interconnected with the impact of this knowledge. In the reciprocal loop of knowledge and practice where one impacts the other, pragmatism is often associated with mixed-method research and is considered methodologically eclectic. Pragmatism combines multiple ontologies and epistemologies, putting together qualitative and quantitative designs. On the one hand, it may be difficult to manage because the data gathered may be unequal. On the other hand, with the proper data collection tools’ design, both qualitative and quantitative data are large scale, can be used to generalise the findings, allow for triangulation, and strengthen inferences that can be made from research. The pragmatic paradigm is practical because it “focuses on framing and answering the research question or a problem, which is eclectic in its design, methods of data collection and analysis, driven by the fitness of purpose and employing quantitative and qualitative data as relevant” (Cohen et al., 2018).

#### **4.4 Methods Used in the Study**

Before discussing the methods, it is essential to revisit the research objectives and questions. Since the present research aims to comprehensively analyse the language policies and practices in Uzbek HE with EMI, the main objectives of the study are to apply the updated EMEMUS framework in order to:

1. explore to what extent language policies and practices in Uzbek HE (in both international and state HEIs) are in line with EMI practices globally;
2. examine how the main beliefs and attitudes that students, teachers and administrative staff carry about EMI affect policies (both de jure and de facto) and practices;
3. provide comprehensive and research-driven EMI policy guidelines applicable not only in Uzbekistan but also in the Central Asian region in general.

There are two main research questions and subsequent sub-questions:

1. In which ways are language policies in the Uzbek HE institutions with EMI formed and managed?
  - 1.1 Are English language practices regulated in any way in Uzbek HE institutions with EMI?
  - 1.2 Who defines language policies and practices, and how?
2. What language practices and beliefs characterise EME in Uzbek HEIs?
  - 2.1 What are the main beliefs and attitudes that students, teachers, and administrative staff carry about EMI?
  - 2.2 What is the status of English in HE, and to what extent is it used?
  - 2.3 What are the challenges associated with the use of English by students, teachers, and administrative staff in the EMI context?

Since the research study focuses on *the lived reality* of the English language in Uzbek HEIs and is exploratory by nature, the context, linguistically and socially different from many studies (typically in Europe and South-East Asia), requires careful analysis. Therefore, a multi-method approach was adopted to collect data using a combination of semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions, online questionnaires, classroom

observations, ethnographic notes, and discourse analysis of the collected policy documents.

The concept of trustworthiness of the research proposed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) is chosen over the positivistic validity, reliability, and generalisability to ensure the quality of my research. I ensured the credibility or internal validity of the research during a lengthy four-month fieldwork period when I engaged in a number of interviews, focus group discussions, and class observations with the study participants. I also triangulated my data and, using the online questionnaire, collected more participants' responses. Persistent observation and prolonged engagement allowed me to collect a rather large data set. The transferability of the external validity was established through all the data collection procedures being carried out the same way each time. The study participants were also self-motivated to take part in it, and nobody was forced to participate. For objective analysis and interpretation, the collected data was securely stored and coded, ensuring objectivity.

Semi-structured interviews, as well as the online survey, were adapted from previous studies. The interview questions have previously been used in two EMI research projects in Central Asia (Linn et al., 2021; Bezborodova and Radjabzade, 2021), one EMI project in South Caucasus (Linn and Radjabzade, 2021), and a British Council case study project in Bangladesh, Kazakhstan, Nepal, and Turkmenistan (Linn et al., 2021). The online questionnaire has also been used in the three studies referenced above. Both the questionnaire and the interview questions were adapted to address each dimension of the EMEMUS framework. The questionnaire used in this study was adapted from the one used in Bolton and Kuteeva's (2012) study on parallel language use at a Swedish university. However, it is important to admit that the original questionnaire was only a starting point, and the current version of it is rather different now. The questionnaire is divided into three sections: context, experiences, and attitudes and beliefs. For the purposes of this study happening in the middle of the pandemic, the additional section on COVID was added to the section on attitudes and beliefs to see if EME in Uzbek HEIs was influenced by the online study mode, which is very new to Uzbekistan. The findings in this section are excluded from the thesis due to the word limit.

Class observation forms previously used in the South Caucasus study by Linn and Radjabzade (2020) were slightly adapted to address the research context better. Each

class observation was followed by a 15-minute discussion of the follow-up questions with the teacher (data collection tools are provided in Appendix 3). Ethnographic notes were taken in free format. For an insider, who may carry certain biases about the area of research, the ethnographic field notes allowed me to reflect and record my interpretations, speculations and feelings critically. I took ethnographic notes in other social places, apart from the classroom, where university visits were likely to lead me. These included staff rooms, administrative offices, ministries of education, and regional language organizations. The gathering of ethnographic records during the visits also allowed me to see how the participants in settings with EMI navigate language-related constraints, show their linguistic agency and respond to opportunities for language development offered to them by the universities.

#### **4.4.1 Data Collection Process**

The data was collected during well-planned fieldwork in Uzbekistan (from November 2020 to February 2021), where I visited 14 transnational and state HEIs that gave their official permission for the research activities on their premises. In total, there are 199 HEIs in the republic (Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education in Uzbekistan, 2022)<sup>12</sup>. Out of the 14 HEIs, seven are affiliated with foreign institutions and follow all EMI-related entry requirements. The other seven HEIs are the state universities that run separate EMI programmes for several groups, usually in one course. 13 out of 14 universities are located in Tashkent. For confidentiality, the names of the universities are coded, and no names are used in the analysis and interpretation. The list of participating universities is provided below. The first seven universities are foreign HEIs with partnering universities in the UK, the USA, Italy, and Korea. The remainder are state HEIs.

1. Westminster International University in Tashkent
2. Akfa University
3. INHA University
4. Turin Polytechnic University

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<sup>12</sup> <https://www.edu.uz/en>

5. Webster University in Tashkent
6. TEAM University
7. Institute of Finance and Accounting
8. Uzbek State World Languages University
9. University of World Languages and Diplomacy
10. Tashkent State University of Economics
11. Tashkent Institute of Finance
12. Tashkent State University of Law
13. Tashkent Pediatric Medical Institute
14. Bukhara State University

Due to the pandemic, it was very difficult to travel around the country, which resulted in the lack of representation of the regions. Overall, the limitations imposed by COVID made the data collection process a lot more challenging than it was anticipated. Travelling to Uzbekistan required careful planning, which involved solving many bureaucratic matters, arranging meetings with the university authorities well in advance, and reaching out to numerous HEIs to recruit the participants. Some of the arrangements were possible to make prior to the travel, but since the electronic communication has not always been possible, most of the preparations had to take place upon the arrival to Uzbekistan. Since there has always been a risk of not collecting enough data, the months of fieldwork were very stressful. There were days when the class observations, interviews, and meetings with the authorities were scheduled in three different places. However, the amount of collected data was worth all the struggles and communication with the study participants was very rewarding.

The participants in the study were teachers, students, and administrators of the HEIs. The recruitment of the participants for the semi-structured interviews was done through the heads of departments and the personal network of teachers working at these HEIs. From 14 participating universities, 79 students, 173 teachers, and 12 macro- and micro-level administrative staff were interviewed. There were 17 focus-group discussions with the students and six focus-group discussions with the teachers. Where the teachers were very difficult to organise in groups, individual interviews were held instead. Overall, there were 22 individual interviews with the teachers. Semi-structured interviews were also held with seven people directly linked to EME policy development

in the country: representatives of the Ministry of Higher Education, the British Council, and the Uzbekistan Teacher Association. Teachers and students were invited to participate in the focus group discussions. There was no particular order for the interviews, and their schedule was based on their time availability. Interviews with all agents were conducted at a time convenient for the interviewees. Interviewing students in groups was a lot easier than teachers.

There were separate groups of teachers and students to avoid any conflicts of interest. Both interviews and focus group discussions were audio-recorded and transcribed. They were analysed using categories drawn from the Conceptual Framework for EMEMUS by Dafouz and Smit (2020).

The total number of responses to the online questionnaire is 2282. The link to the online questionnaire was distributed among the teachers, students, and administrative staff. The survey was anonymised, and the results were analysed in SPSS.

The study also included a series of classroom observations that took place during scheduled lesson times. The total number of observations made is 31. Observations were nonparticipatory, where I was not involved in the activities but only observed the English language use. There were two or three class observations at each university. Classroom observations may have affected participants' behaviour. Goodman (2014), for example, reports that even though classroom observations have not been done in her study of EMI in Ukraine, the teachers have self-reported that they often adjust their pace and style in the EMI classes compared to other classes they teach in their native language. Students are also reported to be passive in EMI classrooms when observed (Floris, 2014). To minimise any negative consequence of my presence in the classroom, I sent the observation form to the teacher well in advance, discussed all criteria for the observation during the pre-observation meeting, and explained the purpose of my presence to the students emphasising that I was not judging anyone's English proficiency or pedagogy.

Where possible, I collected policy documents, 13 overall, which were also analysed. However, it is fair to admit that no university had a written language policy in place. Therefore, the mentions of English being the Medium of Instruction were found on the official websites. I also took ethnographic notes to uncover factors that may not be evident through traditional data collection tools. In the absence of university policy statements, notes were helpful in exploring hidden discourses around EME. NVivo

software was used to analyse qualitative data, and SPSS was used for quantitative analysis. Since these two software programmes are widely used in social science research, and I am an experienced user of them, they were chosen over other alternatives such as R and Stata.

Lastly, it is important to note that language policy research in a multilingual country with a turbulent political history is a complex issue, as it has layers of political and social factors that shape language ideologies and form attitudes toward languages. Education research in Uzbekistan is particularly problematic since the educational system is characterised by political indoctrination and ideas of national ideology (Silova, Johnson, and Heyneman, 2007). Overall, undertaking research in Uzbekistan is rather challenging. Among all Central Asian countries, Uzbekistan, along with Tajikistan, was ranked as the most challenging context to conduct research (Central Eurasian Studies Society, 2016). In relation to the data collection process of the study, this complexity was reflected in the unwillingness of participants to speak openly about the challenges they encounter in EME, the refusal of universities' administration to grant access to the participants at several universities, and the reluctance of the administration to support data collection. The encounters with the university administrators were the most frustrating. They often ignored the emails, rescheduled the meeting at the last minute or did not show up for one at the agreed time. Sometimes, they refused to meet at all. The support letter from the supervisor made it easier to reach the administrators, but even the letter did not help in many cases. The pandemic made it much more challenging since the data was collected between the two lockdowns.

Language policy research on the use of the English language in HE in multi-ethnic Uzbekistan involved ethical issues of power inequality, judgments and biases that may have resulted in an unwillingness to participate or a distorted representation of knowledge by those participants involved in the research. One of the main observed tensions was my asking the participants to sign the consent forms. Jonbekova (2020: 364) states that in the Central Asian context, where "trust is gained through building relationships", the usual formality of signing a consent form may result in "suspicion and fear". Moreover, according to Chankseliani (2017), conducting research for outsiders, who I am partly considered to be because of my affiliation with a foreign university, is perceived to be suspicious due to the national and ideological biases inherited from the Soviet period. Since all factors listed above may influence research



and create even more dilemmas than provide solutions, careful ethical considerations were made to ensure the trustworthiness of the data collection procedure. To protect the integrity of the research, I followed the principles of honesty, transparency, and open communication with research participants as well as a supervisory team.

## Chapter 5

### Data Analysis and Interpretation: Agents and Roles of English Dimensions

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter is the first of the data analysis and interpretation sequence. The main reason for these two dimensions to be the first to discuss is that they both share wider societal influence. They help to set the context, explain various factors in EMI development in Uzbek HE, and highlight the roles that English plays in theory and in practice in EMEMUS and beyond. Not diminishing the roles that the remaining dimensions play in EMEMUS, the updated framework, depicting the differences between the state and international contexts (discussed in more detail in section 7.2.1), shows the prominent effect that these two dimensions have on the processes and practices in EMEMUS. The findings show that in practice, EME in Uzbekistan, being introduced and pursued guided by a government ideology, results in different roles that English play. They are also guided by the agents' beliefs about the roles of English that are practically challenged in society. Due to their strong connection with the values and beliefs carried about English in society, two dimensions discussed in this chapter strongly affect the practices and processes within the rest of the dimensions in EMEMUS. They strongly manifest the idealistic image of English and its role in education and society at large.

Before addressing the agents and the roles that English plays in EMEMUS in Uzbekistan, it is important to provide a study context and an overview of the general attitudes and beliefs that were evidenced through the interviews with 12 meso-level and seven macro-level administrative staff (i.e., heads of the departments and deans), seven macro-level policymakers, 79 students, and 173 teachers. These general attitudes and beliefs are not classified as roles, but they depict the cause-effect relationship between the existing practices and processes in EMEMUS and all other dimensions of the framework. In the updated framework, Attitudes and Beliefs are not a dimension of their own but rather an integral part of each dimension that has a reciprocal effect on how the processes and practices in EMEMUS unfold.

The chapter then moves to the results and discussion of the Agents dimension, followed by the Roles of English dimension. The Agents dimension provides a more detailed linguistic profile of macro-, meso-, and micro-level agents; it describes the agents and provides an overview of their attitudes towards EMI. The analytical categories of macro-, meso-, and micro-levels are used again in the Roles of English dimension, which further examines the beliefs and attitudes denoting English's main roles in EMI. The main denotation of the role of English in society is reflected in English-related policies, where its development is prioritised as a major foreign language of the country. However, the research findings show that its roles are very versatile, and their interplay affects how EMI is organised, managed, and supported. While the used analytical categories of macro-, meso-, and micro-levels remain static, the identified roles of English are fluid. To frame a large amount of data, levels is supplemented with a visual that illustrates the variety of identified sub-categories.

Dafouz and Smit's (2020) explanation of the English Roles dimension is inclusive of discussion about ESP and EAP courses. As discussed in the literature review chapter, both types are well represented in Uzbek EMI, with EAP being prevalent at international universities and ESP being preferred at state HEIs. These two aspects will not be discussed in the Roles of English dimension but will be addressed in the Academic Disciplines dimension.

## **5.2 Data Analysis and Interpretation Following the Updated Framework**

To begin with, the data analysis and interpretation chapters (Chapters 5-7) are based on the 2278 questionnaire responses (before the outliers were removed, it was 2282 responses), 31 classroom observations and 55 interview recordings of 26 minutes on average with students, teachers, administrators, and authorities in Uzbekistan HEIs. The interviews and data were collected at 14 state and international universities listed in section 4.4.1. Since the link to the questionnaire has been shared online, it moved beyond the participating universities' list. To differentiate between the state and international HEIs, the international universities are marked in red in the table below (table 5). Being not statistically significant, the numbers of the responses received from

the other universities in the table still contribute to the research because they show the presence of EME in the other 24 HEIs in the republic that took part in the survey and the eagerness of the respondents to contribute to the research on this topic.

	Frequency	Percent
<b>Westminster International University in Tashkent</b>	332	14.6
Tashkent State University of Economics	321	14.1
<b>INHA University</b>	288	12.6
Bukhara State University	255	11.2
Uzbek State World Languages University	203	8.9
<b>AKFA University</b>	151	6.6
<b>Turin Polytechnic University in Tashkent</b>	129	5.7
Tashkent Institute of Finance	120	5.3
<b>Webster University in Tashkent</b>	110	4.8
University of World Economy and Diplomacy	108	4.7
Tashkent State University of Law	87	3.8
<b>TEAM University</b>	61	2.7
Tashkent Pediatric Medical Institute	54	2.4
<b>International Institute of Finance and Accounting</b>	13	.6
Navoi State University	7	.3
Tashkent State Dental Institute	5	.2
<b>Marketing Development Institute of Singapore in Tashkent</b>	4	.2
<b>Yeoju Technical Institute in Tashkent</b>	4	.2
<b>Amity University in Tashkent</b>	2	.1
Karshi State University	2	.1
National University of Uzbekistan	2	.1
Navoi State Pedagogical Institute	2	.1
Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies	2	.1
<b>Webster University in Samarkand</b>	2	.1
Tashkent State Pedagogical University	2	.1
Bukhara State Medical Institute	1	.0

Fergana State University	1	.0
International Islamic Academy of Uzbekistan	1	.0
International School of Finance and Technology	1	.0
International University of Tourism "Silk Road"	1	.0
Jizzakh State Pedagogical Institutions	1	.0
Namangan Engineering Construction Institute	1	.0
Tashkent Institute of Architecture and Civil Engineering	1	.0
Tashkent Institute of Irrigation and Agricultural Mechanization	1	.0
Tashkent State Technical University, named after Islam Karimov	1	.0
Urgench State University	1	.0
Uzbek Korean International University	1	.0
Total	2278	100.0

Table 5. Survey responses from HEIs.

Further down the analysis, all participating universities are anonymised and codified (i.e., randomly numbered). However, for research purposes, all data referring to international universities is labelled with the capital letters IU and all state universities with the SU. To label the main agents, a similar letter system is used: students (S), teachers (T), and meso-level university management, that are referred to as administrators (A). To illustrate, when quoting from the interviews of a student at a state university, the quote is labelled as S\_SU. A quote from a university manager (i.e., administrator) at an international university is labelled as A\_IU. All names of the macro-level language managers, representatives of Ministries and NGOs will also be anonymised along with their titles and responsibilities and are labelled A1, A2, A3, etc. All excerpts from the interviews are *italicised* outside the text and taken in “quotes” in the text following the original use of English. All interviews were held in English. Grammar mistakes and misuse of vocabulary are kept to maintain authenticity. Lastly, it is important to note that the term “administrator” is a commonly used reference to what is known as senior management staff at international universities abroad. In order to

keep the terminology simple and cater to the local understanding of the roles at the university, the term “administrator” was chosen as the most inclusive one.

### **5.3 General Attitudes and Beliefs about the Importance of English**

#### **5.3.1 The Determining Role of the Government, Political and Economic Situation**

The openness of the government of Uzbekistan to building relationships internationally is reflected in the general discourse of the study participants. Therefore, the first strong belief about the importance of English is that its role is determined by the government, the political situation in the region, and the economic situation at large. Students, in particular, “have to know English”, “need this language”, and “try to learn it” due to “the policy of Uzbekistan and the economic integration with Western countries”, “Uzbek position to get into the international scope”, and “development of American and British economies”. The predicted future of English in the country is also believed to depend on what the government's trajectory would be.

*S\_IU1: Of course, English will be developing in Uzbekistan, and our policy is directed in this way. We are going to compete with the world leaders, and we need this language.*

*S\_SU4: Everyone is trying to learn this language. If global economies, like USA and Britain, will fall someday, maybe the importance of English will decrease, but it is hard to predict the future.*

The government may also be viewed in this regard as the most active agent or a decision-maker that establishes and regulates top-down policies in the country. By contrast, the agency of the teachers, students, and management authorities is very passive in this process, which is not motivating for teachers, given the uncertainty about how to achieve the outcomes. The government actively proclaims new policies and decrees, which mainly focus on the end result and lack guidance on achieving this result.

The collected views are tightly connected with the concepts of internationalisation, globalisation, neoliberalism, the commodification of English, and social mobility (discussed in more detail in section 6.2). Most of the views about the

growing importance of English in the country are very optimistic; some are less. There was no particular difference between the teachers, students, and management authorities' views about the role of the government, and the economic and political situation in the region, which yet again shows certain conformity with whatever decision is being imposed from the top.

The important observation is that the direction that the government would choose is perceived to be uncertain. The interviews show that many participants consider that the importance of English may shift to other languages such as Russian, Chinese, Arabic, etc. Even though the role of Russian remains strong, mostly in the capital, it is still seen as a language of intercultural communication in a country where fewer and fewer people speak Russian. Trying to predict the role of English in the country in the near future, some interviewees thought that the importance of English will only grow and will eventually overtake the Russian language. With the current unstable geopolitical situation in the region due to the war in Ukraine and the resulting shift in how the Russian language is perceived, it is difficult to predict its future.

Russia tried to popularise the Russian language in Uzbekistan through the project "Russian Language" run from 2016 to 2020 to support local education initiatives connected with the Russian language (Caravanserai, 2021)<sup>13</sup>. In 2021, UzDaily reported that the Russian Ministry of Education and Ministry of Public Education in Uzbekistan had signed an agreement that 100 Russian teachers would be sent to Uzbekistan to deliver professional retraining courses that aim to improve Russian language teaching quality and their number would increase to 1000 by 2030<sup>14</sup>. However, Russia partially lost its power when the Soviet Union fell, and it keeps losing it due to the war in Ukraine, which may result in the English language becoming a desired foreign language in the country, which is well-reflected in the policies.

Some interviewees thought that English would be taken over by the Chinese due to China's rapid economic development and the country "becoming very powerful around the world". Both students and teachers also mentioned other languages (e.g., Arabic and Turkish). Even though there is no specific rhetoric on Chinese or any other foreign language, including Russian, at the government level, there is a certain ambivalence regarding the government's choice of action.

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<sup>13</sup> [https://central.asia-news.com/en\\_GB/articles/cnmi\\_ca/features/2021/11/15/feature-01](https://central.asia-news.com/en_GB/articles/cnmi_ca/features/2021/11/15/feature-01)

<sup>14</sup> <http://www.uzdaily.com/en/post/61046>

*A\_SU4: It all depends on the priorities that the government chooses. If they choose to prioritise our political and economic spheres to the West, the importance of English will only increase. At the same time, it all depends on the priorities; if they concentrate on East, we might as well come across the other languages like probably Chinese or Arabic as well. It all depends on the path the government chooses to develop the country itself. But one way or another, English will only increase, and the essence of English will be also important for at least five years.*

### **5.3.2 English in the Capital and Regions**

Even though 13 out of 14 participating universities were located in the capital, many students come to study at EMEMUS from different regions. Therefore, it is critical to note that the importance of English in the country is not associated only with the capital. Regional students' desire to learn English is tightly connected with EME university entrance, IELTS testing, and opportunities that English is believed to entail.

It is also evident that many students from the regions associate the capital, Tashkent, with greater opportunities to further develop their English language skills. They compare English language classes, experience with, and opportunities for English language use in the capital positively to the ones in their home regions. Some common beliefs are that in Tashkent, “English classes are better”, “everyone’s level of English is higher”, and “people speak naturally”.

However, several students from Bukhara stated that “English courses are really professional there because Bukhara is the centre of the English language in the country”. Because Bukhara is a popular tourist destination, English is believed to be taught there better than in Tashkent. Some students from the regions also stated that they improved their Russian while living in the capital. Students’ experience with English studies varied, shaping their judgements about the quality of English provision. Therefore, the interview data is inconclusive on views of where the English language is taught better, but what is evident is that there is a great interest in English among youth from different regions.



**S\_IU1:** *I am from Bukhara; in Bukhara, I studied in English courses. They are really professional. This is the centre of the English language in the country. In Tashkent, there is less attention to English.*

**S\_IU2:** *In the regions, English classes are very poor. In Tashkent, there are some improvements at school.*

### **5.3.3 English as Opportunity, Privilege, and Success**

In Uzbekistan, English is often associated with opportunity, privilege, and success in a general sense (Bezborodova and Radjabzade, 2021). Survey data shows that 92.6% of respondents thought that knowing English in addition to their native language helps them succeed in life. In contrast, the Uzbek language is considered “not giving many opportunities like English, which is used around the world”. Not referencing the roles per se, these “buzz words” highlight the importance of English and reflect the generally positive attitude towards English and EME in Uzbekistan. Pro-EME perspectives voiced by students, teachers, and meso-level administrative staff link these very general ideas about English to an assumed better life, education, and employment.

English is considered to be a very important “tool” and/or “key” needed to access information, be competitive and successful, earn more money, travel, and communicate globally. Students state that “knowing English should be compulsory or mandatory” because it gives opportunities “to live better, to earn more, to be recognised by the authorities”. Therefore, English is considered mandatory or compulsory as a subject at schools and universities.

Entering EMEMUS is also viewed as an opportunity and success because “English gives a chance to study at a good university” and “get good quality education”. English significance is not questioned as a medium of instruction by students and their parents, who want their children to have good English, an important asset that sets the fundament for a brighter future.

**S\_IU1:** *I think knowing English is a very good privilege for a person.*

**S\_IU11:** *The number of universities that have lessons taught in English are increasing day by day, and English is getting more needed to people who want some degree of success in their life.*

**S\_IU11:** *English is essential key to success. Most of the literature is in English. It is the most useful thing. We also have to speak with people all over the world.*

The privilege associated with English also adds a sense of uniqueness or distinctiveness. The divide between those who need to know English to succeed in life and those who do not is based on the students' internal motivation and aspirations. Often connected with ideas of work and study abroad or local work with foreigners, English is considered a default skill to have, which is not only students' but also the teachers' perspective. The division between those who need to know English and those who do not is often guided by the context of future work or study. For example, "those who see themselves doing something internationally" are considered to be a higher class of people who need to know English and study in EME, while "ordinary people" and "others who will be working at local firms" do not.

**S\_SU13:** *Ordinary people must not learn English, but we must learn it because we will be working with foreigners.*

**S\_IU5:** *Moreover, there is another class of society, class of people they are more focused on their future.*

Entering an EMEMUS has also been associated with elitism. An HEI with EMI is "not any kind of university" it is "an elite establishment". At the same time, most students spoke about the opportunities associated with English; predominantly, teachers associated interest in English with the higher social class of students' families. Probably judging from a more mature position, they were not merely associating EME with future idealistic opportunities but rather linked these opportunities with realistic ones, money, and social status.

**T\_IU8:** *English is more an elite thing now because you have to have proper income to actually pay for tutoring, pay for learning centres. So, it might be important, but only for certain groups of people; others might be dealing with just things like getting to any kind of university may be something more important. This is an issue because we*

*do not have enough institutions to cover the needs of students for the demand that we have. Maybe for elites, that would be very important.*

**T\_IU5:** *Especially English is highly appreciated in the families of above the average-income people because they often travel abroad, and they need to know English.*

### **5.3.4 Criticism of English Language Importance**

Even though most study participants show a positive attitude toward English, there were some opposing and critical views towards the importance of English in the country and EME, specifically. These ideas are not representative of the majority, but they highlight the major concerns that researchers in the field have regarding this phenomenon in countries where English is not widely spoken. The collected data shows that in Uzbekistan, English is considered optional or not needed for people of the older generation, a prevailing number of professions that do not involve communication with foreigners, and students who do not see themselves studying in EME. Teachers in EME, in particular, state that for them, knowledge of English is only necessary at work, but outside the university, they “cannot see that English is necessary”. English is perceived by teachers as basically an academic medium with not much of a real-life application outside academia.

Moreover, in Uzbekistan, the importance of Russian is often evaluated much higher than the knowledge of English by people who see themselves outside academia. The interview responses show that in HE, the important role of English clashes with the remaining importance of Russian. Russian Primary and Secondary schools in both state and private sectors still continue to be popular among non-Russian native speakers for their association with better quality education. The Russian language exercises its influence in education along with English. It is important to note that Russian retains its power de facto without much policy support, while the promotion of English language importance is popularised through numerous policies granting it de jure power. Moreover, Russia remains the first destination for students (UNESCO Institute of

Statistics, 2022)<sup>15</sup> and labour migrants (IWPR, 2021)<sup>16</sup> who need to speak Russian to study and work in the country. It may change in the future due to the war in Ukraine, the negative attitudes towards Russia and the Russian language around the world, and more limited opportunities within the Russian economy.

**S\_SU12:** *I would say that English is important, but at the same time, not important at all. I worked for a few months with people as a doctor, and they do not know even Russian. You have to speak in Uzbek.*

**S\_IU1:** *In general, in Uzbekistan, knowing English is not so beneficial as knowing Uzbek or Russian because you do not really use English in Uzbekistan for sale or doing something like for communication.*

**T\_IU1:** *If they [students] are staying in Uzbekistan and it is not relevant in their work or education, they do not have to use English. If you do not have any plans going abroad, studying in English, working in an international company English in everyday life is not needed in Uzbekistan. It is mostly Russian and Uzbek.*

**T\_SU13:** *In Uzbekistan, it is essential, but just for learning. Where can we use this language? Where can we use it in other places?*

One of the teachers also raised concerns about English being a detriment to other languages. This general concern for the development of other languages is not widespread with regard to English. This debate is usually centred around the Russian language and its negative effect on the development of Uzbek. To what extent this view may further develop in the country is highly questionable due to the unprecedented image, associated benefits, and perceived value that English has in society. It also depends on the government discourse. If the government turns against too much English, the popular view will shift.

**T\_IU3:** *Well, it has become more important, I think, than it was, say, 10 or 20 years ago. But I am not sure if everybody understands its importance in the specific*

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<sup>15</sup> <http://uis.unesco.org/en/uis-student-flow>

<sup>16</sup> <https://iwpr.net/global-voices/uzbekistan-looks-diversify-labour-migration#:~:text=According%20to%20official%20figures%2C%20about.country's%2058%20billion%20dollars%20GDP>

*contexts because now, there is such a push in education for everyone to learn English, and I think this is actually not necessary. And unfortunately, the push to English has become the detriment to other world languages. I think it is not necessary. Well, how many people, in reality, are going to need English in order to fulfil their work and life obligations? Will it be half of them? Will it be 40%? Will it be 30%? It may be useful to have a general understanding of English, but in a specific content of work and life, I am not sure how useful it will be to them?*

#### **5.4 Agents Dimension**

The Agents dimension is selected as the first for several reasons. Firstly, since the analysis addresses the responses of the main agent groups: students, teachers, policymakers, and managers or administrators, the understanding of agency in Uzbek HEIs serves as a primary basis for the interpretation of data in each of the following dimensions. Setting the foundation for more thorough clarification and explanation, the mapping and discussion of agency is crucial for the whole analysis. Secondly, since Dafouz and Smit (2020:60) refer to agents as “social players (whether conceptualised as individuals or as collectives, concretely or abstractly) that are engaged in EMEMUS at diverse socio-political, institutional and hierarchical levels”, it is crucial to clarify agency from multiple perspectives, particularly when discussing their attitudes and beliefs about EMI and EME. Being addressed in each of the following dimensions, attitudes and beliefs are largely shaped by who these agents are. Lastly, because the goal of this research is to provide research-driven guidelines to help all agents involved in EMEMUS operate in it more efficiently and with due support, addressing the main characteristics of key social players and their needs and strengths in the EME, sets the direction for the recommendations.

The greatest amount of data was collected through the questionnaire, where one of the questions aimed to elicit the respondents' position regarding EME. The overall numbers show that the online questionnaire was most popular among students, and 84.3% of them took part in it. Teachers' and meso-level administrative staff responses are also represented, with 12.6% and 3.1% of responses, respectively. A more detailed

look at the study participants shows the number of students, teachers, and meso-level administrative staff at state and international HEIs (table 6).

Position at HEI	State HEIs		International HEIs	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Students	964	81.8	956	87.0
Teachers	198	16.8	89	8.1
Meso-level Administrative Staff	17	1.4	54	4.9
Total	1179	100.0	1099	100.0

Table 6. Survey participants at the state and international HEIs.

The online questionnaire once again showed how multilingual the context of the study is. Many different languages are present and used in Uzbek EMEMUS, which proves the vibrant linguistic ecology in HEIs. Firstly, the data shows that EMEMUS in Uzbekistan is diversified by foreigners who speak numerous native languages (table 7). Apart from the titular Uzbek, spoken by 80.7% of respondents, as well as Russian (12.8%), Karakalpak (1%), and Tajik (2.9%), which are commonly spoken in different parts of the country, the respondents spoke Korean, Arabic, Turkish, Italian, Farsi, French, Hindi, Kyrgyz, Portuguese, Turkmen, Uighur, and Urdu as their first language. Native speakers of English, 1.1% of respondents, are also represented in Uzbek HEIs.

	Frequency	Percent
Uzbek	1839	80.7
Russian	291	12.8
Tajik	67	2.9
English	24	1.1
Karakalpak	22	1.0
Kazakh	10	.4
Korean	8	.4
Arabic	4	.2
Turkish	3	.1
Italian	2	.1
Farsi	1	.0

French	1	.0
Hindi	1	.0
Kyrgyz	1	.0
Portuguese	1	.0
Turkmen	1	.0
Uighur	1	.0
Urdu	1	.0
Total	2278	100.0

Table 7. First/native language.

Secondly, answering the question about languages other than their native language and English, 38.8% of respondents speak Russian, 11.2% know both Uzbek and Russian, and 10.4% speak only Uzbek (table 8).

	Frequency	Percent
Russian	883	38.8
Uzbek, Russian	256	11.2
Uzbek	236	10.4
None	218	9.6
Russian, Tajik	109	4.8
Uzbek, Russian, Tajik	58	2.5
Tajik	44	1.9
Russian, Turkish	37	1.6
Uzbek, Tajik	33	1.4
Russian, German	28	1.2
Russian, Korean	13	.6
Uzbek, Russian, English	12	.5

Table 8. Languages other than native language and English.

### 5.4.1 Macro-level Agents

The policymakers from the Ministry of Secondary and Higher Education, the British Council, the Innovative Research Centre, and the UzTEA organisation are the representatives of the macro-level LP management in Uzbekistan's EME. The total number of interviewed macro-level policymakers is seven. Since they were not required to take part in the online survey, there is no statistical data to refer to when describing their profile.

Overall, all macro-level agents are the key figures in the country's English language development and popularisation. They all were involved in shaping English-related policies at some point, starting in 2012. These macro-level agents are involved in English language textbook writing, professional development of English and EMI teachers in HE and secondary education, and big national projects on the development of English proficiency among teachers and students.

### 5.4.2 Meso-level Agents

Administrative staff at the universities (i.e., university managers, Heads of the departments, Deans, and Rectors) are considered meso-level agents in this study,

The questionnaire responses of 71 meso-level administrative staff members showed that over three-quarters of them (76.9%) represented international universities, the top four in the table below (table 9).

Westminster International University in Tashkent	24	33.8
TEAM University	12	16.9
Webster University in Tashkent	8	11.3
AKFA University	7	9.9
Tashkent State University of Economics	7	9.9
Bukhara State University	4	5.6
INHA University	2	2.8
University of World Economy and Diplomacy	2	2.8
Karshi State University	1	1.4



Namangan Engineering Construction Institute	1	1.4
Tashkent Institute of Finance	1	1.4
Turin Polytechnic University in Tashkent	1	1.4
Uzbek State World Languages University	1	1.4
Total	71	100.0

Table 9. Universities the meso-level administrative staff work at.

Most of them are relatively new to their institutions. Namely, 22.5% of meso-level administrative staff members commenced their work in 2019 and 40.8% in the 2020 academic year. The years of experience range from 3 to 21 years. The majority of respondents (62%) had only administrative responsibilities, while 38% were also involved in teaching.

The online questionnaire also asked the respondents to provide their titles. Among them are numerous senior management staff such as Heads and Deputy Heads of Departments, Officers, Deans, Programme Coordinators, Librarians, and Rectors. Out of them, 21.2% of meso-level administrative staff members stated that their work is directly related to LPP, 32.4% indicated that among other responsibilities, they engage with LPP at their university, while 26% stated that their work is not related to LPP. The remaining 19.7% of respondents were not sure if they had anything to do with LPP.

The first/native languages for 97.2% of meso-level administration were Uzbek (64.8%) and Russian (32.4%). One respondent was a native English speaker, and one spoke the Kazakh language. One more question asked participants to rate their proficiency in Uzbek, Russian, and English. Overall, the meso-level administrative staff rated their proficiency in Uzbek and Russian very highly (table 10). However, it was surprising to see that only 49.3% considered themselves native Uzbek speakers, while in the previous question, the numbers were much higher (64.8%). On the contrary, the response rate for Russian, the native language, increased from 32.4 to 36.6%. This may be explained by the fact that many people in Uzbekistan are bilingual, and it is very difficult for them to decide what language is their native one. The results also show that all respondents knew Russian, and 2.8% did not speak any Uzbek.

	Russian		Uzbek	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Native	26	36.6	35	49.3
Advanced	21	29.6	6	8.5
Upper-intermediate	10	14.1	3	4.2
Intermediate	6	8.5	6	8.5
Elementary	3	4.2	4	5.6
Pre-intermediate	3	4.2	10	14.1
Beginner	2	2.8	5	7.0
I do not speak Russian/Uzbek	0	0	2	2.8
Total	71	100.0	71	100.0

Table 10. Meso-level administrative staff proficiency in Uzbek and Russian.

When asked what languages beyond their native language and English they speak, 36.6% of the meso-level administration knew Russian, 12.7% spoke Uzbek, and a surprising 8.5% of respondents did not know any other languages. Among other languages were Tajik, Turkish, German, Armenian, French, Arabic, Japanese, Korean, Ukrainian, Karakalpak, and Kazak.

However, the linguistic profile of the meso-level agency used at the institution (table 11) was very predictable since most of the meso-level administrative staff in EME should speak some English and are also expected to be fluent in both Uzbek and Russian. 56.3% used English, Uzbek, and Russian, 16.9% used solely English, and 12.7% used a combination of English and Russian. Among the responses were also those who did not use English. To illustrate, 4.2% of respondents used Uzbek and Russian, 2.8% used only Uzbek, and 1.4% used only Russian.

	Frequency	Percent
English, Uzbek, Russian	40	56.3
English	12	16.9
English, Russian	9	12.7
English, Uzbek	3	4.2
Uzbek, Russian	3	4.2
Uzbek	2	2.8

English, Uzbek, Russian, Karakalpak	1	1.4
Russian	1	1.4
Total	71	100.0

Table 11. Languages used when at university.

Examining the results of self-evaluated English proficiency level, it becomes apparent that only 4.2% of meso-level administrative staff members consider themselves at an elementary level. The prevailing majority rated themselves as being advanced (47.9%) and upper-intermediate (28.2%) (table 12). The self-reported frequency of English use was also rather high. 14.1% of meso-level administrators use English all the time when at university. An equal number of respondents (42.2%) claimed to use English most of the time and some of the time. Only one staff member (1.4%) rated the use of English as happening hardly at all. During the interviews, it was difficult to see if the meso-level administrative staff followed this self-reported level of frequency of English use at work. However, the ethnographic field notes show that these numbers are rather an overestimate that reflects the expected level rather than the real one. These results contrast with the reported above numbers on the languages used at the university, which may signify that when choosing languages along with the options of Uzbek and Russian, English does not appear to be widely used even though it still has its place.

	Frequency	Percent
Advanced	34	47.9
Upper-intermediate	20	28.2
Intermediate	12	16.9
Elementary	3	4.2
Native	1	1.4
Pre-intermediate	1	1.4
Total	71	100.0

Table 12. Proficiency in English.

53.5% of meso-level administrative staff never took any extra-curricular courses to improve their English, but 46.5% have done so since they started at the university. Overall, the willingness to develop English language skills through additional

professional English support was evident as well. 57.7% of meso-level administrative staff stated that they would “very likely” and 25.4 % “somewhat likely” sign up for it. “Somewhat unlikely” and “very unlikely” options were chosen by 8.5% of meso-level administration in both categories. Since this is a hypothetical question, it is hard to judge if meso-level administrative staff would sign up for the additional class in reality.

### 5.4.3 Micro-level Agents

#### 5.4.3.1 Teachers

It was interesting to note that most of the teachers, out of the 287 who took part in the online survey, were from state universities such as Tashkent State University (30.3%) and Bukhara State University (15.3%), which shows their interest in the topic. The top three universities also included Westminster International University (12.9%).

The disciplines that the teachers teach include Economics, IT, Accounting and Finance, Mathematics, Tourism, EAP and ESP, Medicine, etc. On average, teachers in EME teach 11 hours per week (table 13). It was surprising to see that 11.1% of teachers admitted that they have 0 classes taught in English, which either means that they do not teach any classes in English in the semester the data was collected, or EMI is only nominal and, in reality, all classes are taught in the native language. The fact that EMI is a nominal label has also been revealed in the interviews (discussed in section 5.5).

N	Valid	287
	Missing	0
Mean		10.87
Median		8.00
Mode		0
Minimum		0
Maximum		48

Table 13. Hours teaching in English.

The questionnaire results also show that while some answered “no” (26.5%) and “not sure” (5.6%) to the question “Have you undertaken any professional development to help you teach through English?”, the majority of the respondents answered “yes” (67.9%). The follow-up question that asked to specify what kind of pieces of training the teachers have received revealed that these were “just English language classes to develop their language proficiency” (14.6%), “self-study on the topic of EMI methodology” (13.9%), “short intensive courses on EMI methodology” (11.5%), and “ongoing university training on EMI methodology” (7%). The rest of the responses mentioned a short course delivered by the Republican Research Centre for development of Innovative Methods of Teaching Foreign Languages, “Teaching Other Subjects Through English: Teacher training course for content teachers CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning)”, studies abroad that were considered enough to go through EMI training, and PGCert, a popular course in the country delivered at WIUT, which has nothing to do with EMI specifically. Overall, the available courses that were reported by the study participants either focus on teaching methodology or English language proficiency development, which are, to some extent, relevant to EME. However, these short-term professional development opportunities are falsely considered a substitute for the proper training that EMI teachers should have.

24.7% of the teachers do not engage in making decisions regarding language policy and language planning at their university, while 17.8% admitted that they developed language policy for the university, and 7.7% were engaged in language policy decisions. Surprisingly, 7.7% of the respondents stated that they were being asked for advice on what language to use in/outside the classroom. The rest were not sure of their roles in LPP.

In comparison to meso-level administrative staff, the linguistic profile of the teachers is more diverse, which may be connected with the fact that the faculty in EMEMUS is inclusive of foreigners, who are often invited to teach there. 77.4% of the teachers who took part in the questionnaire were Uzbek native speakers. There were also 14.3% Russian and 4.2% Tajik native speakers. The rest of the native languages included English, Korean, Arabic, Hindi, Italian, Karakalpak, Portuguese, and Turkmen. The list of languages other than English, as well as in the case of the meso-level administration, is also very diverse. The most attested second language of teachers is Russian, 38.3%. Uzbek is second in this list (11.5%). 5.2% did not speak any other

language but their native English. The rest of the responses include either Russian or Uzbek in combination with Tajik, German, French, Spanish, Chinese, Arabic, Italian, Karakalpak, Korean, Turkish, etc.

As for the languages used at the institution, the trinity of English, Uzbek and Russian prevailed (45.6%). Solely English has been used only in 19.5% of cases. No use of English was reported by teachers, who use only Uzbek (8.4%), only Russian (4.2%), and a combination of Uzbek and Russian (7.7%). The rest of the results showed that English is used in combination with other foreign languages, French, Korean, and Kazakh, which are native languages of the teachers.

When asked to rate their proficiency in Uzbek, 51.6% of teachers self-reported to be native, 14.6% advanced, and 9.8% upper-intermediate speakers. Only 2.4% self-reported that they do not speak any Uzbek (table 14).

	Frequency	Percent
Native	148	51.6
Advanced	42	14.6
Upper-intermediate	28	9.8
Intermediate	18	6.3
Elementary	16	5.6
Pre-intermediate	15	5.2
Beginner	13	4.5
I do not speak Uzbek	7	2.4
Total	287	100.0

Table 14. Proficiency in Uzbek.

Results of the self-reported proficiency in Russian were lower and showed that 24.7% of teachers considered themselves advanced, 17.1% were native, and 16.7% were intermediate users. 3.5% of teachers did not speak Russian (table 15).

	Frequency	Percent
Advanced	71	24.7
Native	49	17.1
Intermediate	48	16.7
Upper-intermediate	48	16.7

Pre-intermediate	38	13.2
Elementary	13	4.5
Beginner	10	3.5
I do not speak Russian	10	3.5
Total	287	100.0

Table 15. Proficiency in Russian.

Self-reported proficiency in English was also rather high for the teachers, but in comparison to the meso-level administrative staff, it was lower. To illustrate, only 40.1% of teachers considered themselves advanced, 26.1% upper-intermediate, and 11.1% intermediate (table 16). The numbers for elementary (8.4%) and beginner (4.5%) levels of English proficiency are surprising. When asked, “How often do you speak English when at university” 46.7% of teachers answered that they use English most of the time and 31.4% some of the time. Only 15.7% of teaching staff stated that they use English all the time, and 6.3% answered that they hardly ever use English, which yet again signifies that EME is only nominal in some HEIs.

	Frequency	Percent
Advanced	115	40.1
Upper-intermediate	75	26.1
Intermediate	32	11.1
Elementary	24	8.4
Pre-intermediate	23	8.0
Beginner	13	4.5
Native	5	1.7
Total	287	100.0

Table 16. Proficiency in English.

No very significant difference in numbers was also reported in the question regarding extra-curricular courses to improve English. 57.8% of teachers reported that they had not taken part in any since they started at the university, while 42.2% stated the opposite. Even though the questionnaire did not ask if these opportunities were offered at the university, the interviews showed that most of the universities did not provide teachers with any courses to improve their English. However, if teachers were

offered additional professional support, most of them would be “very likely” (57.1%) and “somewhat likely” (25.8%) to sign up for it. The rest of the teachers’ responses were divided between the options of “very unlikely” (9.8%) and “somewhat unlikely” (7.3%) to sign up. These results were supported in the interviews as well, but numerous teachers pointed out that with the amount of paperwork at the university, they would have struggled to combine their teaching and professional development.

### 5.4.3.2 Students

Students are the largest group of respondents in the survey, with 1290 responses. The data shows that they were active participants both at international and state universities. To illustrate, while the first two top universities, with 14.3% and 14.1% of responses, were shared by INHA University and WIUT, respectively, the following three HEIs were state universities with responses from Tashkent State University of Economics (11.8%), Bukhara State University (10.8%), and Uzbek State World Languages University (9.5%). Most of the students were freshers (44.8%) who started their studies in 2020 and second years (33.5%). Upper-level students were less responsive, with 11.1% of students who started their studies in 2018 and 6.2% in 2017. There were also responses from master-level students (11.1%) and doctoral students (0.4%) (table 17), which shows that EMI is used at all levels of HE in Uzbekistan. Postgraduate students at different state universities (i.e., there are no PhD programmes at the international HEIs) can choose to write their thesis in English if the scientific advisor and external examiners know English, which is mostly the case at the English Linguistics or International Relations faculties.

	Frequency	Percent
Bachelor's degree	1698	88.4
Master's degree	214	11.1
Doctorate degree	8	.4
Total	1920	100.0

Table 17. Degree pursued at the university.



On average, students have four subjects in English per semester (table 18). The most common disciplines studied include IT, Business, Medicine, Economics, Tourism, Law, and TESL.

		Subjects studied this semester	Subjects studied in English this semester
N	Valid	1920	1920
	Missing	0	0
Mean		6.59	4.33
Median		6.00	4.00
Mode		7	4
Sum		12644	8320

Table 18. Subjects studied per semester.

When asked if the university runs any courses to help them study in English, 53.7% of the respondents replied “yes”, while 18.7% answered “no”. For 6.3% of students, these courses were offered during the orientation week and when the universities organise workshops now and then (5.2%). The rest of the respondents stated that they are either unaware of them or do not need them since the studies are in English anyways.

Students’ native languages, as well as in the case of meso-level administrative staff and teachers, are very diverse. For 81.8% of students, the first language is Uzbek. Russian is the second on the list of native languages (11.8%). Students’ native languages are not limited to those spoken in some areas of Uzbekistan, Tajik and Karakalpak but also include English, Kazakh, Arabic, Turkish, Farsi, French, Italian, Kyrgyz, Uighur and Urdu (table 19).

	Frequency	Percent
Uzbek	1571	81.8
Russian	227	11.8
Tajik	55	2.9
Karakalpak	21	1.1
English	20	1.0
Kazakh	9	.5

Korean	5	.3
Arabic	3	.2
Turkish	3	.2
Farsi	1	.1
French	1	.1
Italian	1	.1
Kyrgyz	1	.1
Uighur	1	.1
Urdu	1	.1
Total	1920	100.0

Table 19. Students' native languages.

The position of Russian as the second language is also rather strong among the students. It is the most spoken language after the native language and English (38.9%), while Uzbek is spoken as a second language (10.1%). Some students (10.3%) did not speak any other language than their native English. The rest of the responses show that students also know Tajik, Turkish, German, Korean, Karakalpak, French, Arabic, Kazakh, Japanese, Chinese, and Spanish. Some students reported using a combination of English, Uzbek, and Russian (35.6%), only English (22.1%), English and Uzbek (11.7%), and English and Russian (9.8%). No use of English has also been noted along with the use of one language (i.e., only Uzbek (9.2%) and only Russian (5.4%)), and both Uzbek and Russian (2.9%.) The rest of the responses have numerous combinations of English, Uzbek and Russian, along with students' native languages, which yet again signifies highly multilingual ecology.

When rating their proficiency in Uzbek, which has been reported above to be the native language of the vast majority, it was self-evaluated as native (62.1%), which is lower than the numbers provided in the discussion before. 3.7% of students answered that they do not speak any Uzbek, which is almost equal to the 3.8% of those who do not speak Russian (table 20). Self-reported native proficiency in Russian, on the contrary, increased from 11.8% to 21% of responses.

	Uzbek		Russian	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Native	1192	62.1	403	21.0
Intermediate	155	8.1	278	14.5
Upper-intermediate	145	7.6	199	10.4
Advanced	139	7.2	344	17.9
Pre-intermediate	85	4.4	248	12.9
Elementary	79	4.1	223	11.6
I do not speak Uzbek/Russian	71	3.7	73	3.8
Beginner	54	2.8	152	7.9
Total	1920	100.0	1920	100.0

Table 20. Proficiency in Uzbek and Russian.

Students' self-reported proficiency in English was also rather high (table 21). 34.8% of students considered themselves upper-intermediate, 28.1% advanced, and 20.7% were intermediate. 2% of students self-reported their proficiency as native, which is twice the bigger number of self-reported native proficiency in table 19. Surprising numbers of elementary (4.6%) and beginner (2.4%) English proficiency levels show that students are either too critical of their own English or turned out to be admitted to EMEMUS with rather low proficiency. This finding is also supported by those who hardly ever use English at the university (6.2%) (table 22). This number is much smaller than the number of those who use English most of the time (43.3%) and all the time (15.1%). However, an alarming 35,5% of respondents also reported that they use English "some of the time" when at university, which either shows that EME may only be nominal in some settings or signifies that students use English during the classes but not in a wider context of the university.

	Frequency	Percent
Upper-intermediate	668	34.8
Advanced	540	28.1
Intermediate	398	20.7
Pre-intermediate	140	7.3
Elementary	89	4.6

Beginner	46	2.4
Native	39	2.0
Total	1920	100.0

Table 21. Proficiency in English.

	Frequency	Percent
Most of the time	831	43.3
Some of the time	681	35.5
All the time	289	15.1
Hardly at all	119	6.2
Total	1920	100.0

Table 22. Use of English when at university.

60.8% of the students have never taken any extra-curricular courses to improve their English, and only 39.2% have done so since they started at their university. However, if they were offered additional professional support, students would be “very likely” (50.3%) and “somewhat likely” (35.1%) to sign up for it. On the other hand, the response rate for “somewhat unlikely” (8.7%) and “very unlikely” (5.9%) options was much lower.

### **5.5 Roles of English Dimension**

Writing about the dimension Roles of English, Dafouz and Smit (2020) specify its four sub-dimensions, dividing the roles into societal, institutional, pedagogical, and communicational ones. For this study, the sub-categories are renamed into macro-, meso-, and micro-level roles. They are adopted to be represented as overlapping sub-dimensions that signify the levels of English use identified through data analysis (image 2). This imagery is chosen to show the fluidity of the model. The changes also reflect the idea that all the roles are mutually related and intertwined. They do not represent a chain of command per se but rather show their intersectionality and the scope of coverage. To specify, macro-level roles find their reflection and application in meso- and micro-level use and vice versa.

In other words, the Roles of English dimension is divided into the macro-, meso-, and micro-level roles, which are further categorised into sub-categories (i.e., Dimension>Levels> Roles>Sub-roles). The names of the roles at these three levels are titled to reflect their functions in the given reality. The names of the identified roles at the macro-level level are titled rhetorically; some are directly suggested by the interview findings to show the perceived functions that English has, mostly in theory. It is also important to note that the roles that exist mostly in theory experience practical challenges that will be addressed in as well. These challenges, along with the results, serve as the basis for the policy recommendations for EME in Uzbek HEIs, which will be provided in the final chapter.

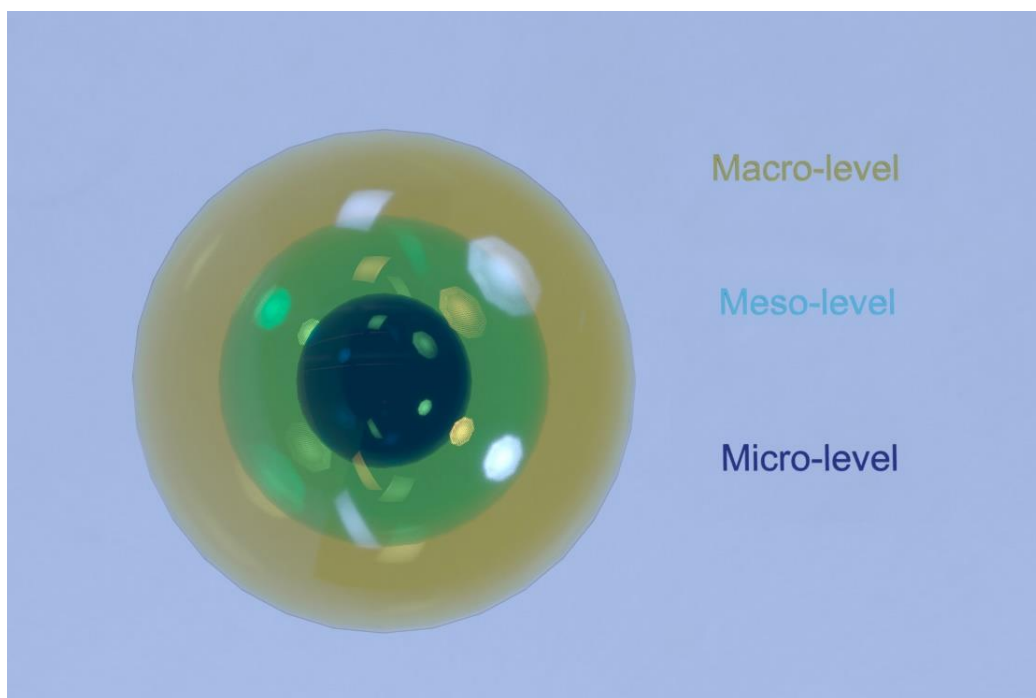


Image 2: Sub-dimensions of the Roles of the English Dimension.

The original dimension has a fourth sub-dimension, the communicational level, but the findings in this study show that the communicational role of English is present in all other levels and thus does not need to be restated. Therefore, it is not a stand-alone category but rather an integral part of each sub-dimension. It is important to note that the structure and overlap between sections are guided by the individual attitudes of study participants and may be different from the larger societal perspectives.

### 5.5.1 Macro-level Roles

The chart below includes the main macro-level roles and sub-roles of English that were identified in Uzbek HEIs (image 3). The identified roles are formulated based only on the findings and are limited to the perceptions of the roles identified by the study participants.

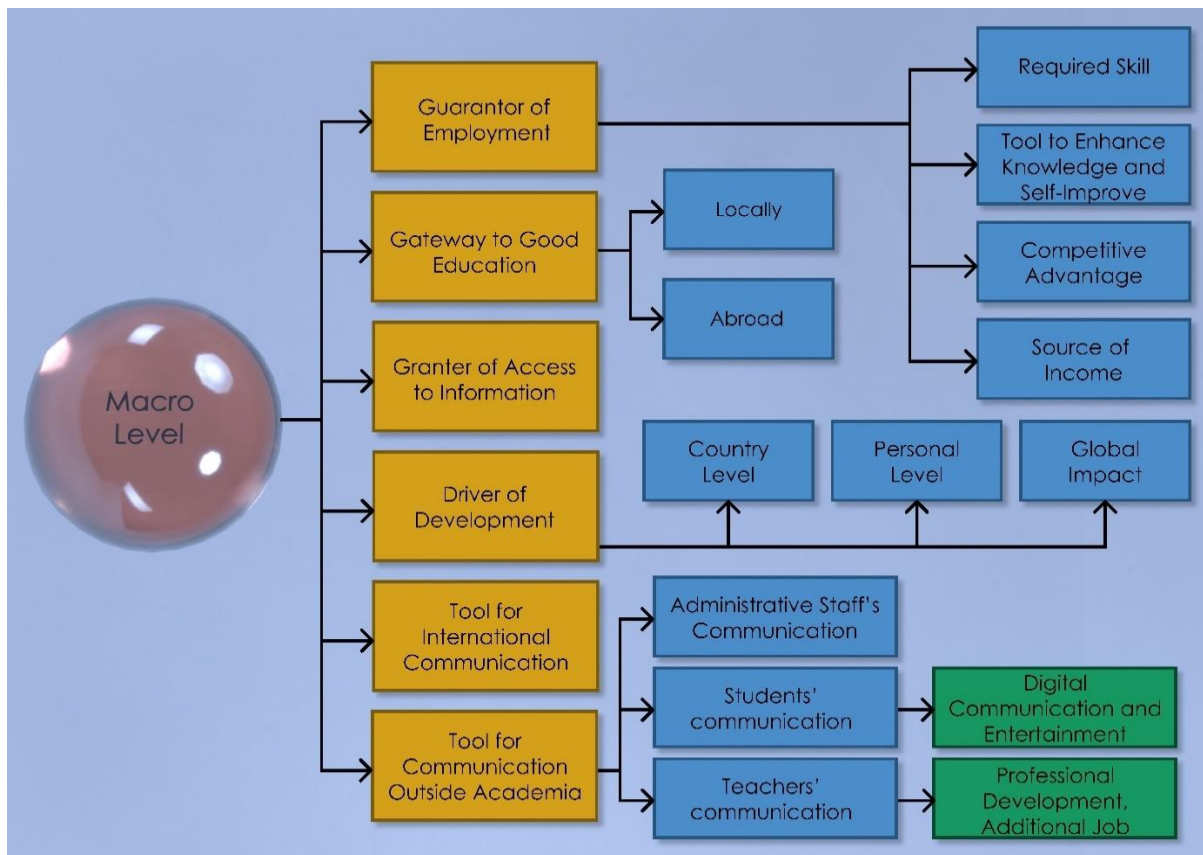


Image 3. Macro-level Roles of English.

As mentioned in the introduction to this section, to show that the roles partly exist in theory at this level, I use a labels to name the identified roles as guarantor, granter, tool, etc. Some of these labels emerged directly from the data, as they were called so by the study informants, and I suggested some based on the findings. Each identified role that partially exists only in theory faces practical challenges. The perceived functions that English serves at the macro-level show how much this foreign language is embedded in education and beyond. Having to do with the attitudes and beliefs that study participants project towards English, its roles cover education, employment,

access to information, and international communication for professional and leisure needs, which all have sub-categories of use.

#### **5.5.1.1 Role 1: Guarantor of Employment**

One of the roles that English plays in society is a perceived “guarantor of employment”. Even though there are not so many opportunities to get a job that would require the use of English, most students, administrators, and teachers associate good English proficiency with better and higher-paid jobs. Despite this concern about the availability of employment requiring English skills, one of the key policymakers in the country strongly believes that being inseparable from good education, English is a necessary skill for any student who wants to be employed in a very competitive environment such as Uzbekistan. This macro-level policymaker connects the level of youth unemployment with poor education, which is, in their view, inseparable from a good level of English. Apart from the diplomas, the administrator also highlights the importance of English language proficiency certificates. They are not only needed to grant access to university studies but also to teach at university, get a higher administrative position, and be an attractive applicant in the labour market. To illustrate, the survey data shows that 78.9% of university administrators have taken an English international test in English, while the rest (21.1%) did not. The role of English proficiency certificates will be discussed in more detail in section 5.5.2.1.

*A2: Now we have officially about 13% of youth unemployment, but the real numbers are 26-30%. This unemployment is showing the quality of education in general. After the pandemic, it raised again because all those who were unemployed are back to look for employment, and there are students, fresh graduates, who also look for jobs. English is one of the key skills to get good job. Those with poor English, they have to be educated now. They have to go through the development centres; they have to get their qualifications, they have to be self-recognised first, they have to be very sure about their education. We also have priority for those people who have language certificates. You see, it is kind of preparing the youth for the labour market.*

Most students also associate English with better-paid jobs and recognition by authorities. Knowledge of English is believed to “get a better job” and help “make more money” after graduation. For some students, English is already a source of income.

**S\_SU10:** *The more languages you know, the better it is for you. After you graduate from the university, your salary will be higher if you know more languages, especially English. Knowing different languages will be essential for anyone.*

**S\_IU11:** *Some of us already have jobs, and it is in English.*

Teachers also highlight the importance of English in finding a good job. Some provide examples from their own experiences considering English playing a key role in their current careers, which for teachers in EME is a real possibility. Those with a good command of English may be employed at international universities with a higher salary or at state universities where they will be incentivised to teach in English. New teachers in academia state that they “decided to study English because it guaranteed a good job in the future”.

**T\_IU1:** *A huge advice to everyone is to study English if they want to find a good job. I think this helped me find my job. In case if I did not know English, all my benefits and sources would not matter without the knowledge of English.*

**T\_SU6:** *I guess it is becoming more important. Not only language teachers, teachers in other spheres as well, for example, in medicine they, have English classes, and they need to know English. We have some hospitals where people from different parts of the world work. I guess it is not only English teachers but designers, for example, as well. They are studying major in English.*

English is also “required to get a job abroad”, which many youngsters are looking forward to doing. The general idea that language allows studying and working abroad is one of the key topics for discussion among students at both international and state HEIs. English is viewed as a key to moving abroad in general. Many students dream of either studying or working abroad.

**S\_SU10:** *I think that there a lot of opportunities for the youth generation as they can make their career abroad; I think as English language is the most used language all*



*over the world, if we have some knowledge of English language when we are abroad, we will not have any problems with the English language. So, it will be comfortable for us to study there.*

There were also some opposing viewpoints regarding the connection between good English and employability, which highlights the first practical challenge of this role of English. Students at the state HEIs, in particular, stated that English “has the image of success, but there is not a lot of application of this language in Uzbekistan” and “English as a skill is useful but not applicable in the country”. Because there are not as many companies as there are EME students and potential employees, the reality is that the knowledge received through English will inevitably have to be applied using students’ native language. To what extent students’ repertoire in their native language will be enough if they study through English is an interesting issue to explore.

**T\_IU5:** *So, at times, students learn English, and their proficiency is relatively high, but then they go further for employability, and they may not use it at all. I mean, there are still limited number of companies that require English medium, and most of these companies are connected with foreign companies, or these are the branches of foreign companies.*

Within the role of “guarantor of employment”, English also has its sub-roles that are identified through the interviews. The most obvious of these sub-roles is “a required skill” if the desired employment is in an international company or there is an idea of starting a new business with a foreign company. Students believe that English “is required at some good companies” and “allows to cooperate with foreigners[when you start your business]”. Probably because students in international universities feel that they already belong to the international context since they study at a university that promotes the ideas of international employment or local employment at international companies, they are keener to support the importance of English in finding international employment than students at the state universities. For some students, the knowledge of English is taking over the knowledge of a particular subject, as it “allows them to find a good job”.

**S\_IU5:** *We can work internationally and in Uzbekistan work in the international companies. It is better paid.*

**S\_IU11:** *The world is speaking in English, and job applications are all in English. If you do not know physics and math, but you know English, you can find a good job. It is important skill to know English. English language gives opportunities, and information exchange gives you more ideas.*

The second sub-role of English is “a tool that helps to enhance knowledge and aid self-improvement” through access to good quality materials. With the belief that English is “a tool that enhances all skills”, it gives access to information, which will be further discussed in more detail.

**S\_IU1:** *Yes, I will get a better job; you know why not because I am able to speak English but because of self-improvement. Learning English is not only about learning the words, how to use it grammatically correct. I think when a person uses English, it helps to read more books and they have access to more materials, and they improve themselves. Therefore, they will have good opportunities to get a good job.*

The third sub-role of English is “competitive advantage”. Applying for jobs, students from EMEMUS consider their English proficiency to be an important factor in outperforming other applicants and winning the competition for a better job.

**S\_IU5:** *I think the knowledge of English can be our competitive advantage when we try to get the job. If we have two people and both are good, but one knows English and the other one does not know, the choice will be for the one who knows English.*

The last identified sub-role is “source of income”. Simply stated, knowledge of English allows students at non-linguistic universities to work or consider working as English language teachers. Understanding that this skill may become their source of income, many students use English to become private language teachers or be employed in language centres, which are abundant all over the republic. English, in a sense, creates job opportunities on its own. For many students in non-English majors, “teaching English” or, more specifically, how to pass “IELTS” is a “part-time job”, which many consider keeping when they get a job in their profession.

**S\_SU6:** *In Uzbekistan, there is higher salary for IELTS teachers and general English teachers. We can teach in the learning centres and make money.*

**S\_SU10:** *We can even work as a teacher of IELTS as an extra work.*

To summarise, the first role of English that is associated with wider employment opportunities may be well realised by some students who will find their future job at international companies locally or abroad. To some extent, with the prestige that English is associated with, EME students will be viewed as having a competitive advantage over students from state universities. On the other hand, the number of students from EMEMUS in the country outstrips the number of companies that use English, and many students do not realise that they may not use their English skills at work as much as they think. Would their professional repertoire in their native language be enough to cope with this new non-English speaking reality is an issue to further explore. What is certain is that students, teachers, and education managers in EMEMUS need to be clear about this reality and address the peculiarities of a complex language ecology in their language policies.

#### **5.5.1.2 Role 2: Gateway to Good Education**

English is also viewed as a “gateway to education” both abroad and locally. Connected to the first role, “guarantor of employment”, and the following role, “granter of access to information”, this role of English highlights the desire of students to continue their education abroad. Therefore, EME delivered locally is believed to serve as a good basis for further education abroad. Based on the interviewees’ responses, EMI is believed to “open doors for the academic world” and be a sign of good education because “top universities in the world and most of them are based on the English language, be it Harvard or Oxford”, and “serve a basis for future studies abroad”.

Locally, EME is considered to be a better form of education than the traditional one because of the English component and its association with international education, which is believed to be of better quality. Students are motivated to enter EME, stating that they “really wanted to study at the university where everything is in English” to go abroad to study and work. For many students, the fact that “everything is in English is very important”. Students at the state HEIs also choose to enter the “English group” because they are motivated to “improve their English” to study abroad in the future. In

addition to these factors, HEIs with EME are easier to enter than state universities if the budget of the student's families allows them to pay for it. This is a crucial means of reproducing class inequalities in terms of who can afford to have access to EME at the international HEIs as opposed to EMI at the state universities. Firstly, since these universities are usually affiliated with foreign institutes, the application process and entrance exams are very transparent and not as corrupt as at the state universities. At the state universities, however, students can also study through EMI if they are admitted to “special groups”, where some subjects are taught in English. Therefore, students are very motivated to enter these groups to have a taste of EME. The admission criterion is a good level of English, which may be proven by having IELTS certificate or taking internal English proficiency exam.

**S\_SU4:** *In our country, it is becoming important. In the last three years, the attitude towards English language and other languages [ like Russian and Uzbek] have increased dramatically. Right now, it is really important for every university student to speak good English to enter good university.*

**S\_SU12:** *I have to learn English for this course because I saw myself as a physician at the USA. I thought study in English is a priority for me.*

**S\_IU1:** *The main reason why I chose this university was English. Was that the subjects are taught in English because I like English and medicine.*

Apart from the English component, the other reasons that motivate students to study include curriculum and education system, specific discipline that is only taught in EME, “high quality and up to date study materials in English”, “an opportunity to transfer studies to a foreign university”, “scholarship and exchange opportunities”, “good teachers”, “dual diploma”, and “absence of uniform”. Students at International HEIs often talk about their experience with EME, comparing it to the situation at the state HEIs. They, for example, state that “education in local universities is not good”, “state universities cannot give the same level of knowledge”, and “the quality of teaching is better here [International HEI]”, which is also evident from the class observations”. EME at the International HEIs is also associated with “competitive study” and “difficult studies”. Students also connected the development of the study field with up-to-date materials and research, that is often published in English. Medical students, in

particular, stated that “all information about these new methods of curing and treatment is given in the English language” and they “want to stay up to date with the world literature”. Specific disciplines that are only taught at international universities with EMI are also a great motivation to enter them. For many students who do not want to go abroad but want to get a good education in the country, EME is the “only choice”.

**S\_IU1:** *When I entered the university, I was happy that we do not have to wear uniform, attend classes all the time. The necessary thing here is to study. They just give us all opportunities. They make it comfortable. When we study at the state university, they will pay attention to our discipline; they will control us. We can keep our career abroad. In our university, we have a competition in order to get scholarship. We have to study hard; if we will not study hard, we can lose our scholarship.*

**S\_IU3:** *We have three years of study here and one in Korea, and it was one of the motivations to enter this university. You can go if you can afford it. Faculty is very strong here. In our universities, we get two diplomas, one local and one international.*

**S\_IU8:** *Because the university has links with the UK, London university. There is an affiliation, and it matters a lot. Because we can go abroad and study there in the second semester.*

**S\_IU11:** *At this university, we learn machine learning, artificial intelligence, and advanced level of IT. I entered this university because I like EU education system.*

Lastly, because the role of parents and family is very strong in Uzbek society, it is common to hear that they decide their children's future. Education is one of the main decisions that involve parents' active involvement. Therefore, the choice of the university and, as a result, the future profession is what has been imposed on many students. It is parents “who want me [a student] to study” a particular subject at a particular university.

**S\_IU2:** *My parents told me to enter this university.*

**S\_IU1:** *Firstly, I got prepared to study economics. But I changed my mind. The reason*

*why I changed my mind is because of my parents. They said that they will not allow me to go abroad.*

**S\_IU3:** *My parents wanted me to study here, and my friend wanted to study here as well. Honestly, studying at this university is not bad, and knowledge we get here is useful.*

To summarise, the second role's potential challenge is that, in practice, not all universities that use English as their medium of instruction are giving their students a "good education". The classroom observations at both international and state universities showed that there are numerous issues behind EMI, including teachers' lack of pedagogical skills, lack of materials (mostly at state universities), limited understanding of what international standards of education are, etc. All these issues will be discussed in further detail in this chapter. The tendency to see English as the only virtue of EME is a distinct feature of students at both state and international HEIs

### ***5.5.1.3 Role 3: Granter of Access to Information***

The third macro-level role of English as a "granter of access to information" will also be specifically addressed in section 5.5.3.3, but with a more specific focus on teaching and learning materials. As exemplified in the previous roles, resources in the English language are one of the motivations to enter EME. On the macro-level, having access to a wider range of information resources is one of the motivations to learn English in general. The reasons for that are the lack of resources in Uzbek or Russian and the abundance of resources in English, originality and quality of the information in the English language, specific up-to-date research in the field of study or work, and scientific conferences that are mainly held internationally and where the language of communication is also English. Students believe that "only the best research is published in English because quality matters in English", which shows that quality is rather associated with language than the academic tradition. Students also stated that "studies made by worldwide organisations and English-speaking nations are in English", and "congresses and conferences in other countries are held in English". For the teachers, "originality", "currency", and "quality" are highlighted associated

characteristics of English materials.

**S\_SU12:** *In Uzbek language, we do not have any information, but in Russian or in English, we have a lot of information, especially in medicine and in general as well.*

**S\_SU7:** *I think that it is very important to know English in Uzbekistan; for example, especially in our sphere, most of books are written in English. It is very difficult to understand the meanings of certain international terms in Russian. In English, it is easier because it is original.*

**T\_IU1:** *I think it is really important for younger generation here because we have to communicate maybe in the institutes or future work, we have to make research, find some literature or any other information that we need, like updated, and it is always in English. If we want to know anything new and stay up to date, it is always in English.*

**T\_IU2:** *Original materials are all in English, that is why we need it to get deep knowledge in every sphere, say economics, finance, medicine. In everything, you need English in order to learn some new things. So far, for about 2-3 years, I did not read almost anything in Russian or Uzbek, only in English. All my readings are in English.*

**T\_SU11:** *As a teacher, we should prepare for classes every day, and almost all resources are in English. Almost 80% of research are written in English, that is why now, and in the future, English language will be important both for researchers and students also.*

In comparison with the two previous roles of English, this role does not face any practical challenges per se. If students and teachers can navigate a great pool of information available in English, they will manage to find what is needed. However, there is a major concern related to the matter. The fact that English is associated with the source of up-to-date information may also result in a belief that new information should also be produced only in English. English is already slowly becoming a language of academic publications in Uzbek HEIs (section 5.5.2.4). This, in turn, may result in English occupying the domain of any knowledge production.

#### **5.5.1.4 Role 4: Driver of Development**

English is considered to be a “driver of development” in the financial and educational spheres. Associated with internationalisation and the global world, English is a symbol of progress. It is believed to drive the country's advancement, change people's mindset through education, and lead to progress in many spheres. The development of English in the country equals the development of the nation. For example, a student from a state university states that “English is an international language, it is a language of science, it is a language of aviation, development, progress, so on. And we as a nation should develop”. The development and progress are in a narrower sense and also include personal development. Learning English is considered an important skill to acquire.

*A\_SU: Since we used to be considered as the third world and now, we are trying to get to the highest features in terms of all means both in finance and other spheres, the importance of English in this context is just impeccable. English is somehow meritocracy. Its impact is impeccable. If we learn and we improve, and we somehow spread the learning of the English language in Uzbekistan and English eventually becomes the second language in our country, we will reach this achievement of the whole education system and of all development of the country too.*

*S\_SU4: I think everybody should learn English in order to broaden their mindset. Of course, there will no doubt change. In Uzbekistan, prevalent majority of people in Uzbekistan are having a traditional mindset, and new ideas and new concepts are beyond their outlook.*

*T\_SU4: If we want to gain something, if we want to work on ourselves, we want to improve, then you will need English.*

The knowledge of English is also perceived to have a global impact that people can make if they develop skills and knowledge in their fields of study.

*S\_SU1: I think people who speak English, who work in English language, they are developing, they are discovering, exploring, and improving the world. These people will impact the world. They will be dominating, of course, in the near future.*



**S\_SU4:** *English is an international language, and Uzbekistan wants to integrate into the international society. For us, current generation, we want to know a lot and develop to show potential of our country to the world to make impact.*

**T\_SU6:** *Because English is a global language, in order to withstand with the requirements of this century, this country is trying to teach English language to their nation. Not only linguists but also teachers in other fields need to know English to stay tuned with the current development of their subjects around the world. They teach young generation and have great impact as educators.*

To summarise, unlike the previous roles, this role may be viewed as too idealistic by many researchers because, on the macro-level, English in a country where it is barely spoken is not such a great driver of development. English and EME are viewed as magic weapons that can solve numerous issues in society, including economic development and change of mindset. There is a lot more to that than simply the knowledge of English.

#### **5.5.1.5 Role 5: Tool for International Communication**

One more role of English is as a “tool for effective international communication”. It is considered a Lingua Franca, which may not be fully true in the context of communication within Uzbek society. However, internationally, it is known to be the language of communication with foreign tourists, business partners, and the whole world. For political reasons, the country, being very closed from the world for several decades, has chosen a new direction for its development. This direction towards the global economy and internationalisation is reflected in numerous policies and, as a result, in people’s views about the importance of communicating with the world in English. It is a key language for the exchange of ideas, collaboration, and cooperation. English “helps build a relationship with other countries”, “do business”, and “communicate with foreigners”. Many students, for example, think that English “is also becoming the third most important language in our country”.

**A4:** *English is important. It is today even kind of a Lingua Franca because this is the tool, this is the means of effective communication not only with partners, or*

*colleagues, or stakeholders, or people from English-speaking countries but from the other countries as well, including France, Germany, Switzerland.*

**S\_IU3:** *English is international language, and it helps us to communicate with other nations, to deal with some issues and to lead our business internationally. I think English is very important now.*

**T\_SU10:** *English language is one of the world's most popular in the world. I think that in HE in Uzbekistan, English is important because we always struggle with collaborative issues with the foreign countries with the foreign institutions that can be involved in the projects. And also, every level of learning English language is important, between the teachers and between the students in our country, and especially within exchange of knowledge with the foreign institutions.*

**T\_SU7:** *I think that it is quite important because we are joining the international community, and we are the part of international community, and without English, it is very difficult to communicate within. We are joining the community and academic community, and the language of communication is English. That is why there is no other way.*

This role shows that study participants are ready to communicate internationally, and they recognise the need to do so. A strong sense of belonging to the nation that opens up to the world shows that students, teachers, and administrators see English and EME as important tools. This highlights certain conformity with a strong discourse of the government on the importance of English for internationalisation.

#### **5.5.1.6 Role 6: Tool for Communication Outside Academia**

This role of English proves clearly that English exists in the life of EME agents in abundance. English is a language of leisure. It occupies this domain for those interested in developing their language skills, but at the same time, it serves the communicational function by default. Because it is used within the university, it easily finds its use outside as well. The sub-sections below highlight the key findings on English use outside the academia for administrative staff, students, and teachers.

### **5.5.1.6.1 Administrative Staff's Communication**

Out of 71 meso-level administrative staff members, 26.8% self-reported using only English with students outside class (table 23), which was not significantly higher than the use of Uzbek, Russian, and English altogether (19.7%). The sole use of Uzbek was reported by 18.3% of respondents, almost twice the use of sole Russian (9.9%).

	Frequency	Percent
English	19	26.8
Uzbek, Russian, English	14	19.7
Uzbek	13	18.3
Russian	7	9.9
Russian, English	7	9.9
Uzbek, Russian	6	8.5
Uzbek, English	2	2.8
N/A	1	1.4
Uzbek, Russian, English, Other	1	1.4
Uzbek, Russian, Other	1	1.4
Total	71	100.0

Table 23. Use of languages with students outside class.

With the teachers outside the class, however, 21.1% of meso-level administrative staff prefer to use Russian and 18.3% use English (table 24). A combination of both Russian and English, as well as the use of these two languages with Uzbek, was reported by 18.3% of meso-level administrative staff. Overall, Uzbek and the use of Uzbek in combination with Russian and English were rated lower when it comes to interaction with teachers outside class.

	Frequency	Percent
Russian	15	21.1
English	13	18.3
Russian, English	13	18.3
Uzbek, Russian, English	13	18.3

Uzbek	8	11.3
Uzbek, Russian	6	8.5
Uzbek, English	2	2.8
Uzbek, Russian, English, Other	1	1.4
Total	71	100.0

Table 24. Use of languages with teachers outside class.

A series of questions in the survey inquired about the English language skills used in daily activities at the university. 78.9% of meso-level administrative staff stated that they have no difficulty understanding spoken English as well as speaking (66.2%), reading (81.7%), and writing (67.6%) in English. Even though the overall results were rather high, the skill that was considered somewhat difficult was the productive skill of writing. 16.9 % of respondents reported that they have some difficulties writing in daily activities at university.

On a personal level, English is used outside the university to watch films, listen to music, and read (table 25). 32.4% of respondents stated that they use less English in their spare time, while 26.8% self-reported using more English in their spare time. Only 15.5% of the meso-level administrative staff stated that they use all English in their spare time compared to when at the university.

	Frequency	Percent
Less English in spare time	23	32.4
More English in spare time	19	26.8
About the same	16	22.5
All English in spare time	11	15.5
No English in spare time	2	2.8
Total	71	100.0

Table 25. English is spare time compared to when at university.

Outside the university, most of the meso-level administrative staff reported that they could understand spoken English (76.1%), speak (74.6%), write (76.1%), and read (84.5%) for general purposes with no difficulty. However, 5.6% of meso-level administrative staff stated that they could understand spoken English with some difficulty, and 2.8 % could not do so. In addition, some respondents (4.2 %) also

reported that they could speak English for general purposes outside the university context with a lot of difficulties.

**5.5.1.6.2 Students' Communication (Digital Communication, Media, and Entertainment)**

Students' survey results showed that there is a strong preference for Uzbek, Russian, and a combination of both when it comes to student-student interaction outside the class. To illustrate, Uzbek was reported to be the language of choice of 32.5%. 20.3% of students gave preference to both Uzbek and Russian, and 17.3% used Russian on their own. Only 4.7% of students used English to communicate with each other outside of class. In contrast, English was the main language of communication with the teachers outside of class. 44.7% of students stated they use only English when communicating with the teachers outside class, but some also used Uzbek (20.4%) and Russian (9.7%).

42.6% reported that they are exposed to more English outside the university, during students' spare time, than when at the university (table 26). 20.2% stated that the proportion is about the same, 19.5% use only English in their spare time, and 15.8% use less English in their spare time compared to when at the university. Only 1.8% reported no use of English.

More English in spare time	818	42.6
About the same	388	20.2
All English in spare time	375	19.5
Less English in spare time	304	15.8
No English in spare time	35	1.8
Total	1920	100.0

Table 26. English in spare time compared to when at university.

Outside the university, the use of English for general purposes was rated rather high in all four skills. Students reported that they have no difficulty understanding spoken English (66.4%), speaking (57.7%), writing (64.3%), and reading (70.5%) in English. Some had a lot of difficulty understanding (1.5%), speaking (2%), writing (1.3%), and reading (1%).

During the interviews, students mostly stated that they use English to listen to music, watch movies and videos on YouTube, talk to friends, and chat on social media platforms. Some students do not use English anywhere but at the university.

**S\_IU1:** *I watch movies and listen to English music and read books and articles, but it is never communication.*

**S\_IU1:** *Yes, with friends, tourists. I do not watch a movie in Russian or Uzbek; I do not read a book in Russian or Uzbek; even movies and podcasts are all in English.*

**S\_SU4:** *I have to use it at work. I work for the international company.*

**S\_SU12:** *Sometimes online for chatting, we watch movies, we speak to the group mates.*

**S\_SU12:** *Most of us still take classes in English, with tutors or online courses. We watch videos in English on YouTube; we have individual reasons for that.*

**S\_IU11:** *I forgot when the last time was; I read something in my native language, Uzbek.*

### **5.5.1.6.3 Teachers' Communication (Professional Development, Additional Job, and International Communication)**

27.5% of teachers use Uzbek, 25.4% English, 16.4% a mix of Uzbek and Russian, and 12.9% Uzbek, Russian, and English with students outside class. With other teachers outside class, they use mostly Uzbek (31.4%), a mix of Uzbek and Russian (18.5%), and a mix of Uzbek, Russian and English (13.9%).

In their spare time, teachers also actively use English (table 27). To illustrate, 36.6% of them stated that they use more English compared to when they are at the university or about the same, 16%. However, teachers also reported that they use less English (27.5%) or no English (4.2%).

	Frequency	Percent
More English in spare time	105	36.6
Less English in spare time	79	27.5

About the same	46	16.0
All English in spare time	45	15.7
No English in spare time	12	4.2
Total	287	100.0

Table 27. English is spare time compared to when at university.

Evaluating their four skills, 73.9% of teachers reported that they experience no difficulty understanding spoken English, speaking (64.8%), writing (67.6%), and reading (73.2%) for general purposes. According to the survey data, 12.6% of teachers have difficulties understanding spoken English. Similar results were reported regarding speaking. 12.2% stated that they could speak, 3.8% indicated that they could do so “with a lot of difficulties”, and 1% answered “unable”. The writing was the most difficult skill for the teachers. The results showed that 12.5% of teachers could do it “with some difficulty”, 3.5% “with a lot of difficulties”, and 1.7% were “unable”. As for reading for general purposes, 8.7% reported some difficulty, and an equal number of 2.1% were given the answers “with a lot of difficulties” and “unable”.

The teachers’ reasons for the use of English outside of the university differed from the ones by students. Even though the interviewed teachers also stated that they use English to watch movies and listen to music, for the majority, the reason was a second job, professional development, and communication with foreigners.

**T\_IU3:** *I am using English, but only in writing. I have a course in Australia where I have some students, but we communicate only in English.*

**T\_SU12:** *I am trying to speak, but it does not really happen. I watch movies, listen to music and read books. Sometimes I receive foreigners in my other job, and I can practice English at work.*

**T\_SU9:** *Apart from the second job I have, I speak English in my third and fourth job. I do media audit for the company, and we interact in English. My wife is also an English teacher. Sometimes we have to code.*

**T\_IU14:** *I am a part of different language reform projects, so yes, I do talk, and I do speak in English with colleagues and partners; I have Zoom meetings in English, I have trainings in English, so I use a lot of English apart from my classes.*

To summarise, there is no clear pattern of English use outside the university premises or classroom for the study participants, but what is clear is that there are numerous purposes for English to be used. English may be well-referred to as the language of leisure, professional development, and simply a habitual act of communication. Its use spreads way beyond education, which may eventually result in its popularity and perceived importance.

### 5.5.2 Meso-level Roles

With the pace of EME development in Uzbekistan, it is highly anticipated that English will occupy more niche functions. Drawing an analogy with the linguistic ecology, these niche functions will depend on the conditions within the ecosystem of EMEMUS. It is apparent that the ecosystem is auspiciously favourable, and the attitudes towards English are mostly positive. The main meso-level roles identified in the study are provided below (image 4).

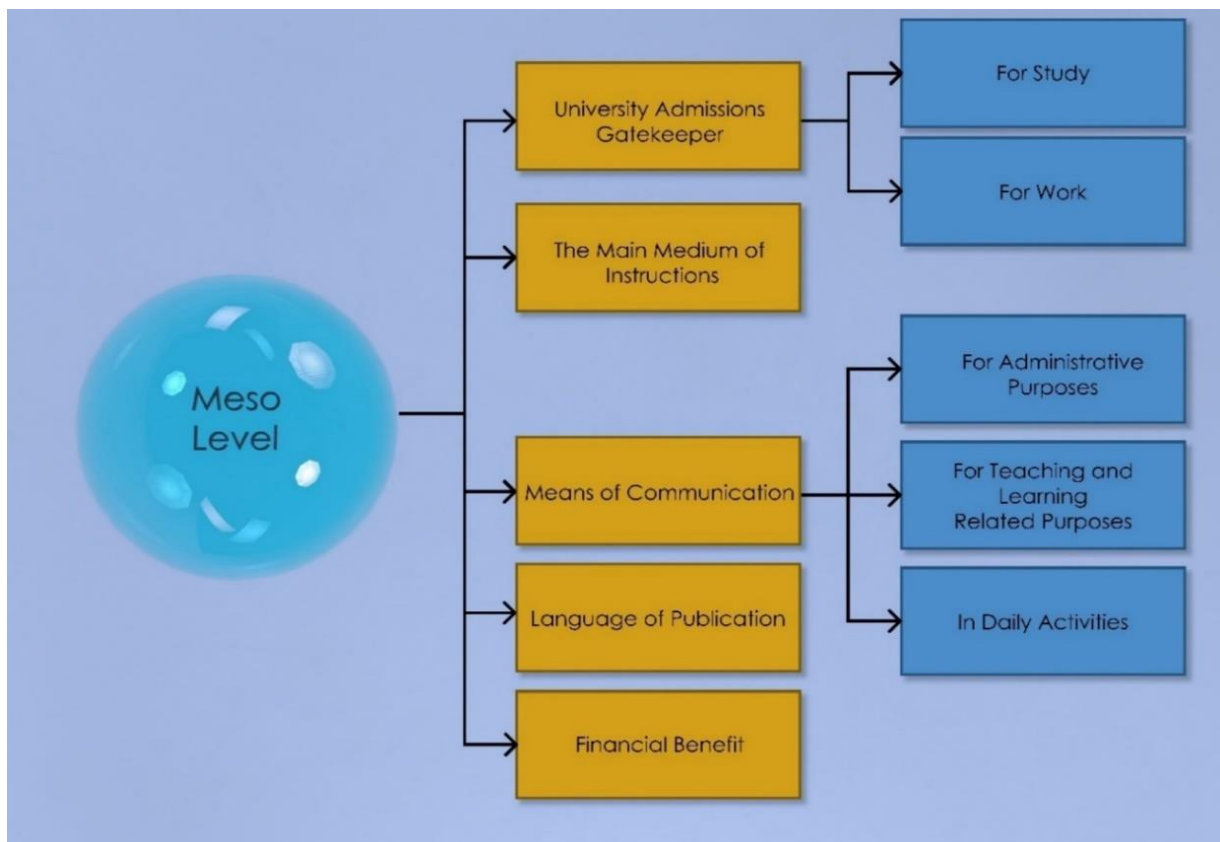


Image 4. Meso-level Roles of English.



### ***5.5.2.1 Role 7: University Admission Gatekeeper***

The first role of English is a gatekeeper in the admissions. Not only the international universities but the whole country has recognised validated international proficiency tests (e.g., IELTS, TOEFL) as a substitute for the English language component in the state exams since 2019. International universities have had the practice of accepting the proficiency scores of students as a substitute for their internal English exam for a while now. It is important to note that proficiency tests are sometimes required from the teachers and administrators who aim to work at EME. Therefore, the tests are extremely popular in Uzbekistan.

Students take a test to become students; teachers to be employed. To illustrate, as well as the meso-level administrative staff members, 65.3% of students also took international tests in English. Of the rest of the students, 34.7% did not take any international proficiency tests. One of the reasons may be the pandemic. Teachers' survey results show almost equal numbers when it comes to international proficiency tests such as TOEFL or IELTS. 55.1% of teachers reported that they took any of those tests, while 44.9% stated that they did not do so. The main reason may be that many teachers in EME have previous study or work backgrounds abroad, and their diplomas and certificates may waive the proficiency tests. A similar practice exists for students who did their GCSE A levels at international schools.

The usual requirement for undergraduate bachelor's degrees at international universities is an IELTS of 5.5 to 6.0 overall score. To compare, the teachers at the state universities are also sometimes required to have a minimum of 5.5 or 6.0 in IELTS, but this is not a consistent practice. There is no English proficiency requirement for teachers at the international HEIs since most of them have either a foreign degree or experience teaching abroad, which seem to be prioritised over language proficiency.

The interview data also highlights the importance of tests for studies locally and abroad. Students and teachers at both state and international HEIs recognise the need to have high IELTS scores stating that "IELTS certificate is playing a crucial role" and "international universities require IELTS and other certificates".

**S\_SU4:** *We also have exchange programmes, and IELTS certificate is playing a big role. When we are going to another university, which is located in other country, you can enter it only if you know English.*

**S\_SU6:** *To the education, to most applicants as today most of the international universities require IELTS and other certificates. So, students mostly learn English to be enrolled to the university.*

**T\_IU8:** *Well, I think every university has English as a requirement. I think whatever university they go to, English is expected. It is an exam that they have to take. Even in local universities, they take IELTS as a substitute for the state exam.*

This role's main practical challenge is connected with the fact that many students' English language learning finishes as soon as they get their certificates and enter university. Students do not understand that after they enter HEI with EMI, their language studies become even harder because they need to get used to discipline-specific vocabulary, more advanced academic language, and disciplinary literacies. But students are often not the ones to blame for that. What also became apparent in this study is that teachers themselves do not pay much attention to these issues and regard English as a medium of teaching that will naturally develop and evolve. A lack of understanding of what EME truly entails in regard to the English component causes many to take English development for granted. Teachers blame students for their poor language skills, and students, in return, do the same to the teachers.

#### **5.5.2.2 Role 8: The Main Medium of Instruction**

English's most obvious role at the meso-level is the medium of instruction. The study participants reported a very strong preference for English in a formal classroom setting, where English, even though not solely, serves this main role. Considering the complex linguistic ecology of the study context, languages other than English also function as mediums of instruction in Uzbek HEIs, making them real multilingual settings. Therefore, the name of this role includes “the main” before the “medium of instruction” to reflect the nature of EMEMUS. More details about the interplay of different languages,

code-switching during the class, and translanguaging will be provided in the following sections.

To illustrate, during class with the teachers, 65.6% of students reported using only English, which shows that EMI is far from sufficient, and there is a place for other languages as well. Uzbek was reported to be used by 7.6% of students and Russian by 5.7% of students. A combination of three languages was reported by 7.1% of respondents.

When comparing data from the international and state universities inside the class, English use prevails in both contexts, but there is a great difference in numbers. English has a very strong role as the language of communication with teachers during classes in 92.5% of international universities, while at state universities, it is used by 37% of respondents. During a class with students, English also leads in both contexts, with 56.4% responses from international universities and 25.6% from state HEIs. These numbers show that international universities, even though they do not have explicit language policies, use more English than state HEIs.

Communication with other students during class follows a similar pattern, but the results for the “only the English” category were much lower (38%). The results for Uzbek and Russian languages were, on the contrary, higher (i.e., Uzbek (15.9%) and Russian (9.2%)). The combination of three languages, Uzbek, Russian and English, was reported by 11.6% of students.

53,7% of teachers also use only English during class with students. In addition, 53% use English during class with other teachers. Uzbek is the second most popular choice in both situations as well. During a class with students, it is reported to be used by 12.9% of teachers, while it is used with other teachers during the class by 14.3%. Teachers also mix three languages during the class with students. They reported the use of Uzbek, Russian and English in 11.5% of responses.

A very strong preference for English is also observed in the communication of 57.7% of meso-level administrative staff with teachers and 54.9% of students during the class. The meso-level administrative staff to education managers may visit classes to make important announcements, collect students’ feedback, and deal with cases of academic misconduct.

### ***5.5.2.3 Role 9: Means of Communication***

#### **5.5.2.3.1 For Administrative Purposes**

The sixth role of English discussed above mainly looked at the use of English outside academia on a macro-level, but English is also widely used in academia, not only in class but also outside the class, for various administrative and managerial reasons and formal processes at the university. To begin with, international universities that are affiliated with foreign universities have their official documents in English. Usually, all official decrees are disseminated in written form to have records and be referred to. The decrees are first published in Uzbek and later translated into Russian. These include policies, development programmes, official reports, assessments, teaching materials, etc. Most of the written communication via emails or oral communication during formal meetings and training sessions is carried out in English as well. Nominally, at state universities, the main formal language of administration is Uzbek. However, Russian and English also play their role in administrative events.

The survey results show that the reported level of English proficiency completely meets the needs of 67.6% meso-level administrative staff members. 29.6% of respondents stated that their level meets their needs at the university only to some extent. Among the administration, English is preferred as a language of communication during office hours by 32.4% (in the case of meso-level administrative staff, office hours may have been interpreted as open-door meeting slots), to write emails (67.6%), during formal meetings (54.9%), and extracurricular activities (47.9%).

Students' survey results, on the contrary, show that the Uzbek language is considered the main language of communication with the meso-level administrative staff. 26.8% of students use Uzbek, and 23.3% English. However, English is preferred over other languages during formal meetings and extra-curricular training sessions. During formal meetings, English is used by 47.7% of students, while during extra-curricular training sessions, it is used by 41.8%. Uzbek is the second language of choice during formal meetings (15.3%) and sessions (15.2%). The combination of the three languages follows with 9.9% and 10.9% in each respective situation.

With meso-level administrative staff and during formal meetings, teachers mostly use Uzbek. When it comes to communication with meso-level administrative staff, the

Uzbek language is used by 41.1%, a mix of Uzbek and Russian is reported by 19.5%, and the use of sole Russian by 12.9% of teachers. Even though Uzbek remains the most widely used language during formal meetings (26.1%), English also takes a close lead (25.1%). A mix of Russian and Uzbek is reported during the formal meetings by 14.3% of teachers.

#### **5.5.2.3.2 For Teaching and Learning Purposes**

Teaching and learning-related purposes in this section include communication during office hours and emails. English has been chosen by the majority of students (41.5%) as a language of office hours with the teachers. However, the numbers for the use of Uzbek and Russian are also rather high (i.e., Uzbek (22%) and Russian (11.3%)). It was also surprising to see that 3.1% of students marked the answer “not applicable” as either not having or not attending office hours at the university. During office hours, teachers claim to use English in the majority of cases (31.4%). However, the numbers for the use of Uzbek are relatively high (26.5%), as well as the numbers for the use of Uzbek and Russian together (14.3%). Three languages, Uzbek, Russian and English, are reported to be used during office hours by 10.8% of teachers.

In another more formal means of communication at the university level, email writing, English was also in a leading position in both contexts. At the international universities, it scored as high as 90%, and at the state ones, 27.5%, which shows a great difference. It is important to note that at the state universities, Uzbek (19.1%) and Russian (13%) are also reported to be widely used as languages for emails. These numbers yet again show that English has a much stronger position at international than at the state HEIs. However, in more confidential contexts outside the classroom (i.e., during office hours, in common areas of the university, during communication with meso-level administrative staff, during formal meetings and extra-curricular activities), English is at the leading positions only at international universities. In all these contexts at the state universities, the leading language is Uzbek.

### **5.5.3.2.3 In Daily Activities**

In their daily tasks at work, 75.6% of teachers experience no difficulty understanding English; they can easily speak English (69%), write (64.8%), and read (70%) in their daily activities at university. Even though it is a positive response for EMI teachers, the numbers are still not very high. 2.4% of teachers have also reported that they experience “a lot of difficulties” with understanding, speaking (4.9%), writing (5.2%), and reading (3.1%). A few teachers reported that they are “unable” to use these skills in their daily activities. To illustrate, 1.4% were unable to understand, 1% to speak, 1.4% to write, and 0.7% to read in English. Even though the numbers are not very high, it shows some teachers struggle with English. It may also show that they are too self-critical to themselves since they managed to respond to the questionnaire. 60.3% of teachers also reported that their level of proficiency completely meets their needs at the university, while 32.4% of them stated that it only meets their needs to some extent. 2.8% of teachers answered that their proficiency level does not meet their needs. The rest of the responses (4.5%) were given a “not sure” option.

Survey results show that in the daily activities at the university, 70.8% of students can understand English with no difficulty, speak (52.4%), write (56.8%), and read in English (63.1%). Only a very small number of students reported that they are “unable” to understand English (0.4%), speak (0.8%), write (0.6%), and read (0.6%). The responses for the option “with a lot of difficulties” were also not very statistically significant, but they were still present. To illustrate, 0.9% of students reported that they had a lot of difficulties understanding English, speaking (2%), writing (1.8%), and reading (1.7%) in English in their daily activities at university. Even though most 52.1% of students think that their level of proficiency completely meets their needs at the university, some reported that it meets it “to some extent” (39.7%), and their English proficiency does not meet their needs (4.7%).

In common areas, students speak English less frequently than Uzbek. Uzbek is reported to be used by 24.7% of students, while English is used by 19.3%. Russian language use is reported by 15.7% of students. The use of three languages, Uzbek, Russian and English, as well as the use of Uzbek and Russian, also have a representative number, 12.5% and 12.4%, respectively. 31.7% of university teachers reported the use of Uzbek, and 18.1% a mix of Uzbek and Russian, in common areas at the university.

English is reported to be used by 15.7% of teachers. Meso-level administrative staff uses Russian and a combination of three languages (i.e., English, Uzbek and Russian) in common areas of the university and during communication with the other meso-level administrative staff. In common areas of the university, Russian (21.1%) is used almost equally with the combination of three languages (19.7%). English is used in 16.9% of responses. With the meso-level administrative staff, Russian prevails with 23.9% of responses, followed by 21.1% of the use of three languages.

#### **5.5.2.4 Role 10: Language of Publication**

On the meso-level, English is also a “language of publications”. Institutions usually reward this practice. However, the publications are often imposed on administrators and teachers with no due support. Some HEI administrators (heads of departments and deans) and teachers are very optimistic about the fact that they need to get published, while others are very critical. During the interviews, the teachers mostly raised their concerns about not being rewarded for publications in English and not having enough language and research skills to do so at the appropriate level. Similar concerns were raised by a different cohort of teachers in the Impact Evaluation of the British Council Uzbekistan EMI Project (Bezborodova and Linn, 2022). Having an article published may be very costly, time-consuming, and overall frustrating. Many teachers admit that due to a lack of English skills and skills in doing research, they tend to translate their articles into English from their native language. For these reasons, some teachers are also reluctant to publish in English and give preference to Russian.

Meso-level administrators have different perspectives on publications at their universities. The state university administrative staff mainly discuss the perks that those who publish get, while the ones at the international HEIs, stress the importance of quality publications opposing those to the situation at the state HEIs.

*A\_SU3: We have the requirement that we should publish. Well, it is not just a requirement, but at the same time, it is good for us too now. We have to somehow publish our scientific research works both in local and international scientific journal. We are rewarded if we publish our scientific work in SCOPUS journals; we*

*will be given like 20% of a salary as a reward.*

**A\_IU8:** *As I said, we are at the very beginning stage, and we did not yet formulate any specific and very clear to the staff members. We decided that the first year we will focus on the student experience because that was number one priority for us. And we did not push teachers to start working on research and nag them with all these things. We have to be cautious because we know how this is outside. Even during the hiring process, some of the teachers were asking about it. The candidates who were coming from the local universities asked what the requirements are, how many articles I will have to publish. Some of them were fixated on the fixed number, but at this point, we do not have the research structure. Many colleagues are publishing anyway, so I do not think we will need to push anyone. We have already celebrated some of the publications that the colleagues have made. All the publications that have already been made were all in English.*

Teachers at international universities have more freedom and not as much pressure from the administration to get published as teachers at state universities. They stated that publications are a way “to advance” themselves because, in academia, they are also researchers. Many teachers have previous study or work experience abroad, so publishing in English is something natural. Those from foreign countries stated that they publish in their native languages because they “can be more articulate, and I can better develop thought”. However, the local teachers at the state HEIs, who “have to” publish but “struggle” to do so, are probably the ones who would require a lot more support to get published.

**T\_IU11:** *Yes, they have sort of the requirement. You have to publish 1 or 2 papers in English, and it should be at Scopus. I manage to do that. Each year I publish at least two papers. I try to write only in English because it gives me more points, more opportunities.*

**T\_IU14:** *I do it under my own will; there is no requirement on me. I do this because it is my willing, and this is something new, and I would like to require a new skill.*

**T\_IU5:** *Because I lived in English-speaking countries, I do not even know what the use for me to publish not in English.*



However, even at international HEIs, some teachers are under a lot of pressure because of the requirement to publish in English.

**T\_IU11:** *We have special individual plan, where it is written that we have to publish papers in English. The journal should be Scopus; now, it is everywhere in Uzbekistan. This is very difficult, and I am a little scared because their English should be perfect. I have too many requirements. It is too hard and difficult for me, but I try to publish. I am not supported; we only have additional financial reward for publication. I wish there would be a department where someone could check my article before I get to publish it.*

At the state universities, not all teachers are as hopeful and optimistic about publishing in English. They face very harsh requirements under pressure from the administration. They spend their own money and sometimes do not get any reward or compensation for their spending. Some teachers question the quality of their own research, understanding the time constraints they have to work in. The quality of research is secondary to the output being in English. The required number of articles is another issue because they sometimes reach four or even five per academic year. However, the number varies from institution to institution. For example, one of the teachers states that “there is a requirement of minimum four - five articles”, while another one states that they have “to publish two local and two international or VAK articles”. Overall, there are many complaints regarding the required publications.

**T\_SU13:** *All articles we publish are in English. But we do not get any payment for it. We pay for it ourselves. And it takes time to publish.*

**T\_SU13:** *It is a requirement of the department and the university to publish in English. They make you publish in English, and then you spend your own money and then you are never rewarded.*

**T\_SU4:** *I have publication in the Web of Science. It is an obligation. I think writing the article is not difficult, but it depends on the period of researching. If you want to publish your work in a very short period, it can influence into the quality of your research work. As you know to publish a scientific article it will be very difficult and takes more time. It requires financial means too.*

**T\_SU7:** *Yes, we have a requirement to do this in English because we are teachers in English. We have to publish in Scopus, and it is quite difficult in Uzbekistan, and it is quite expensive. It takes much time. Not always the journals are reliable, and then they are excluded from the list. The publication costs money; you have to pay \$500 to publish. For the local journals, it is \$150. In Scopus, each page is quite expensive.*

**T\_SU7:** *We count the number of articles at the end of the semester, and that department just gives us some bonus. The university does not really do much training; I would be happy if there was training.*

**T\_SU6:** *We are asked to publish at Scopus, which requires much time. We have 100% rating, and we need to meet this. We have categorisation for publications at local, international articles.*

**T\_SU10:** *For those who studied abroad, it is not a problem, but for us, it is a problem because we think in Uzbek, and then Russian, and then English.*

Several teachers at the state HEIs admitted that they might be fired if they do not fulfil the requirement of the university to get published.

**T\_SU4:** *Yes. It is a requirement, but we also want to publish. We are here to research. Not just to teach. If we do not get published, we may be fired.*

**T\_SU6:** *If we do not publish, we may be fired.*

Other teachers are more neutral towards the requirement to publish. Many have published articles in English because they “are encouraged to publish by the university, and we [they] are rewarded for that” or “stimulated to publish in Scopus to receive extra money”. The main reason for that is that the administration is not as demanding, and they have received a financial reward for their publications before.

**T\_SU4:** *There is a gradation for the type of publication. I do not want a publication just to meet the requirement of the administration. Because we have a requirement to expand our labour agreement, it is required to have at least one publication in Scopus journal. After publication, we are promised to get money.*

**T\_SU9:** *Yes, I published my scientific works in English, but I have not published yet in*

*Scopus or Web of Science, but we try to do it, and it will be possible; of course, we will do it.*

**T\_SU10:** *Last year, I published a book in English. And this year, it was translated in Uzbek. Publishing articles is a privilege, not compulsory. It should be the intention of a researcher.*

During the post-observation interviews and informal conversations with the teachers, it became apparent that a few teachers who admitted having a low English proficiency turned out to be well-cited researchers in Uzbekistan in their discipline. They have several publications in Scopus Journals. One of these teachers was a professor, but since the English level does not allow him/her to write in academic English freely, the articles are written in Russian or Uzbek and then translated into English using paid translating services to get published. At a few state universities, teachers have admitted to paying from \$100 to \$700 to get published in Scopus Journals, which for most teachers at state universities is a month's salary. To economise and lower the cost, they often co-author.

**T\_SU12:** *Well, my articles are being translated a lot, and I publish in Scopus. This year I had five publications. I write in Russian, and then it is translated because the language is difficult. The meaning should be kept. I have to pay for this myself. There is a translation service that helps to translate technical and medical articles. The university does not pay for this. I do not get many bonuses, only moral satisfaction for doing it. Sometimes I have additional payment from the university for the article publication.*

Some teachers only use Grammarly to check their English. Some also use Google or Yandex Translate to translate their articles.

**T\_SU9:** *Yes, it is preferable to write research in Russian. It is not easier, I can write in English, but I will need to think about my vocabulary, and after writing, I will check my article, I will check with Grammarly.*

**T\_IU11:** *As you know, first of all, before I start to publish all journals, check my English. Grammar in English is difficult. I use Yandex translate or Google translate.*

Being published in predatory journals, journals that publish articles for money, not offering any peer-review or editing, just for the sake of meeting the university requirements to keep their job positions, not having enough support both in research and English, and not being able to resist the existing bureaucratic system, many teachers, especially at the state universities, are trapped in a vicious circle of publishing bad quality research in bad English under a lot of pressure from the administration. This identified role of English is one of the most problematic in EMEMUS, and it, therefore, will be addressed in the recommendation section of this study.

#### **5.5.2.5 Role 11: Financial Benefit**

Teachers' good English is an opportunity to receive a financial reward. However, this only applies to the state universities where the teachers have to show proof of their language proficiency by showing the IELTS, TOEFL, APTIS, or CEFR certificate. For instance, APTIS for teachers is offered through the state testing centre, which previously offered only CEFR.

*A4: Today APTIS for teachers, is what British Council is offering quite widely, is also considered, it is also approved to be the evidence of the language skills. There are a lot of people who want to take APTIS test because the result of the test will influence the salary. The State testing Centre still runs the test for teachers. The last one was CEFR test, but I know that APTIS for teachers is becoming very popular among teachers not only in higher education but in public one as well.*

Depending on the university and the rules set by its administration, the data also suggests that the teachers who teach subjects in English may or may not be rewarded.

*A3: Teachers who have a good command of English, who teach Law in English, for example, they are rewarded from 20 to 30% of their salary, but for language teachers, it is mandatory to have IELTS at least seven, and they can also have 15% bonus to our salary if they take CERF test.*

Teachers at international universities receive their salary based on either their experience or the position that they have at the university. They state that they are

“paid on the same level” and “salary is the same, but if you compare with the local university, the salary is much higher”.

**T\_IU2:** *One of the rewards is the computer that I was given to effectively teach. I can easily do my teaching, and during the quarantine time, I was provided with this computer. I taught online, and if my students cannot participate, they can participate online.*

**T\_IU14:** *Well, there is such a notion “local market” and standards. There is a glass ceiling, in a way. They all know what the potential reward level is. There is a local market expectation, new commers as well as those who are here for a few years and have been teaching they know, and they try to be on the same level with others. They try to keep their staff loyal and satisfy them with the financial reward. The local market dictates the rules.*

At the state universities, the situation is different, and the university dictates the rules on the amount of payment. Moreover, the teachers have to retake exams to show proof of their English level, pay their own money for the exams, and still not be guaranteed that the reward will be permanent. It is also evident that the way the teachers are financially rewarded is not transparent. Similar concerns about the lack of transparency on the amount of financial reward for teaching through EMI were raised by Uzbek EMI teachers from 18 state HEIs in a study by Bezborodova and Linn (2022).

**T\_SU13:** *We are rewarded once in one semester. We get an extra salary.*

**T\_SU4:** *Yes, we are being rewarded now for teaching in English, but it may change any moment.*

**T\_SU7:** *Yes, maybe. The teachers who teach content, they get bonus for teaching in English, and the teachers of English get bonus for mastering of English. We take CEFR and IELTS, and we get 50%, and it is a combination of B2 and C1. IELTS7+.*

Some teachers at the state universities, on the contrary, stated that they are not rewarded for teaching in English, they would appreciate it. Meanwhile, they are happy with the recognition from the university authorities stating, for example, that “whenever the rector talks about the progress, he always mentions our department”.

Teachers know and admit that they need to be paid, but they “do not have extra something for the fact that I [they] am teaching in English”, and they “did not receive any reward”.

**T\_SU6:** *We do not have any financial reward. We also get additional 15% bonus for CEFR C1 certificate, it is given for three years. But we pay our own money to take the test. They also accept APTIS and IELTS, but these are only for two years. We also have to do the two months online training every three years. There is also a test at the end.*

**T\_SU4:** *It is hot dispute matter in our university. In all departments. We have to be rewarded. Reward is motivation. Until now, from being admitted to the university, I did not get anything.*

**T\_SU4:** *Of course, we would want to have better salary. I think we need to improve our financial bonus system because two years ago, IELTS or maybe some foreign language certificate had a special role in this university, but nowadays, you need to get the certificate, and you need to have English group. If you get just the certificate, it is not bringing profit.*

The main practical challenge that teachers in EME have is their actual inferiority to the international staff in terms of salary and position. The salaries at state universities are rather low, and they are twice or sometimes three times lower than the salaries at international HEIs. In return, the salaries for local teachers in international HEIs are also lower than the ones offered to international staff members. In both settings, local teachers are inferior not because their English level is lower or their educational background is insufficient but because they are treated unequally to the international staff member who sometimes may only have a foreign passport and an unusual name. This issue finds its further development in the internationalisation and glocalisation dimension, where it will be discussed in more detail. The fact that EME both indexes and precipitates inequality is an important point to consider when making policy recommendations.

### 5.5.3 Micro-Level Roles

There are three main micro-level Roles that English plays in Uzbek HEIs: Language of teaching, Language of Learning, and Language of Materials (image 5). Since Uzbek HEIs are truly multilingual, the first two roles are inevitably characterised by code-switching, parallel language use, and translanguaging.

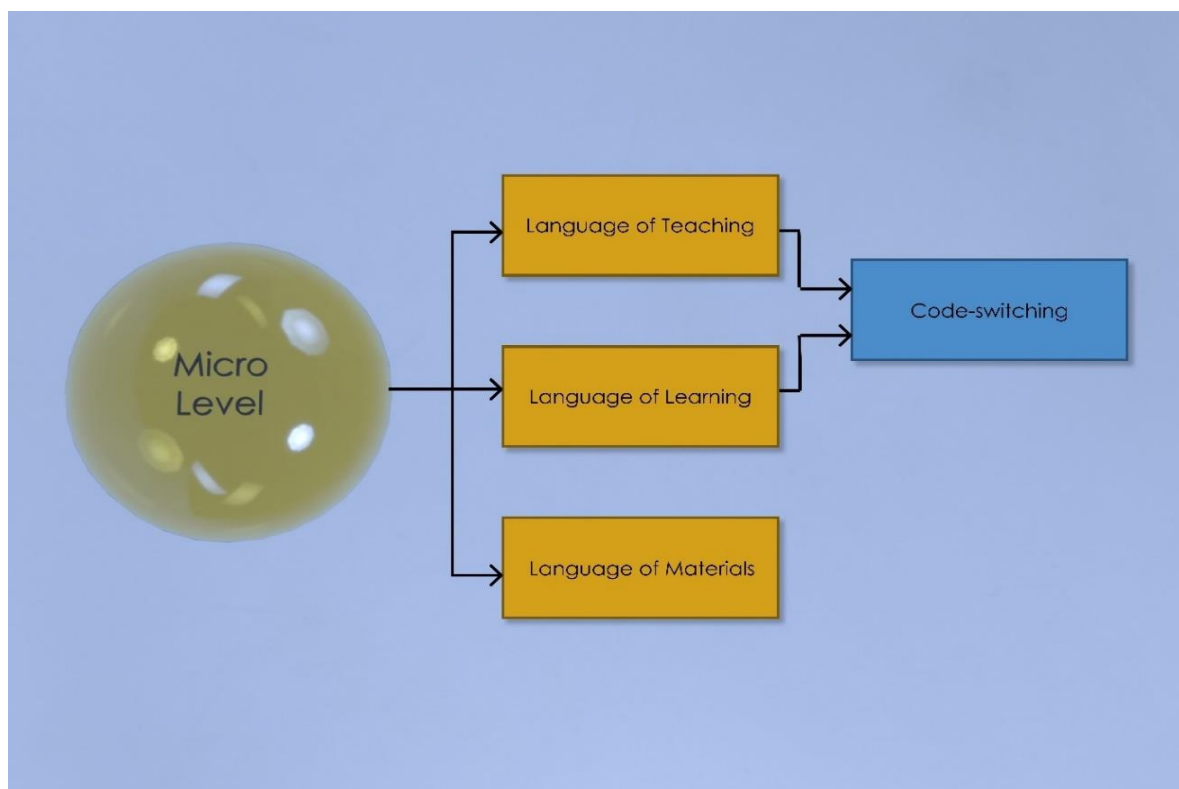


Image 5: Micro-level Roles of English.

#### 5.5.3.1 Role 12: Language of Teaching

English is de jure and de facto the main language of teaching in EME, but it is not that straightforward in Uzbek HEIs. The interplay of three languages was observed in all participating universities in different shapes and forms. In this section, however, the role of code-switching will not be discussed in detail because the discussion of it will follow in the “communicative level roles” part.

The survey results show that 54% of teachers were mostly confident in discussing their academic subjects in both English and their native language. For 24% of teachers,

it was easier to discuss their subjects in English compared to their native language, and only for 20.2%, it was the opposite. The findings provided in the “Agents” dimension also show that if teachers were offered additional professional support, 57.1% of them would be “very likely” and 25.8% “somewhat likely” to sign up for it. Usually, the teachers do not get any additional financial benefit from taking part in professional development courses but rather treat them as an additional opportunity to develop their skills.

The interview results also showed that even though most teachers report that they have enough English for professional needs, most of them feel the necessity to improve their English because, for example, they state that “I never feel I am good; I am enough or something”, “It is not enough, it is not the mother tongue”, and “we still learn it”. Some teachers try to work on their English and improve it, but some honestly admit that they have no time for this.

**T\_IU1:** *I want to develop myself and develop my English. I watch movies in English, but I do not have time for more.*

**T\_SU9:** *I think that I should improve my English because in the future I may need more English. I should learn new words, or I should read more books. I read professional books on finance, but I do not read books to improve my grammar. So, maybe in the future, I will need to repeat my grammar books.*

**T\_SU9:** *For my professional needs, I think I still have to do some more. I need to work on myself a bit more. When it comes to the explanation of the subject, it may be difficult for me to find the perfect word that will suit the situation. If I compare myself with myself two years ago, I think I gained more skills and experience of teaching in English.*

**T\_SU12:** *Sometimes I feel I lack English, but the work in the institute does not allow me to improve my English.*

However, classroom observations showed that a good English proficiency level and confidence in discussing academic subjects do not guarantee that the teacher is well-prepared to teach in an EMI classroom. The limited knowledge of inclusive pedagogy (by the teachers in EMI classes) often leads to limited English language



production by students, who do not have an opportunity to develop/improve their language proficiency. Moreover, poor English language skills of some teachers, accompanied by a lack of pedagogical skills, result in teachers using their power or vice versa being disrespected by students.

One of the striking findings was that teachers are working under a lot of pressure because they are responsible for effective lesson delivery and their language skills. They are either blamed for their poor language skills by students or by the administration.

***A1:** My personal belief is that everything starts with the teacher, not with the materials, not in the equipment; everything is in the teachers' hands. Teacher can organise the process; the teacher can motivate and encourage, teach them and everything. When we have these teachers with low level of English, not motivated, who are just surviving, then everything goes down.*

The interview results show that at international universities, the majority of teachers would have foreign degrees and experience abroad. Local teachers who studied at international universities or abroad can hardly imagine working at a state university where they would need to use Uzbek or Russian because they would not be able to explain their subjects in any language but English, which shows that career mobility in HE is also affected by EMI. This particular finding may downgrade the importance of other languages, such as Uzbek and Russian, which may result in domain loss causing certain ambiguity about whether languages other than English should be supported as languages of research, teaching, and learning activities in education.

***T\_IU14:** In Uzbek, I delivered training couple of times. It is not easy to deliver training in Uzbek because of the vocabulary, terminology, and meta-language. Because you do not always use them in your native language, it is really hard, but maybe I can do it, but with difficulty. There would be a lot of problems with terminology.*

By contrast, class observations at some state universities showed that teachers only use English materials while the explanation is given in Uzbek or Russian. These teachers were mostly reading the PPT slides in English and explained the content in Uzbek. Even after the class observation, these few teachers wanted to have the discussion in their native language because they were “ashamed of their English”.

**T\_SU10:** *Sometimes I have difficulties to explain myself, and it depends on the topic. I think we, first of all, should be best professionals, and speaking good English is optional.*

However, teachers' lack of proficiency is not always the reason. Sometimes students' poor English skills make teachers switch to Uzbek or Russian to make sure that students understand the content. When analysing the responses of the teachers at the international universities and looking at the survey data, English seems to be a universal language of instruction and communication. However, the situation at the state HEIs is very different. Some EMI teachers at the state universities state that it would be better to use only students' native language to explain the content matters, while others intentionally or at the request of the students do not teach in English. In some cases, the title "English group" is only nominal, and students do not even use English language materials. The position of the EMI teachers at the state universities also clearly shows that they evaluate the content knowledge they give to their students much higher than the medium of instruction.

The quote below is quite long, but it is critical to the study since it clearly shows that being very resistant to the meso- and macro-level administrative order to teach the subject in English, the state university teacher wants to ensure that the students understand the content. It also shows a lack of awareness from the university administration on the issues that both teachers and students experience in EMEMUS.

**T\_SU4:** *English groups want me speak Russian or Uzbek. I do not know about others; I am not sure about other classes and teachers. When I started talking with students, they said to me that they are special groups and subjects must be taught in English, but when I talked to them personally, I understood that most of them do not speak English. Most of them even do not speak Russian, even though they are called Russian groups. They asked me to teach in English; they said let's talk in English and let's consider everything in English because it will be very good for us because we are special groups and so on. But I realised that speaking in English or teaching in English is not the priority for me, and it must not be priority for students also. My top task is to give knowledge. If they do not understand me if they do not understand the concept, the idea, the content of the subject, why am I here and why are they here?*

*So, I told them, and they agreed that the main thing is to understand; I have to give feedback to them, they must know the answers to my questions, and they must research. So, when they ask me questions, I need to understand that they understood me. I am ready to talk about this with the administration because administration wants me to speak and to teach in English no matter if students understand or not because it is the requirement of the time; it is the requirement of administration. We must improve our ranking amongst the universities in Central Asia, Uzbekistan at least. So, there is the demand to teach in English. But I do not want to teach in English because not everyone understands it, majority do not speak in English, they do not even speak Russian. Now, as I see, almost after one month, everyone is happy because they understand the subject, know what we are talking about, they know what we need, they know what they are interested in, and that is the main thing.*

The language skills and confidence to teach in English also varies depending on the teaching experiences teachers have had. The less experience the teachers have, the more difficulties and stress they encounter.

**T\_SU4:** *For me, it is much difficult. , I am new teacher. Our professors did for us content, and we hold only seminars.*

**T\_IU1:** *I was really worried about teaching in English because we have a lot of foreign students here. I was nervous, but students support me because, for them, it is also the first year.*

**T\_SU6:** *I have just started working at HE. Before, conducting classes in English was difficult; students in HE is of different levels, and I am learning how to cope with unexpected situations.*

Teachers also use different techniques to help students with their English, tackle misunderstandings and motivate them to study. Some teachers are fine with students using simple words or translating; some do that themselves. Teachers also elicit and give examples in order not to switch to Uzbek or Russian. Many “do not really pay much attention to students’ language in classes”, but when it comes to assessment, language matters.

**T\_IU5:** *Sometimes they cannot express complicated things in English language; they try to express it in a simple language. In terms of English, I am happy with that because they mostly understand the concept.*

**T\_SU10:** *Most students struggle to understand the subjects. In this case, we need to use simple words.*

**T\_IU5:** *If I see that students do not know how to say something and they are struggling, I may help them in translating. Well, sometimes they are consciously may say it in either Uzbek or Russian. I try to, probably, scaffold or push them, but I do not usually correct their grammar mistakes and other language inaccuracies. But in assessment. If I see that they want to say something and it is not clear to me, I probably can write that the idea is not clear, and it probably refers to English in this way.*

**T\_IU5:** *I teach a lot of terminology that a native speaker might use wrong. So, I try to explain the concept but in English rather than giving them translation. Even concept that they know but so that they understand it fully. It is just a bit different, so I would ask them to explain, to give examples in English so their vocabulary improves, and they use academic terms every day. Grammar, no, I will not correct grammar unless they really make really mistakes that confuse the meaning. They do not use complicated grammar.*

This core role of English faces numerous practical challenges, such as a lack of student English proficiency, a lack of teachers' pedagogical experience to teach through EMI, and a lack of meso- and macro-level administrative staff's clear understanding of what EME entails. The fact that EMI is also only a nominal idea that is not followed in practice seriously questions the readiness of state universities for EME.

### **5.5.3.2 Role 13: Language of Learning**

Survey results showed that the ability of students to discuss academic subjects in both English and their native language was rated rather high by 55.4% of students. However, 21.9% of students reported that they are more confident using their native language to

do so, which was similar to the numbers for the option “discussing my academic subjects in English is much easier for me compared to native language” (21.8%). Despite overall high self-reported proficiency and ability to discuss their subject matter in English, during the interviews, most students stated that they need to improve their English, and it only meets the minimum requirement to study at the university. Students admit that they “should do more self-studies” and that their English “is not enough” and is “limited”. Even those students who state that they “meet the requirements” or have “IELTS 6,5” still feel the need to work on their language. Among the most common issues of concern were reported academic vocabulary and advanced grammar.

**S\_IU1:** *Sometimes, when I am not confident, it is difficult for me to articulate my ideas clearly. I need to learn more English words.*

**S\_SU12:** *No, we have to improve. We do not have practice every day, and we do not use English enough.*

**S\_IU11:** *When I speak during the seminars, I have to use more academic language, more advanced grammar, and I have to develop it.*

An interesting idea was voiced by several of the students at an international university, who claimed that their English proficiency got worse, and the language became more simplistic. Students are also demotivated to improve because of other students’ and teachers’ perceived poor English.

**S\_IU5:** *My English was better when I was just applying to the university because I was forced to write essays that I do not like. In the first year, I used many academic words; when my work was marked, I was told I had to simplify my language. I do understand the language, but others did not. We have a lot of papers, and teachers are not going to spend much time understanding some academic words, and I simplified.*

**S\_IU1:** *My English got worse. What helped me improve my English was studying really difficult academic books in English. It really enriched my vocabulary, but some students and teachers used so simple English, and it was discouraging.*

Many students at the state universities complained about poor teachers’ and students’ English, which demotivates them from studying. Poor English of others is

considered discouraging, unfavourable, and even detrimental. Students at state HEIs also “would like to be taught by the international teachers, but we [they] do not have any now” or “would like to have more materials to study without teachers”. While at state universities, teachers generally complain about teachers low proficiency or inability to teach in English, highlighting that “there should be classes for the teachers, they should also develop their English” at the international universities; the main concern was the accent of foreign teachers.

**S\_SU4:** *We have most subjects taught in Uzbek. Most of the subjects that should be taught in English are not conducted in English because most of the teachers do not know English.*

**S\_SU4:** *Yes, they are not qualified to teach in English. Sometimes the teachers teach in Uzbek and Russian.*

**S\_SU12:** *We only had three teachers who taught us in English; all other classes were using different languages.*

**S\_IU5:** *It depends; some teachers could not explain what they want. They cannot express themselves. They have knowledge, but they cannot explain it.*

**S\_IU5:** *Overall, the quality of teaching in English is quite low. It could be higher at the international university. We have many international professors, but they are from India. And their accent is difficult to understand. It impedes our understanding and demotivates us to study. We spend time understanding how they say, not focusing what it is. In one module last year, we did not understand anything. After 30 min in the lecture hall, students started leaving.*

**S\_IU5:** *I do not like when teachers talk in Russian or in Uzbek. Sometimes teachers switch languages. When teacher describes technical issues, but this is done when the teacher understands that students do not understand.*

At a few state universities, where “special English groups” are taught only a few subjects in English each semester, students do not see much value in EMI. They state that they are disappointed and demotivated to study disciplines in English.

**S\_SU12:** *English group gave me nothing. There is no English language improvement.*

*If the teachers are able to speak English and you have motivation to speak in English, but it was only during the second year.*

**S\_SU4:** *No, we are not happy to be called English group. We would like to have more classes in English. We do not have enough teachers who speak English. We also do not know English to the appropriate level.*

**S\_SU12:** *Now we have 2 or 3 classes In English over the years of study. Most of our studies are in Uzbek and in Russian.*

Reflecting on students' experience studying in EME, teachers show a lot of understanding about where students come from (i.e., schools and lyceums) and try to help students overcome difficulties in learning. The most common areas of concern include a lack of knowledge of terminology, poor writing skills, and a lack of critical thinking. Overall, teachers were not happy with the students' level of English proficiency and blamed the pandemic for the fact that many students were admitted to universities without IELTS certificates.

**T\_IU1:** *Some students, even when they write their essays, it is WOW, but very few, 2 or 3 students. Their essays are great. But bottom 30 % really struggle. They do not have enough vocabulary to express their thought; they just say, "What can I say?". They even look up the translator. There are quite many students who struggle with English. There should be an IELTS requirement, but we have now freshmen who, because of pandemic, did not have to submit IELTS, so there is quite big difference between the first and the second years.*

**T\_IU3:** *For most of them, it is fine, but maybe 20 % have problems, and most problems came from terminologies and the fact that they studies mathematics at schools in Russian or in Uzbek, so they could not get quickly what I am talking about. Maybe about 10 %, when they come to me after the class, they ask me to repeat some of the things in Russian; this happens, yes, but not so often.*

**T\_IU8:** *I think it would really vary on the subject. In our subject, I think I would expect students probably to have a bit more of English. But sometimes, I think it is not the language; it is just a lack of knowledge about certain things. Our subject is about generally global issues, we ask about things they cannot talk about, and we*

*connect it automatically with English. However, I feel that it is the lack of knowledge about things that are happening around the world and simply cannot say much because they do not really know about it. Unfortunately, we do not really teach any of these things at schools. It can be language limitations and lack of knowledge.*

**T\_IU8:** *What I have observed is that we are giving them different tasks; for example, we are covering equations, and the students they actually can solve it. But as soon as I transfer it in a task where they had to understand the meaning, they are lost. 70% are lost. Math side is okay; the meaning is a problem. Over the 11 years of teaching, I have not seen anything much different on this level.*

**T\_IU8:** *What I may have seen could be inadequate English was just a conceptual difference, the difference in a way that students understand learning, and I realised that students can understand my English. They just do not know how to do what I want them to do, and it must come from the school education, so I got confused where, to what extent, where is lack of training in thinking analytically, thinking logically, all of that.*

**T\_SU14:** *The expectations of the university are higher in many ways rather than students can make that. But I can see that they are struggling a lot, and they have to adapt. And the adaptation is not easy for them. The international expectation of how things should be done do not meet the local reality. Some assignments are difficult. Students need extra support because they are not taught these things at high school. Well, they know the IELTS style, but when it comes to academia, they struggle. In the foundation year, they have English support. Even they have Academic Students' Centre for those students who have their risk of failing; they provide extra English classes to level up their English. On the post-graduate levels, they still need language support, to a lesser extent, but they need it.*

**T\_IU5:** *When we talk about level of English, we are talking about four skills. I would say writing skills is somewhat not at a good standard, but speaking is very good, listening is very good, reading comprehension as well. Writing, especially towards the academic standards, I do not think it is not as good comparing to India and Pakistan.*



Observing the classes, it also became apparent that students' spoken English production may be affected by the size of the class. The fewer the number of students is, the better the response rate: students are more active during the class; they ask and are asked more questions. The bigger the number is, the more perceptive students become. Classes at international HEIs also have a maximum of 25 students, while the class size at state HEIs may be twice bigger. Therefore, students' productive skills are seldom used during class at state universities.

Some administrators and teachers raise a concern about the lack of students' awareness of their poor English. Considering the alternative ways of providing support for students, the administrator provides very valuable insights about the ways universities should support students in their English development.

**A\_IU8:** *We have an Academic English core module. Apart from that, there is an Academic Writing Centre, there is one person offering support in terms of one-to-one sessions, and they also have groups. It is not yet popular. I think that students think that they are already inside the university and they do not really need any help with English. Some even think why I need to take Academic English because I already have my IELTS, and I am already here. And when they submit their tasks, and they realise that the work is not of good quality, this is the first time it rings bells, and they feel okay, so I might need some support. I think that the university definitely has to support students but probably do it not that straightforward because, at this point, they do not really see the value. Maybe this has to be done through some extracurricular things, disguised by some public speaking, because they find it more attractive that saying we will be working on your language skills. They do not take it as something interesting or something needed for themselves. So, I feel like at some point we have to offer it in different formats, call it different names.*

**T\_IU5:** *And actually, we have reading club too; writing comes when you read a lot, you improve your vocabulary. So, we have another problem. Most students think that their English is good enough. So, it is about perception too. Okay, we have passed IELTS, and we have score of 7 or 6.5. It is not good enough for academic purposes, so they have the assumption that they know it and they do not need to learn it. So, they are not motivated to improve it in this regard. They think it is good enough; we are*

*just saying it in a way we want it to say. It is understandable, grammatically it is okay, so this could be a reason why most students they do not use these services.*

### **5.5.3.3 Role 14: Language of Materials**

Teaching and learning are inevitably connected to the content. The main source of content at the university, in a very conventional sense, is the library, with its printed and online resources. Several participating universities had great libraries with plenty of materials. These universities are all international well-established HEIs with a great number of students.

**T\_IU2:** *We have partnership with the Kaplan Publishing, and I also use other resources. Kaplan is our main source. I use other books as well. I find them myself online, some sources I had before and some books I should replace with the new ones.*

**T\_IU3:** *In my subject, we have enough books in the library; I mean hard copies of the books, and even they have E-copies of the books. So, everything is fine.*

**T\_IU11:** *Yes, they are very good. The books and materials are good; I use library, electronic library, and materials from the partner university.*

However, even at these universities, some teachers struggle to get enough copies of books or receive current and appropriate materials. They often “buy books” themselves, “use their own library”, and “borrow from colleagues.

**T\_IU3:** *Last year, when I started to introduce this new subject, I went to Macmillan myself, and I bought these books and a former head; I do not know if she gave me her own money or not, but she reimbursed me. In theory, yes, there would be money to buy new materials, but I do not think they would buy enough for everyone. But would they provide money or not, I do not know.*

**T\_IU14:** *Sometimes they are outdated, sometimes I use my own library, or I buy books myself, or I just borrow books from colleagues, updated books. You can request to purchase the updated version, but it takes a lot of time. It is not quick. Even if you order books, it takes forever to reach Tashkent. Students have access to the library of*

*the partner university, but I am not sure how rich it is. I was searching for the articles earlier and was not able to succeed in finding them. You can also request to access the library, and I did it, but no luck so far. Later I found it is Google.*

Since the resources are very costly and not every university is able to have a good library, teachers and students use open access to online resources or breach the copyright by downloading materials illegally from the internet. Many teachers use their own libraries to scan the chapters or use their own money to purchase books. Teachers are very critical of the fact that they do not have enough materials and would appreciate help from the university. They, for example, state that “there should be a database for teachers and students”, they “do not even go to the library, there are no books that can help us”, and that they “use the Internet”. Students also complain about the lack of resources, and they consider the university library “a waste of time” because they “find everything on the Internet”.

**T\_IU1:** *There is no database at university. It is all up to our hands, and I just scan out of my own library. I scan 500 pages out of these selections, so that is how we are doing in here. We are now building up the resources, and each course has Google classroom. Students have free access to all these materials. At some point, there should certainly be a library.*

**T\_SU10:** *We are the only responsible to prepare course materials. We are not provided with the course book, and I am not happy with this. It would be great assistance if we are provided with that. Every time with updated versions.*

**T\_SU9:** *I try to use all the materials that I used on myself when I was a student. Because I studied in the same sphere, in the same direction, and I try to get more foreign, foreign materials rather than just. First of all, we do not have perfect English materials done or written by Uzbek authors. In marketing and management, there are no local books. I access these materials myself. Sometimes I have to buy; sometimes, I get smuggle them from the websites. I think that the university should do a better job providing us with the materials. In another job, the university asks me what materials I would like to use. I give the particular links to that resource. If they cannot access, I can order it. Some they cover my costs. One book may cost not less*

*than £50. For a teacher, with the salary like 2,5 million of sums [ £200], it is hard to obtain. For me, the main thing is to teach my subject perfectly.*

**S\_SU4:** *We do not really go to the library because it is a waste of time. We find everything on the internet and going to the library we can search online. We do not have access to the online databases. When we participated in the online competition, we had to find a book for ourselves and to buy it is expensive. It is difficult to get current materials.*

**S\_SU4:** *There is also some discrimination. We have different departments, and some have access to the online library, and we do not have it.*

**S\_SU7:** *We sometimes have homework to analyse the article, but we do not have access to the articles.*

Since Learning Management Systems are also not frequently used, the most popular way to share these materials is through the popular in-country messenger, Telegram. It is a common practice for state university teachers to open Telegram groups and upload their materials there.

**T\_SU13:** *We have a seminar Telegram group where we put all the materials.*

**S\_SU12:** *In the library, we also have some books. We do not have online books, but each teacher gives us books in the Telegram channel.*

**S\_SU13:** *We have textbooks, and teachers send us lectures and PPTS on Telegram.*

**T\_SU12:** *Thanks to the Internet, we have lots of books. The university does not provide us with enough books. There is no database in English. I have my private collection of materials. I also created a channel where I share materials. I find these books myself.*

Some students were particularly critical about the choice of materials, lack of materials, lack of printed or hard copy books, or vice versa, abundance of materials that are not specific enough for their studies.

**S\_IU1:** *I think it should be improved too. I asked the teachers how you pick the books, and the first criteria is a free access to the book. But I think that we study at the*

*university, and we should take the most useful and the best books, not just for their availability. They should cost something; they should be the best. I think, in that case, the materials will be improved.*

**S\_SU4:** *Yes, we have materials, but they are mostly concentrated on the independent study, and it is not the part of the curriculum, so they are not really about what we study. We use them, but not on the permanent basis.*

**S\_SU4:** *We want books that are specialized in our field, but there are books that do not matter for us.*

Another interesting observation was that some students at international universities raised concerns about the lack of books in Uzbek and Russian. Students need more support in their native language to “understand the subjects easier”.

**S\_IU2:** *We are happy. But we want to get more materials in English and support materials in Russian and Uzbek.*

**S\_IU5:** *If we had more resources in Uzbek or Russian, it would be great. Because it will be easier to understand, it is always easier to read in native language.*

**S\_SU4:** *Sometimes I use Russian sources to understand the topic because it is sometimes difficult to understand everything in English.*

The final important revelation was that teachers at some state universities, due to lack of materials and inability to find sources that would be level appropriate for their students, have to translate Uzbek or Russian materials into English, which makes their class preparation very time-consuming.

**T\_SU13:** *We find sources and translate them in English.*

**T\_SU13:** *We do not have study books. We translate everything, and we make materials ourselves. It is very difficult and time-consuming.*

**T\_SU4:** *To be honest, when I came to this university, I could not find English content, some programmes, some books and information in English, and we tried to translate into English these sources, books, textbooks.*

**T\_SU12:** *I mostly use Russian materials and translate them in English. We have some books, I understand them. There are presentations that I like, but I mostly use Russian sources.*

This identified role of English yet again shows that state universities lack the basics of what should be provided for effective teaching and materials. The underrated importance of materials in English, lack of university funding for these matters, and overreliance on the teachers who would have to make do with what they have made the conditions in EMEMUS far from desirable. Yet again, this puts a lot of pressure on the teachers at the state HEIs, who seem to understand that this is another issue they need to deal with without support from the management. It is very challenging to teach through EMI in some of the state universities with so many obstacles and expectations for relatively little financial reward.

#### ***5.5.3.4 Role 15: Code-Switching during the Class***

For EMI in Uzbek HEIs, it is common for the teacher and students to use three (English, Uzbek, and Russian) or more languages during the class. The number of languages depends on students' and teachers' backgrounds and context (state or international university). Code-switching was not observed in 13 classes out of 31 observed. Four of the class observations where code-switching was not observed were held at state universities, while the rest of the observations were conducted in another five international universities. Code-switching by teachers prevailed at state universities and was rarely observed at transnational universities, where EMI is common.

At the transnational universities, the use of Uzbek and Russian is happening mostly accidentally: "for fun" or to express emotions. Classroom observations also showed that students tend to code-switch less, even when encouraged to do so when the native language of the teacher is Russian and the teacher does not speak Uzbek. This is supposedly a case because most students do not speak fluent Russian. The attempts of these teachers to give an additional explanation in Russian are not always successful.

The reasons for students to code-switch include a lack of understanding, lack of vocabulary and terminology to explain their ideas, lack of language practice, and even a lack of understanding of why they should study in English. Some students would appreciate it if teachers would be “very flexible” about the use of other languages because some teachers “hate it”; some were simply taught in Uzbek and Russian, so there was no use of English at all.

**S\_IU2:** *Not all in English. We want it to be 50:50. We want to understand, so it should be the mix.*

**S\_SU4:** *It is not problem if we use some terms in our language. So, sometimes we switch.*

**S\_SU4:** *Generally, we were writing all tests in English. It enhances my general ability to use English. I am not able to, at times, explain everything in English. 99.9% of legal acts in Uzbekistan are enacted in Russian and Uzbek languages, and English is just an unofficial translation. Therefore, reliance on English is not feasible. If we are studying international law, it makes sense to use English, but as of now, studying Uzbek acts in English is not sensible.*

**S\_SU12:** *We only had three teachers who taught us in English; all other classes were using different languages. Study in English does not work at all in our university. We study in Russian and Uzbek, but we also need to learn English to read up-to-date research.*

**S\_IU5:** *Because sometimes we cannot explain what we want; we can switch into Uzbek or Russian, and it is fine for me. The teachers hate it.*

At the same time, some students do not like it when the teachers switch into other languages, reserving this right for themselves.

**S\_SU10:** *If the teacher switches, it is bad; it can be done on the side of the students. It should be initiated by the students.*

What has been noted during the observation was that teachers at international universities tend to code-switch when it was “initiated by the students”. If students

would ask a question in English and get lost formulating it, they switch to Uzbek and Russian, and the teacher then also switches codes. When students need to follow the safety requirements in the labs and misunderstanding may result in negative consequences, the teachers inevitably switch to make sure that they are understood.

**T\_IU1:** *I use English all the time, but I switch into Russian when students initiate it, and they ask me in Russian. I think it is better to reply in Russian in case they do not understand something. It is better for me, and I will avoid any accident in the lab, any misunderstanding. If they do not get the procedure of the lab experiment, they will do something wrong, and it is harmful and dangerous. I give them instructions on safety all the time because they forget, and they are very excited about the experiments.*

**T\_IU1:** *If they have questions and they do not know how to ask it in English, I am open to answer in Uzbek or Russian, but I prefer English more. We have programme in English, and it is better to use English. It is okay for students to use any language if it is between them, and they prefer to speak Russian, it is okay.*

Another reason for code switches of teachers and administrators is students' low level of basic knowledge about the topic, and their English levels vary, which is often the case in HEIs. Teachers often state they teach in English, but students "do not understand". Teachers, for example, state that students often struggle to understand specific terminology, and they have to switch to other languages. They state that "students know English and maybe better than me [ the teacher], but they did not understand the terminology", "sometimes in math classes they may not know the terms", and "students get lost in the key concepts and terms".

**A3:** *It depends on the level we are teaching now. If we are teaching lower-level students, we have to switch codes here and there in order to deliver the subject matter itself, but with the special English groups, we better not to do so and deliver the classes in an engaging way that would encompass the needs of the students.*

**T\_SU4:** *I think it is okay to switch. As I said before, it depends on students too. For example, I have taught in a special group with 25 people, and not all of them were good in English. 70% can speak in English, 30 % do not speak, but they understand. If*



*I ask question in English, they know the answer, but if they cannot speak in English, it is fine; they can answer in Russian or Uzbek. I do not force them to answer in English. I switch into another language if the student cannot explain his thoughts in English, but most of it is in English. Students have different levels. Maybe because they were tested only in writing, I do not know.*

**T\_SU9:** *I try to make my lessons as simple as possible, so I try to use content words, but if I feel that my students cannot understand something, I try to use English, another English word for understanding my topic. And I think that we should try to use English only and in only really very so situations we can use other languages. My native language is Russian, but all these groups are Uzbek, so even if I would like to explain something, I would use Uzbek; so for me, it is better to use English than to use Uzbek, I know Uzbek, but in Uzbek, I can make more mistakes than in English. In Uzbek, I know not literature language; of course, someone can understand my speech, but during my lessons, I try to use English.*

Teachers also try to monitor the use of languages in small group activities and encourage students not to exclude anyone from the discussion not necessarily held in English.

**T\_IU8:** *I do not feel bad if sometimes students talk Russian or Uzbek in class, but I always pay attention to if they do, they do not exclude anyone because there are groups now. I think this is more visible of those who speak only Russian or only Uzbek, and if there are three people in the group who speak Russian and one does not, I have to constantly monitor it. Of course, I will tell them to speak English, but I will also pay attention and bring awareness if they are excluding anyone. If I myself cannot explain something, I very rarely use any Russian because I know that some students do not really like it because they feel excluded that the teacher does not know Uzbek. If I say something in Russian, I will ask someone in the group to translate it into Uzbek. I do it like this but try to minimise that. I do not really use any specific terminology. It is just something that I talk, and there is one word that I say in a very simple term.*

**T\_IU8:** *Even the communication between students, I noticed today, when I divide them by groups, one group speaks only in English, another in Russian, and the third*

*one in Uzbek; so, even between them, they have these communications. When they ask a question from me, I speak only in English.*

Teachers mostly prioritise content over language and do not mind code-switching “as long as they ask, and they understand what they are doing”. Since many EMI teachers teach content, they prioritise it over the use of English in class.

**T\_SU9:** *Yes, sometimes there is the moment we are not teaching English. So, our main aim, if you were asking me, if I were a teacher of English language, I would say that only English should be used in class. But our main aim should lie on the subject; I speak in Uzbek in my classes sometimes because some of the guys do not understand or stopped understanding at some point. As said before, not all of their skills are at the same level, so I have to explain in Uzbek sometimes to make them catch up. So, I think for the teaching professional skills or other subjects in English, it is okay to use other languages as well sometimes to provide explanation of that terms which are important to know in the native language. If students cannot understand something, it can bring more problems rather than just not speaking in English so they cannot understand the topic.*

To summarise, code-switching and translanguaging in EMEMUS are two key factors that characterise the use of English in Uzbek HEIs and globally. There are significant differences between international and state HEIs, but what remains common is that translanguaging is taking place in both settings. The complexity of the linguistic ecology shows that it is important for HEIs to be tolerant of this linguistic diversity and potentially consider the translanguaging pedagogy as a possible way to use a stronger native language to develop weaker English in students in EMEMUS. This type of pedagogy may also help students to sustain their native language competence to be able to apply their knowledge at work and in daily communication beyond the academic setting.

## **5.6 Conclusion**

The findings in this chapter suggest that young people are motivated to learn English since it is perceived to be an important language to learn in order to become successful,

have opportunities for better employment, study and work abroad. Many students aim to enter HEIs with EMI to become more successful in life. The associated elitism and privilege make English an important skill to acquire. Moreover, the HEIs that teach through EMI are also considered to be prestigious.

The interview data show that the importance of English in the country is tightly connected with the top-down English language policy and the ambition of the country for international recognition. The complex linguistic ecology in the country also results in people's awareness of the importance of Russian and concerns about English language use outside the HEIs. Teachers and students seem to have relatively similar views about the importance of English in both state and international universities. Despite having very limited opportunities to use English outside EMEMUS, the general attitude towards it in the country is positive.

The findings in the Agents dimension show that Uzbek EME operates in a multilingual setting, where macro-, meso-, and micro-level agents operate in English, Uzbek, and Russian. They are all interested in the development of their English language skills and additional training. The predominant role of government as an agent that initiates the changes in the development of EME in the country is highlighted. The findings in the Roles of English dimension also show that the roles and sub-roles that English plays in EMEMUS are multiple, and they do not exist in the strict division by the levels of their use (i.e., macro-, meso-, and micro-level). The updated model provides a sound framework for the analysis. Even though the basis for the analysis was the sub-roles proposed by Dafouz and Smit (2020) in their original ROAD-MAPPING framework, the findings suggest that identified roles are rather fluid. The roles also show that they face different practical challenges at the state and international HEIs on different sub-dimensional levels. Functioning as a ripple effect, the roles that are considered important on the macro-levels find their reflection in the roles on a meso- level and then on the micro-level. Therefore, to show the complexity of these relationships, it is suggested to represent them not in a table, as done by the framework authors, but as a more complex Stacked Venn to show gradation and overlapping relationships (image 2, section 5.5). The findings also suggest that the way the dimensions are represented in the framework should show the difference between state and international HEIs. The use of other languages, the predominance of certain challenges, and significant differences within the roles provide a rich resource for future policy recommendations.

## Chapter 6

### **Data Analysis and Interpretation: Internationalisation and Glocalisation, Academic Disciplines, and (Language) Management Dimensions**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

The second chapter on findings covers the remaining dimensions: Internationalisation and Glocalisation, Academic Disciplines, and (Language) Management. While the dimensions discussed in the previous chapter were paired for their strong societal effect on practices and processes in EME, the remaining dimensions in this chapter are grouped for their institutional impact on EMEMUS. In other words, while the Roles of English and Agents dimensions mainly shape the English practices in the wider society, the remaining dimensions are mainly shaped by these practices on the institutional level.

The chapter begins with the Internationalisation and Glocalisation dimension that discusses the notion of internationalisation and its application in Uzbek HEIs. The section highlights the main trends that universities with EMI follow in striving to be called international, focusing on the differences between the state and international HEIs. Glocalisation is also discussed in light of what is understood as international in its local application in practice. Based on the survey, interview, observation data, and some documentary and ethnographic research, the section mostly focuses on the challenges that universities face to achieve internationalisation beyond an instrumental policy orientation.

The second dimension in focus is the Academic Disciplines dimension. The findings in this dimension show that English is used in various disciplines taught in Uzbek HEIs. Overlooking the range of subjects taught in Uzbek HEIs in English, this section summarises the main survey and interview findings, highlighting the main beliefs and attitudes towards teaching these disciplines in English. Most importantly, it focuses on an identified lack of awareness about the importance of teaching academic literacies and the lack of knowledge about translanguaging pedagogy.

The final dimension discussed in this chapter is the (language) management dimension, which is strategically discussed at the end to serve as a logical bridge between this chapter and the following one on policy implications. The word *language* being in brackets shows that section presents the findings not only to language management but also to a broader EME management at HEIs. It mostly builds on the data from surveys and interviews; however, some reference is also given to the classroom observation data and a more specific focus on observations or smaller-scale language management in the classroom.

## **6.2 Internationalisation and Glocalisation Dimension**

The discussion of the findings in the dimension is focused on the challenges identified through the collected data. The good practices of internationalisation and glocalisation are also mentioned and summarised, but since one of the main aims of the research is to provide research-driven guidance on how to maximise EME in the country, a lot more emphasis is given to the areas which might be optimised.

### **6.2.1 Internationalisation**

The determining factor of internationalisation in shaping the roles that English plays, the attitudes about EME in society, and the perceived benefits that EME entails have already been discussed in sections 2.5.1, 2.7, and 5.3. This section looks at the findings in more detail and critically evaluates what internationalisation is in the context of studied Uzbek HEIs.

Overall, the idea of internationalising the education sector in the country started to evolve very actively back in 2017 when a new Strategy of Actions for 2017-2021<sup>17</sup> was introduced. Among other areas of development, the strategy emphasised the importance of the country joining the Bologna Declaration (1999)<sup>18</sup>, the main document of the Bologna Process. Including the adoption of a two-cycle system, undergraduate

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<sup>17</sup> <https://lex.uz/ru/docs/4168757>

<sup>18</sup> [http://www.ehea.info/media.ehea.info/file/Ministerial\\_conferences/02/8/1999\\_Bologna\\_Declaration\\_English\\_553028.pdf](http://www.ehea.info/media.ehea.info/file/Ministerial_conferences/02/8/1999_Bologna_Declaration_English_553028.pdf)

and graduate, universities commit to a new scheme of education with easily readable credits comparable to the other countries that follow the Bologna declaration, European cooperation in quality assurance, and a curriculum that promotes mobility for students, teachers, and meso- level administrative staff. The Presidential Decree of the Republic of Uzbekistan, “On measures for the further development of the higher education system”<sup>19</sup> (2017), highlighted the importance of making connections and expanding relationships with the leading institutions and research centres to develop pedagogical practices based on international education standards. In a 39-page document, the word “international” is mentioned 66 times. In addition to the existing students’ and teachers’ exchange programmes supported by numerous NGOs, the US Embassy, British Council, etc., in 2018, the President signed a Decree “On the organization of activities of the El-yurt UMIDI Foundation”, which sends students and teachers to study abroad. This decree contributed to the development of academic mobility and trained national specialists in international settings. The number of Uzbek students abroad, according to UNESCO Statistics (2022)<sup>20</sup>, is 52,952, which is 7% higher than the number reported in 2019 when the project had just begun. Lastly, the recent Presidential Decree “Concept of Development of Higher Education of the Republic of Uzbekistan until 2030” is the most powerful move towards the internationalisation of HEIs. According to the decree, at least ten universities in the country should be internationally recognised. At least ten universities should be in the top 1,000 in the ranking of internationally recognized organizations (i.e., Quacquarelli Symonds World University Rankings, Times Higher Education, and Academic Ranking of World Universities). Two specific universities, the National University of Uzbekistan and Samarkand State University, should aim for a place in the top 500. In April 2022, 30 Uzbek HEIs appeared in the *Times Higher Education* ranking but only in the 1001+ list. Both Samarkand State University and the National University of Uzbekistan are on the list<sup>21</sup>. The international ranking is tightly connected with the research activity of the university, and HEIs take measures to increase the publishing rate in peer-reviewed journals. Unfortunately, these measures put researchers and teachers under a lot of pressure alongside the implementation of EME itself.

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<sup>19</sup> <https://lex.uz/ru/docs/3171587>

<sup>20</sup> <http://uis.unesco.org/en/uis-student-flow>

<sup>21</sup> <https://kun.uz/en/news/2022/04/29/30-universities-of-uzbekistan-included-in-the-impact-ranking-2022>

Even though the country is attempting to take many steps towards the internationalisation of HE, understanding its core is missing. Knight's (2004:11) definition of internationalisation as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of education" is considered to be the most commonly accepted. Internationalisation is a process that needs time, effort, and funding to be successful. In my view, the approach that HEIs have taken with EMI is not well-planned and thought through to serve a long-term effect. A quick transfer to internationalised education is an approach that many HEIs with EMI have either chosen for themselves or have been compelled to follow. EMI in itself is viewed as a proxy for internationalisation, and the way it is organised in Uzbekistan does not address the core principles stated in the definition by Knight. Bowles and Murphy (2020) argue that the role of English and EMI, in particular, does not guarantee internationalisation because the universities do not clearly define their purpose in using English and do not address the issue of English use in their language policies. Calling EMI "the elephant in the internationalisation room", Bowles and Murphy (2020: 8) call for more attention from policymakers and researchers to this issue.

It is fair to note that there are several good examples of internationalisation at well-established international universities, and most of the challenges discussed below relate mostly to state universities. However, some of the international universities that are mushrooming in Uzbekistan are not fully excluded from the discussion. Out of 14 participating universities, with seven having an international status, only four fully operate under the partner university abroad, ensuring the international level of education provision, including moderation of assessment, curriculum, and teaching practices. These universities operate under strict policies on academic affairs and scholarship.

As for the rest of the participating universities, the field notes, observations, and interviews held with various stakeholders in Uzbek EMEMUS show that there are a few overarching trends or paths connected with the use of English:

1. The attraction of international staff, which is advertised very actively on the university websites, disadvantages local staff;
2. The push for research outputs to be published in peer-reviewed journals, which is done without any proper support from the HEIs (i.e., training on

research skills and methods, language support, funding, etc.) or consideration as to what might be the most appropriate and beneficial outlet for the research;

3. Networking and signed memorandums of understanding between local and international universities, which do not necessarily entail any professional development;
4. Establishment of “English groups” at local universities who are taught content that is not inclusive of global dimensions, intercultural and international topics.

To begin with, international staff are hired in EMEMUS to diversify the university staff profile, bring international experience and expertise, and build stronger professional links. Since Uzbekistan is a developing country, the salary offered to international staff members (even though higher than local teachers receive) does not attract professionals from developed countries. To illustrate, at one participating international university, the salary for the local staff had a clear grading criterion based on their academic degrees, work experience, and additional administrative roles. The monthly salary for local teachers varied from 6 to 17 million sums (i.e., £400 to £1150) in 2021, while the monthly salary of the international staff members was set at 20 million sums (i.e., £1350) with the addition of fully covered accommodation. The interview data shows that the main population of international staff are Indian and Pakistani, who speak very fluent English, conduct research, and may be module leaders but have limited impact on any other sphere of university life because the universities are usually managed by locals with a good command of Uzbek. The fact that international universities hire teachers from abroad creates more competition, lowering the chances for local staff to be hired at a good HEI if their command of English and research skills are not better. But even this does not guarantee that the local staff would be hired if the institution is targeting diversifying its international profile. Yet again, EME creates inequality of opportunity, which may hypothetically result in bad feelings between local and international academics. The ethnographic data collected during the fieldwork neither proves nor disproves this.

The second point listed above has already been discussed in detail in section 5.5.2.4. To recapitulate, teachers are forced to get published in peer-reviewed journals with very limited support from the university, a lack of research skills, and language-



related issues. The journals that they publish in are usually 'predatory' ones (i.e., journals that publish articles for a fee without quality checks), and teachers fall into the loop of publishing for the sake of publishing. They have to do so under a lot of pressure from the university management, who at several state universities threaten teachers with redundancy if they do not fulfil their publishing responsibilities, globally and locally known as "publish or perish".

Networking with industries and big businesses, as well as signing memoranda of understanding, which become inevitable moves towards internationalisation, also do not give much to the students and teachers. The institutions benefit from this only on a very superficial level. On the one hand, they want to make an impression that they have links with institutions abroad, which may be perceived as a sign of development and innovation. On the other hand, the institutions do not benefit from this token relationship and engage in international practices only nominally. For instance, all participating state universities had memorandums of understanding with the universities abroad, but none of the teachers has personally been part of any exchange or research projects with them. Signed memorandums remain symbolic, and universities usually do not have enough funds to actively engage in a professional exchange. This is not only the case in some HEIs with EMI but also a tendency observed at state universities in general.

If the first three trends were mostly connected with how to create a profile that would be considered international, the fourth one is connected with teaching and learning. Even though validation of courses (often in specific disciplines) under the partner universities abroad or teaching subjects through EMI entails the instrumental use of English, it is also broadly connected with a lack of understanding of what international standards of education include. The English component is one of the constituents that many institutions simply hide behind. Class observations showed that not all validated EME programmes and EMI classes follow basic international practices of teaching and assessment, none provide extensive English support beyond the first or occasionally the second year of study, and only a few have clear mechanisms of quality assurance. No participating state and even some international universities integrate international, intercultural, or global dimensions into the delivery of content. Among the main reasons for the neglect of this practice are a shortage of materials that would address these matters, no teachers' awareness of the international, intercultural, and

global topics that could be referred to in the syllabus, and a lack of teachers' control over the contents/topics being taught. Limited English language skills of both teachers and students add to the limited engagement with international content. Also, the education system that precedes entry to HE does not do much to develop higher-order critical thinking, autonomy, and digital literacy skills that may foster awareness about and interest in global issues.

Overall, failure to take these four main English-related steps towards the development of internationalisation results in the approach that HEIs take not serving their own long-term goals. On the one hand, they are not the ones to blame because the Ministry policies only discuss the desired outcome but do not provide the pathways for proper actions. The list of actions includes directives rather than guidance. On the other hand, HEIs are managed by administrators who are used to working under a lot of pressure from the Ministries of Education, which have been following the paradigm of the 'easy-fix measures' for decades. More examples of EME management will be provided in the corresponding dimension.

Unfortunately, this vicious circle of actions negatively affects students' and teachers' experiences in EMEMUS. Therefore, very accurate policy-driven steps should be taken in HEIs, which can only become possible with policies that would provide more guidance to the stakeholders. Local teachers should not be left behind but rather be supported by the institutions to develop their English proficiency and research capacities; networking should become beneficial in practice, and the contents taught should include a global dimension. Only in this way may internationalisation, as defined above, become a real possibility.

### **6.2.2 Glocalisation**

The realization of global tendencies in the local environment is, in a sense, the essence of the establishment of international universities. The fact that Uzbekistan widely popularises EME is glocalisation in itself, but it does not stop there. The discussion of internationalisation and how it is approached in Uzbek HEIs makes it clear that international practices are widely glocalised. The fact that internationalisation may happen at home makes EME very attractive for students. International universities have

a perceived advantage over state universities by default simply because they are associated with numerous perks widely discussed in the Roles of English dimension.

**S\_IU1:** *We had two options for us, either we study at the local university or at international. The quality of teaching and education in local universities is not good, there are no sources, and here the quality is high, plus English. I hope I will go to the USA and continue my study. My university will provide me with a good base. State universities they cannot give the same level of knowledge.*

**S\_IU3:** *I did not have any choice, I did not want to go abroad, and I decided to enter this university because it is considered one of the most famous and strongest universities, and it is international.*

**S\_IU8:** *Because of quarantine, we could not go abroad to study, so we entered the international university locally.*

Even the perception of some international imagery of education at HEIs abroad, such as no uniform for students, campuses where students study or relax on a green lawn working on laptops, and active social life within the campus, are some of the symbols used when marketing international education. These symbols are glocalised, and the interviews with the students show that even these symbols of international education greatly impact a student's choice to study in EMEMUS in the local setting. The fact that students may continue their education through an exchange is another international practice that is used to market EME.

**S\_IU1:** *Firstly, I got prepared for Westminster and Webster University to study economics. But I changed my mind. The reason why I changed my mind is because of my parents. They said that they will not allow me to go abroad, and I thought that I will enter this university. I was happy that we do not have to wear a uniform, attend classes all the time. The necessary thing here is to study. They just give us all opportunities. They make it comfortable. When we study at the state university, they will pay attention to our discipline; they will control us.*

**S\_IU8:** *Because the university has links with the UK, London university. There is an affiliation, and it matters a lot. Because we can go abroad and study there in the second semester.*

It has already been discussed in the Roles of English dimension that international practices and local realities mismatch. An example of this mismatch has been raised by a teacher at an international university who admitted that the local students have a hard time coping with the international standards and demands on the assessment and class participation expected at the university. The expectations are very high, and students' level (this includes English) is low. At several international universities, the assessment and syllabus are provided by the partner universities abroad, and the local students struggle to cope with the international requirements.

**T\_IU14:** *The expectations of the university are higher than many ways rather than students can make that. We will hope that we will give them enough assistance and next year they will be doing better than this year, but I can see that they are struggling a lot and they have to adapt. And the adaptation is not easy for them. The international expectation of how things should be done do not meet the local reality. Some assignments are difficult. Students need extra support because they are not taught these things at high school.*

Glocalisation is also observed in the development of education materials, more specifically, book writing. The promotion of book writing that would follow international standards has been a long-time tradition at all levels of education. Because the international books and the contents in them are either too hard or not culturally appropriate, in several participating universities, the departments of different disciplines proudly spoke about their own developed materials. On the one hand, this is a great practice that can address the aspects of local reality that are lacking in internationally published books. On the other hand, the quality of these materials is very far from international standards. Taking into account the ban on certain culture-sensitive socio-political topics in Uzbekistan, such as gender issues, politics, and LGBTQ+ rights, the materials lack a global dimension and limit students' understanding of conceptualising important global trends. The adaptation of the international materials thus is not glocalised but rather localised, not taking western and international aspects into consideration. Lack of academic freedom is partly an obstacle

in the glocalisation of the teaching content. In the Freedom House Report (2021),<sup>22</sup> academic freedom in Uzbekistan is rated one on a scale from 1 to 4:

The government has long limited academic freedom, in part by controlling contacts between universities or scholars and foreign entities. Universities in Uzbekistan have slowly expanded their cooperation with foreign counterparts since 2016. Texts that glorify former president Karimov are no longer required reading at universities.

Lack of academic freedom, English proficiency, and politicization of education makes it hard for the materials in some disciplines in social sciences and humanities to be fully inclusive of all aspects of internationalisation or proper glocalisation. The use of textbooks in HE is also highly questionable, and even a top language manager who deals with book reviews in the country questions their importance.

***A1:** In the higher education, I tend to see the reason that textbooks maybe not needed if the teacher can search and find good materials, and can put them on the platform, and ask the student to go and read what they want and to give them different sources and types of materials and so on. This is more flexible and richer in content. Because we are still developing the textbooks very often, still even in HE, it is sometimes the only source.*

The data collected for this study from the observations of classes also shows that teachers utilise teaching methodology and assessment practices that are far from international standards. The state HEIs have poor technological equipment and lack simple facilities important in the international setting (e.g., working computers and overhead projectors). The fieldwork visits and classroom observations showed that many teachers have to carry their own laptops and set up university overhead projectors to show PPT slides. Students have to read pdf versions of the books from their phones and do not have enough study resources, study areas, and well-equipped libraries, not to mention available online databases. The local and the international realities simply do not equate.

To conclude, the Internationalisation and Glocalisation dimension data show that HEIs that use EMI tend to misinterpret or not realise their ambition to become

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<sup>22</sup> <https://freedomhouse.org/country/uzbekistan/freedom-world/2021>

international due to a lack of clarity about what internationalisation in education entails. In many settings, the symbol of what can be considered international is reflected only through the existence of the English medium. The findings also offer good examples of well-established international universities that are affiliated with universities abroad. Those universities follow quality assurance procedures that ensure international education standards and have an adequate level of support for students' and teachers' professional development, mobility, technological equipment, etc. It is, therefore, important to differentiate between the international and state universities when discussing the EME processes and practices in Uzbek HE and reflect those differences in the updated framework.

### **6.3 Academic Disciplines Dimension**

#### **6.3.1 Academic Disciplines in Uzbek HEIs**

To illustrate the scope of disciplines that are taught through English, the table in Appendix 4 summarises the main subject areas offered in the 14 participant universities. Since the universities are anonymised, they are labelled by number and a capital letter "I" to signify international and "S" to signify state universities. The information is retrieved from the university websites and survey responses. In addition to the main subject areas, the table includes the English proficiency requirements. This information is provided to exemplify the minimum required level of students. In all HEIs, English as a subject is also taught through English, but the table focuses on other subjects that are taught through EMI.

What can be observed is that state universities, in their vast majority, do not have any specifications on the English proficiency requirement. The websites also often have outdated information, which makes them very difficult to navigate. Even though this information is missing on the website, it is still attested during the interviews that the English proficiency tests are not recognised as a unified entrance requirement at state universities. As for the disciplines, the status of EME and its perceived benefits tie in with the subjects taught at HEIs. Most of the international and state universities use EMI a lot less in arts and humanities. However, following the most commonly referenced

classification of academic discipline by Biglan (1973), the online survey findings show that participating universities also include a range of pure hard (e.g., Mathematics, Chemistry and Biology), pure soft (e.g., ESP/EAP, International Relations, Political Sciences, Psychology), applied hard (e.g., Medicine and Food Safety), and applied soft disciplines (e.g., Pedagogy, Economics, Finance, Medicine, Education). According to this classification, the main areas of EME study are applied hard and soft sciences such as Economics and Finance, Business and Management, and IT.

When students were asked how many subjects they studied through English in one semester, the answers ranged from 0 to 9. At the state HEIs students may take up to 12 different subjects per semester, while at the international HEIs they usually take no more than five classes. 18.5% of students took four subjects, which was not significantly higher than one subject (18.1%). 34.5% took five to seven classes. Interestingly, 2.8% of respondents reported that they take 0 classes in English.

To measure the teachers' involvement with teaching through EMI, they were asked to report the hours they teach through English at their university. 11.1% of the teachers, surprisingly, also marked 0 hours per week, which yet again signifies that EME in some settings is only nominal.

As well as the definition of the main roles of English, the choice of the disciplines that are taught in English is also believed to depend on the processes of internationalisation and the global vision of the government. The interviews with the language policymakers showed that they have very strong views on the choice of specific disciplines that should be taught in English. Among these disciplines are Agriculture, Medicine, Irrigation, and IT-related subjects.

***A4:** It depends on the priority that the government had. For example, much attention nowadays is paid to the agricultural sector, and therefore the, agricultural universities prefer to have better cooperation with the world-leading universities of agriculture or irrigation or medicine. Of course, English is a higher priority there as well.*

***A2:** Information technology should be taught in English.*

The discussion of the previous dimensions has already shown that both students and teachers enjoy studying and teaching in English, learning English and other

languages, and using English in class. To illustrate, 55.2% of students “strongly agree” and 34.1% “agree” with the statement “I like studying subjects in English”. Similar results were observed in the teachers’ survey responses, 81.1% of whom stated that they either “strongly agree” or “agree” that they like teaching subjects in English.

Overall, most of the participants who took part in the survey think that studying disciplines in English positively affects the development of language proficiency. From the interviews, it is clear that this is a strong belief that is not supported by any evidence since proficiency tests are only taken to enter the university, and the development of English proficiency is not tested again. The findings also show that 57% of study participants “strongly agree” and 33.6% “agree” that studying subjects in English develops language proficiency (table 28).

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	1298	57.0
Agree	766	33.6
Neither agree nor disagree	168	7.4
Disagree	20	.9
Strongly disagree	14	.6
English is my native language	12	.5
Total	2278	100.0

Table 28. I think that studying subjects in English develops language proficiency.

36.9% of them also feel very positive about the effectiveness of their studies in English as they “strongly agree”, and 33% “agree” that studying disciplines in English is more effective than in other languages. However, a certain level of scepticism is also observed in the responses of some participants, who “disagree” (5%) and “strongly disagree” (1.7%) with the statement (table 29). There was also quite a high proportion (23.1%) of those who have no opinion about the effectiveness of studying subjects in English.

	Frequency	Percent
Strongly agree	841	36.9
Agree	752	33.0
Neither agree nor disagree	526	23.1



Disagree	114	5.0
Strongly disagree	38	1.7
English is my native language	7	.3
Total	2278	100.0

Table 29. I think that studying subjects in English is more effective than in other languages.

Looking more specifically at the results of the teachers' and students' questionnaire responses, it is clear that the overall belief that studies in English are more effective than in other languages is much stronger in students. While 37.7% of students "strongly agree" and 33.4% "agree" with the statement, teachers' numbers show that 33.8% "agree" and 32.1% "strongly agree" that studying in English is more effective. Teachers' numbers are also higher for the "disagree" (7.7%) and "strongly disagree" (3.1%) options, while the students' responses in each of the corresponding categories are 4.5% and 1.5%.

Even though the overall attitude towards EMI is rather positive, 30.1% of the survey respondents consider studying subjects in English more time-consuming than using their native language (table 30.) While 28.4% "neither agree nor disagree" with this statement, 18.1% "strongly agree" that studies in English are time-consuming.

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	685	30.1
Neither agree nor disagree	648	28.4
Strongly agree	412	18.1
Disagree	338	14.8
Strongly disagree	161	7.1
English is my native language	34	1.5
Total	2278	100.0

Table 30. I think that studying subjects in English is more time-consuming than using my native language.

Looking more specifically at the responses provided by the teachers, the findings show that 29.6% of them "agree" and 18.8% "strongly agree" that teaching subjects in English is time-consuming.

The interview data delved into more details connected with the studies of specific disciplines through English medium. The main observation was that for some students, the importance of discipline outweighed the importance of EMI. Some students think of “English as a bonus”, which was not the main motivation to enter the university. Some students were keen on receiving an international diploma, not leaving the country, which was also considered a perk.

**S\_SU7:** *I was interested in this sphere; I relied on my interests, not English.*

**S\_SU7:** *It was so interesting for me. I did not think English was that important at the university when I entered. I was surprised to know that teachers speak good English. My expectations were low.*

**S\_IU1:** *Before, I was thinking that I will pass the exam at another institute because it is one of the best. I did not want to live in other countries. I am a patriot; after hearing that this university gives international diplomas, I decided to enter it.*

**S\_IU5:** *English was also a bonus, but the main reason was that we can choose the subjects which we want to study. And the system of the university is more connected to the system in EU.*

### **6.3.2 Disciplinary Literacy**

The literature review of this dimension questioned if EME in Uzbekistan is a subject-specific-led phenomenon (i.e., the focus is primarily on the content) or a literacy-led phenomenon (i.e., the focus is primarily on the academic language skills). The findings show that Uzbek EME is solidly placed at the beginning of the continuum because it is very content-oriented. This reality suggests that almost no attention is paid to developing academic literacy skills in EME. Discipline literacy, or more specifically, unawareness of its importance, was a major finding in the teachers’ interviews. Teachers predominantly valued students’ content knowledge over their language skills. None of the interviewees was concerned about students’ academic literacy development. Some of the identified corrective feedback strategies that teachers used include translation, Initiation- Response -Feedback, and explanation of terminology.

Moreover, not valuing the development of disciplinary literacies, teachers did not invest their time in explaining the discipline norms but focused on the content knowledge.

**T\_IU5:** *Sometimes, they [students] cannot express complicated things in the English language; they try to express it in a simple language. In terms of English, I am happy with that because they mostly understand the concept.*

**T\_IU5:** *I do not pay much attention to their language in my classes. I may sometimes, if I see that students do not know how to say something and they are struggling, I may help them in translating. I try to, probably, scaffold or push them, but I do not usually correct their grammar mistakes and other language inaccuracies. But in assessment. If I see that they want to say something and it is not clear to me, I probably can write that the idea is not clear, and it probably refers to English in this way.*

**T\_IU8:** *What I have observed is that we are giving them different tasks; for example, we are covering equations, and the students actually can solve it. But as soon as I transfer it to a task where they had to understand the meaning, they are lost. 70% are lost. The math side is okay; the meaning is a problem. Over the 11 years of teaching [in English], I have not seen anything much different on this level.*

Even though several teachers raised their concerns regarding students' academic literacy, highlighting mainly difficulties in writing that students experience, the teachers do not consider the development of academic literacy skills their primary responsibility. When students experienced difficulties explaining themselves or were unaware of the disciplinary norms, teachers accused the EAP/ESP provision of its ineffectiveness or blamed students for their lack of proficiency.

**T\_IU:** *I would say writing skills is somewhat not at a good standard, but speaking is very good, listening is very good, reading comprehension as well. Writing, especially towards the academic standards, I do not think it is not as good compared to India and Pakistan.*

**T\_IU5:** *Academic writing is a problem everywhere. Even in the USA, I think it is not a question of English per se, but it is a question of Academic English and study skills.*

**T\_IU5:** *Sometimes students find it quite difficult to discuss certain aspects of topics, but whenever I try to reflect on their experience, I do not find it that students have the low ability. Maybe some problems with writing for sure, but as for speaking and listening comprehension, everything is fine.*

The fact that students come to study in EME, which often follows the international curriculum, from the state schools, where the international norms are not followed, especially in regard to the development of critical thinking, makes it difficult for students to use higher-order thinking in EME. At state schools, education is driven by following the textbook, which is all based on national standards. Textbooks prepare students for the exams they need to take by the end of school and when entering the university. The exams are mostly multiple-choice tests, essays, or short-answer prompts that do not require any critical thinking. Teachers with an international background and an understanding of the local school system consider that English on its own is not the sole problem for students. Some consider a lack of basic knowledge about the world, poor critical thinking skills, and the inability to be an autonomous learner a far bigger issue.

**T\_IU8:** *I would expect students probably to have a bit more of English. But sometimes, I think it is not the language; it is just a lack of knowledge about certain things. Our subject is about generally global issues, we ask about things they cannot talk about, and we connect it automatically with English. However, I feel that it is the lack of knowledge about things that are happening around the world and simply cannot say much because they do not know about it. Unfortunately, we do not teach any of these things at schools. It can be language limitations and lack of knowledge.*

**T\_IU14:** *The international expectation of how things should be done do not meet the local reality. Some assignments are difficult. Students need extra support because they are not taught these things at high school. Well, they know the IELTS style, but when it comes to academia, they struggle. In the foundation year, they have English support.*

To summarise, teachers' lack of professional awareness of the importance of academic literacy and, as a result, students' lack of academic literacy skills cause negligence towards the development of academic literacy. At both undergraduate and

postgraduate levels, teachers raise concerns about students' lack of these skills. Students, at the same time, navigate between local and foreign discipline-specific conventions without sufficient support from the teachers. With language policies not in place, these issues are left unaddressed. The content is prioritised over the academic literacies in different disciplines, signalling that Uzbek EME is considered time-consuming and unaware of the discipline-specific use of English. This section shows that English is secondary to content.

## **6.4 (Language) Management Dimension**

### **6.4.1 Policies in Uzbek HEIs**

Before the discussion of the main findings, it is important to clarify who produces the English language policies and how they are produced in Uzbekistan. Based on a discussion with the main policymakers in the country, the following process is usually undergone when new English language-related policies, most of which are not specifically EME-focused, are implemented. The initial call for the policy may sometimes be initiated not by the Ministry of Higher Education but by a designated university that is responsible for English language development and its professional studies. By the presidential decree №7190 released in 2013 in Uzbekistan, the appointed policymaker is the Uzbek State World Languages University. The scientific centre was opened there in 2013, the Republican Scientific-Practical Centre of Developing the Innovation Methods for Teaching Foreign Languages. Officially, as specialists and as experts, they are responsible for the wider policy on the English curriculum at schools and universities. The developed policies are sent to the Cabinet of Ministers for approval. The policy is evaluated for approval of its budget for implementation, resources required, alignment with the state policies, etc. If a policy is approved, it is either signed by the Cabinet of Ministers or the President.

*A2: For example, when we have implemented the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) in the country, it was a very huge decree. There was involved almost 15 ministries, all the ministries. If you look at the decree, you may find out the*

*list of which kind of ministries were involved. All the ministries, plus ministry of media, ministry of labour, all ministries actually were involved because the project was huge. Everybody it understood, including the government, the importance of learning foreign languages. CEFR became like an umbrella for all other languages. And there was written that, for example, if you are choosing English as the first language, it should be deeply learned, like 6 or 8 hours per week. If you are learning a foreign language in a special English school, English as an outcome, it should be level B1. If you are taking extra languages, for example, French, German or other languages, then it is okay. It may be B2.*

Within the universities, the policies should also be approved by numerous departments, and they are edited and reviewed for many months. At international universities, policy writing procedures usually follow the procedure of their accreditation partners. No state universities developed policies but followed the government's lead. Almost no international universities have language policies but have a mention of EMI on their websites. The language policy developed at one international university has been developed but has not been approved.

The main policy documents identified by the policymakers interviewed include the Presidential Decree "On measures for the further development of the higher education system" (2017), the Presidential Decree "Concept of Development of Higher Education of the Republic of Uzbekistan until 2030" (2019), and the New Education law (2020). These legislations are prepared by the Ministry of Secondary and Higher Education, and the policymakers interviewed for this study are actively involved in these Ministry initiatives. For those policymakers who deal particularly with English as a subject, another key policy that contributed to the development of main societal roles was the Cabinet of Minister's order "On Adopting the State Educational Standards of Continuous Education in Uzbekistan (requirements to the content and level of learners on foreign languages)" (2013). The impact of the implementation of CEFR is observed, but there is believed to be a lack of understanding of how it can be implemented in teaching English and how these standards matter for effective English language teaching.

**A2:** *Since 2013, yes, I see the results. According to the standards, you can see that, for example, before, we had only one centre of assessment like British Council, but now*

*we have IDP and line and line of the students. If we go to the numbers in 2010, we had 10000 students who were taking this exam, and now you can see millions of students because it is not only about the international university, but local universities also recognise it (IELTS score). Not only for those who are going to enter bachelor's degree, for those who are doing the research, master's degree, everybody is asking for those certificates again.*

**A1:** *Yes, every teacher will say "Yes, I know CEFR" but still they do not have this. This is for most teachers in the country. It is not only for English but for other subjects as well. They just teach usually take the textbook and just teach the textbook. If you ask them about learning outcomes for the end of the terms and they will not know them. No clear understanding where they want to take their students, from this destination to that and for authors, it is that when teachers take the book, they believe that the book has everything there.*

Overall, the written policies have free online access on the government platform [lex.uz](http://lex.uz), but they are mostly written in Uzbek and sometimes translated into Russian. The unofficial translations in English are usually done by the NGOs, who work with the policies, but these copies are not freely available. Therefore, it may be very time-consuming to get the proper translation for researchers who work with the policies in English and do not know either Russian or Uzbek. Linn and Radjabzade (2021: 7), who conducted their research on EME in the South Caucasus, also suggested that the macro-level stakeholders should "look beyond their local context" and commit to providing "English-language versions" of their policies so that they could be accessed by a wider international audience.

#### **6.4.2 General Views on Language Management in HEIs**

Being a multilingual community, the participants in the study evidenced a positive attitude towards the use of languages other than English. The survey results show that 40.7% of students, teachers, and meso-level administrative staff "agree" and 24% "strongly agree" with the statement "I think languages other than English should also be allowed in my university". However, tolerance towards the use of other languages does

not lessen the strong attitudes towards English, as most respondents across all universities are keen on having English as a language of all communication at the institutions. To illustrate, 71.3% of all respondents either strongly agree or agree with the statement, “I think that all communication (with teachers, other students and meso-level administration) at my institution should be in English”.

The findings also show that even though most of the participants wanted their use of English to be controlled (table 31), there is some uncertainty regarding the institution of the language policy at the university. 41.3% of responses (i.e., mostly students) were given the option “maybe” in the survey question “Do you think that your university should have a document that explains which languages should be used within the university (language policy)?” (table 32). On the one hand, the concept of language policy is not new in the country, and there are plenty of decrees about English that were introduced in the past few years. On the other hand, specific language policies are non-existent at almost all participant universities, and not many people have an awareness of the role and functions they might entail. One of the reasons for that may be the general political disengagement of society in government processes, historical mistrust in, or fear of government.

	Frequency	Percent
Agree	796	34.9
Strongly agree	779	34.2
Neither agree nor disagree	491	21.6
Disagree	141	6.2
Strongly disagree	56	2.5
English is my native language	15	.7
Total	2278	100.0

Table 31. I want my institution to control the use of English within the institution.

	Frequency	Percent
Maybe	940	41.3
Yes	815	35.8
No	326	14.3
Not sure	197	8.6
Total	2278	100.0

Table 32. Do you think that your university should have a document that explains which languages should be used within the university (language policy)?



Looking more specifically at the survey results of the meso-level administrative staff at HEIs, it becomes clear that they recognize the need for language policy documents. 45.1% of them stated that a language policy should be established. 41.8% of teachers also think that language policy should be established at their universities. Even though all participating universities currently manage without these policies, the policies are needed to clarify, guide, and regulate language practices at the universities.

The survey also enquired about the beliefs that study participants had regarding the main role of a language policy document. The prevailing belief was that the policy document would encourage everyone at the university to use English (28.6%). The second most widespread belief was that language policy establishes an atmosphere for equal use of all languages (12.3%). Fewer responses (12%) were given for the option “increase English level proficiency”, which is a common belief associated with EME and not necessarily a policy issue.

When the language policymakers in the country were asked if there should be language policies at the universities, they raised several concerns regarding the lack of teachers’ awareness of the existing state-wide policies, lack of understanding of what their role and functions are, and lack of initiative on the side of the teachers and university management to implement new policies. The universities themselves do not do much to disseminate the policies and bring awareness of them to the teachers. The knowledge of these policies stays within the top management and is not disseminated further.

**A1:** *This should be done. There should be policies. If we speak about state universities, they are more or less regulated by the Ministry of Higher Education, and they have been regulated by the Ministry until recently, when the universities were rewarded with academic autonomy. I think that maybe the teachers might not know about some of the policies that might exist, and they do exist. If we speak about the English language standards, actually I am not sure that all teachers know about it. They are called “state education standards of continuous education of Uzbekistan”, and the language is the key here. In these standards, they can find some definite requirements towards the level of language that the students should have after leaving schools, after graduation from the universities, after graduating some certain universities whether they will have English as a major. I think that teachers*

*might not know about some of the policies that actually the Ministry has, and maybe this is the role of the university to ensure that teachers know these policies.*

**A4:** *If we are speaking about EMI, I have been talking to a lot of people; we have 16 universities that are involved in EMI projects, not so many are. Actually, none of them knows that there are some definite requirements towards teachers, no matter if it is an English teacher or any other subject teacher, but there are requirements. This is something that I think universities should pay much attention to. The teaching staff should know the regulations, the basic policies that are in place, and that should be taken as the basis for their further curriculum or just syllabus development or any other activities and even teaching practice that they use.*

The main possible reason for these listed negative side effects is a lack of experience in navigating in the new reality of granted academic autonomy. The policy that has granted financial and academic freedom to the top universities in the country was signed back in November 2020 (section 2.2.1), and all participating universities were still in the process of adapting to this new reality when the data was collected.

**A2:** *The whole governmental system, the whole education system, was very much centralised. When you are coming with the initiative, it is not working properly because everybody is looking what the government will say; they will be an order, of will my principal allow me, of my rector will allow me.*

During one-on-one interviews, the policymakers and university management were asked if the use of English is regulated in any way at Uzbek HEIs. The answers varied from a resolute no to a more positive view toward language management at universities. There is no monitoring of EMI and language practices per se but rather general monitoring of education processes. The policymakers mainly stress their collaboration with the quality assurance inspection that monitors not only the education processes within higher education but within all education sectors, including public education and preschool. They are aware that some universities have regular monitoring of teaching processes.

**A2:** *No, it's not. Not yet. Because English is mostly viewed as the subject, but nobody is regulating EMI.*

**A4:** *It is not only the universities, I guess, though at universities I know that there are still internal monitoring, internal evaluation checks, but if we speak about the state level, there is the quality assurance inspection whose aim is to monitor the achievement of the higher education institution as well as the processes taking place in the universities. This is quite a new monitoring body that was established quite recently, only 3-4 years ago. We can already see the result of their work.*

The comparison of international and state universities showed that EMI management at state universities is very limited, and English as a medium is used in parallel with the other languages or not used at all. At international universities, on the other hand, English is a lived language of communication inside and outside the classroom. The experiences that the teachers and students have differed drastically. In the nominal “English groups” in state universities, English is not managed, and both students and teachers are left with their problems on their own.

**S\_SU12:** *We do not experience much English, so we always switch into Uzbek or Russian. This (being an English group) gives us nothing.*

**S\_SU4:** *We have most subjects taught in Uzbek. Most of the subjects that should be taught in English are not conducted in English because most of the teachers do not know English.*

**T\_SU4:** *So, speaking about teaching in English. I do not teach in English; it is only on paper. I am not saying anyone if I am teaching in English or not. I am just doing what is best. On the paper, it says that I am teaching in English.*

Therefore, to my mind, it is not yet possible to refer to EME when it comes to state universities. The language policy managers in the country admit that there are still many issues to tackle in this regard. What became apparent is that the managers concentrate a lot on the role of a teacher, the teaching methods that they use, and the English language skills they possess. The main narrative is built around the teachers’ role but not the language management processes that could help everyone involved in EME thrive.

**A1:** *Students, you know, they are motivated, they want to learn, especially when they come, they pass IELTS, they have 6.5 or even more, and they sit in the lesson when*

*the teachers cannot speak properly. The motivation goes down. My personal belief is that everything starts with the teacher, not with the materials, not in the equipment; everything is in the teacher's hands. Teachers can organise the process; the teacher can motivate and encourage, teach them and everything. When we have these teachers with a low level of English, not motivated, who are just surviving, then everything goes down.*

**A2:** *Teaching methodology or teaching mechanism is now still a lot of mess; there is no framework yet. Because we have no framework for the teachers or there is no framework for the classification of education. As soon as we will have this monitoring or controlling according to the levels of the classification, then it might work a little bit. In standards, it is written that that is the framework, but there is no tool how to monitor it.*

The findings show that EMI teachers at state universities are the most vulnerable agents in EME. They are being given orders to teach in English, made to publish in English, often underpaid, and not professionally supported. One of the extreme examples of unfair teachers' time use was observed at one state university where the purchased database was used as a source of building the internal university database. Teachers are required to download a set number of articles on a chosen topic. They then copy these articles on a disc, write a short report about the downloaded articles, and leave the disc with the report at the library. This is a monthly commitment, and each teacher must contribute. As some teachers admitted in the interviews, they often do not even read these articles and download them randomly to meet the requirement.

How EMI is managed at state universities inevitably affects students and teachers. The process of getting to the EMI groups at state universities is not transparent and very sporadic.

**S\_SU12:** *We wanted to be in English groups, and the person said that we should take a special test and after that, we could study in a special English group. The test was in English. Those who have the highest score were selected. Next year other students wanted to study with us in the English group. They also passed the test, and we have more students. We have three groups now.*

**S\_SU13:** *There was no English advertising. When we have already entered the*

*university, we were told that there are English groups, and we joined. We took the additional interview, and we were chosen based on the outcome. Some of us took IELTS, but some did not.*

**S\_SU4:** *We did not decide to; the dean formed the group. We found out about the special groups. We were informed during the first week of study.*

In the EME setting at international universities, English is managed a lot better. The procedures of admitting students to the university require an IELTS certificate, and students are allocated into their groups having their expectations about their future studies in English. All subjects are taught through EMI, the materials are present, and teachers are supported a lot better than at the state universities. This set of attributes may be considered a minimum requirement for EMI. Even though the international universities' language policies are also non-existent, they go through an accreditation process with their foreign university partners and therefore have to follow foreign education practices. At the same time, there is not much focus on EME as well, and it seems to be taken for granted. The fact that these are international universities makes the focus on international standards of education a lot more prominent than the focus on English. Taking all the above into consideration, the policy implications for EMI at the state universities need to differ from the ones provided for EME at the international universities simply because the level of impact of the policy will vary in each context due to their inconsistency in the initial factors, such as funding, curriculum, materials, teaching methodology, language skills of the main agents, etc.

### **6.4.3 EME and EMI Management**

#### ***6.4.3.1 The Micro-level Language Managers***

The interview data shows that the “administrators” of the English language at HEIs are the teachers and students. The meso-level administrative and managerial staff of the university implement feedback collection forms, announce and organise pieces of training, and do many organisational tasks, but the way English is used in academia seems to be micro-managed by teachers and students. Within the classroom and

outside, students and teachers have strong beliefs about the use of English in and out of class; they set their own rules and boundaries for English use and control their language practices within the limits of what is allowed at the university.

Students and teachers at international universities are prone to use English everywhere. Students advocate for the use of English to develop their language skills, encourage their peers to speak English more, and actively promote the idea of an English-speaking environment.

**S\_IU1:** *Only English would be preferable since this is an international university and our programme is in English. I think all people should get accustomed to it. Some other students can get accustomed to Uzbek and Russian, that is why they may be a feeling that they do not want to learn their subjects in English. If all the lectures are taught in English, and all the professors speak in English, all students will get accustomed to the conditions, to the English-speaking environment.*

**S\_IU1:** *I encourage all my group mates to speak in English because I feel that there should be a difference because we are strictly English university. I saw international students from other universities who study all subjects in English, but they are still not fluent. And I thought to myself, well, you are studying in the English language, and I do not want to see this situation at my university.*

**S\_IU11:** *I would like everything to be in English. In good English. If we study only in English, we will improve it; we will develop it.*

**S\_IU5:** *I think it is a principle to speak only in English. If there will be no principle, all of us will begin to speak in Russian and Uzbek.*

International university teachers also control English use in the classroom and claim to switch to Russian or Uzbek only when “absolutely necessary”. Some of the main arguments are that “I allow them to code-switch, they will start doing it all the time” and “if you allow them to ask even once in Russian, next time all of them will be asking in Russian”. They often refer to the university policy, which is more of an unspoken rule that English is the language of teaching and official communication rather than a language policy document. Also, there seems to be a very clear division between professional and casual settings for the teachers. Only a few teachers at international universities admit the necessity of the use of other languages.

**T\_IU14:** *It is based on the policy of the University. They consider themselves as a university where the only medium of instruction is English; then, for sure, it should be in English. I never switch to Russian and Uzbek; I do not have to. It is because probably my students their first language is Uzbek, and I do not speak Uzbek, so we do not have any other option.*

**T\_IU5:** *I am really almost never talk to students in any language but English. Sometimes when students come for a dissertation, and I see that they have an idea but they cannot express it and ask to explain it in Russian, then I might say okay, just the idea. I think it is very important to keep the English language environment.*

**T\_IU5:** *Yes, I also do not switch to any other languages, but I do not know whether it is relevant to them because sometimes I fulfil my other responsibilities at university. I see that students have very urgent issues, and usually, they do not have the right command of the language to explain it to me; I let them shift to their native language and sometimes I can probably say something either in Russian or Uzbek, but in the classroom no.*

**T\_IU5:** *Sometimes I receive emails in Russian, but according to the policy, I reply in English. Even intercommunication with colleagues is in English.*

**T\_IU5:** *I think that when you speak Russian, it is informal, and when you switch to English, it is professional talk.*

**T\_IU5:** *During classes, I speak in English, but after classes, when students approach and try to ask me questions and mainly in the Uzbek language, I try to reply in English to encourage them to speak but sometimes it happens that when as a teacher you feel tired sometimes I may speak some Uzbek as well to explain some administrative, organisational things.*

At state universities, students are also very keen on speaking English more. They want their English to be controlled and other languages to be prohibited. The labels “special group” and “English group” make English more recognised. However, their lack of English skills and desire to improve English proficiency may inevitably affect their learning, and not all students see it this way.

**S\_SU4:** *At the beginning, it may be allowed to use other languages, but next year I think only English should be used. It should be prohibited to speak other languages. We study in a special group, so it should be in English.*

**S\_SU10:** *I think there should be a restriction for other languages, like Russian or Uzbek, because it is an English group, and we should know English terminology.*

**S\_SU10:** *Yes, of course. After maybe two years, I want to continue my education in one of the English-speaking countries. The earlier I adapt to this atmosphere, then it will not be difficult for me.*

Teachers at state universities are less enthusiastic about “English only” use. A few interviewed teachers try to use only English in class, but the majority admit that they often switch to Uzbek and Russian. Most groups are mixed-level, and some of the reasons for that are that “students are admitted without any exam”, “groups are formed at the dean’s department”, and “students only write an application in order to join an English group. They may or may not have IELTS”. Teachers have to teach classes using not only English for students to understand. Most teachers at state universities need to be bilingual and trilingual to be able to teach in mixed-ability classes. These teachers often stress the importance of content learning over English language use.

**T\_SU12:** *I think it is okay to switch to another language to explain some kind of symptoms to make it clear for students. I sometimes switch into Russian. The majority understand Russian, but I also speak Uzbek.*

**T\_SU9:** *Some students may forget English words, and they can use Uzbek words, but I understand that I can react without any problems. For me, it is understandable. It is not a problem if a student forgets a word. For me, he should know the subject, he should explain finance, and he should show me his knowledge.*

**T\_SU10:** *Sometimes we have special terms in subjects. Maybe sometimes we can use Uzbek or Russian to support them.*

**T\_SU6:** *If we have weak groups, we have to use Uzbek sometimes as well. We can explain with simple words, and sometimes we have to explain in Uzbek.*

**T\_SU10:** *Most students struggle to understand the subjects. In this case, we need to*



*use simple words. I also use other languages.*

**T\_SU6:** *I feel not good when I switch to other languages.*

The micro-level language managers play an integral role in how top-down policies work in academia. The variety of ways language management in the classroom and at the university is approached on the micro-level shows that the top-down language policies are either not clearly articulated, non-existent, or not brought to the teachers' and students' awareness in the same manner across all the universities. At the state universities, the lack of agreement about what practices to embark on leads to numerous drawbacks that result in dissatisfaction and struggles among teachers and students. Poorly handled language management on the side of the meso-level university administration and management results in drawbacks that include lack of transparency during students' admission, lack of materials, "English groups" created only on paper, inconsistencies, and significant disparities between the state and international contexts.

#### ***6.4.3.2 The Macro-level Language Managers***

Macro-level managers are involved in policy writing, teacher training, curriculum development, and materials design. It was very interesting to find out that the biggest English language projects ever run in the country are still being paid attention to, and there is a good practice of impact evaluation in place. Since the major changes in how English is handled in Uzbekistan started back in 2012, one of the first areas of improvement was teacher training. All future teachers of English were taught following a newly approved PRESETT curriculum developed by a group of leading English language academics with the support of the British Council. This curriculum was developed for all pre-service teachers of English with the help of specialists from the UK. It is currently run at all universities that train future teachers of English since 2013. As the British Council in Uzbekistan works in cooperation with the Ministry but not under its supervision, the project is handled with due diligence.

**A4:** *If I tell you to know about the PRESETT curriculum that was developed together with the Ministry of Higher Education for a long time starting in 2008. We started*

*piloting a new curriculum in higher education institutions for pre-service teachers, and only in 2012, when we finished the piloting stage and ran evaluation, did we prove the quite positive impact that the curriculum had on English teacher education. Only after this, in 2013, the curriculum was approved and implemented in all 17 universities of Uzbekistan. For example, last year, when we ran the impact evaluation of this project, we already saw how maybe some results of this curriculum. The graduates who graduated from PRESETT universities in 2016-2017, the first graduates, they already went to work at schools, and we know that, for example, for PRESET universities, it is a kind of a challenge now because the applicants' English language is higher in comparison to the level they had 3-4 years ago. So, it means that the curriculum should be reviewed, and it is great that it is regularly reviewed by the PRESETT team that we help people.*

Unfortunately, there is also an example of a project that is crucially important for the country's EMI teachers, which was felt by some to be mishandled and has not been revisited since. The "Teaching Other Subjects Through English" training was organised back in 2018 by the Republican Research Centre for Development of Innovative Methods in Teaching Foreign Languages. Many teachers did not complete all three modules because of their poor English and teaching skills and, as a result, could not get a certificate. The main problem, as I see it, is that it was organised under the supervision of the local authorities, who were perceived not see the importance in the training and did not want to invest in the project.

**A1:** *And unfortunately, the course was partly successful because not all could pass, but in general, it was really good and brought like good results. The problem was insight maybe we had some financial problems because our finance department and the people who were in charge of negotiating with the Ministry. They could not do it, and so teachers who worked could not get any payment, even minimal payment, and it was like months, and we finished. Because we do not have any capacity to give teachers something, we are less attractive. For example, British Council can motivate them by saying that "When we organise international projects, we will involve you" the future prosperities are more clear and more encouraging and motivating than we have. They have stronger authority and opportunities. At least one person from*

*the country will go to ITEFL once a year. This is a big encouragement, but from our side, we cannot show anything to show this prosperity.*

These two examples of projects show the difference between international and local practices, which highlights the dichotomy discussed in each of the previous dimensions. To an extent, EME is an international practice and seems to be handled better following an international practice. When EME is implemented at state universities that do not have most of the “optimal conditions for its successful implementation” (Linn et al., 2021: 26-27) or operate under local authorities, it seems to experience numerous drawbacks. During the interviews with the macro-level agents involved in policy writing in the country, a few more themes of concern were identified.

Firstly, language policymakers admit that the general move towards the implementation of EMI in HE is sometimes perceived as overly ambitious and not well-thought-through. As discussed above, there is a certain fixation on the role of the teachers and many administrators who deal with the language policy in the country understand this as a drawback.

**A1:** *We know that there are so many problems and the teachers. Again, going back to our baseline study. When we observed lessons, only 10% of lessons were really good, successful, effective. Starting with the language, at that moment, I think that we counted that only about 5% had a B2 level. So, what to say? Lack of proficiency on the teachers' side, lack of proficiency on the students' side.*

Secondly, they largely admit that the school system does not prepare students for EME. Many students and teachers also state that the main means of English skills development is not a school but a language centre or private tutoring.

**A3\_SU:** *We all know where the school system, specifically language teaching aspect, is experiencing some changes nowadays and hopefully next five years, we will have some good results, but lyceums also have been restructured, and now we can rarely see good lyceum or some other school or college or so who can actually teach good English skills. But to me majority of students who have a confident level of language picked up their language from NGOs like language centres, who deliver and help students to not only learn the basics of language them in a native-like environment which has an impact on their improvement of language too. Our students,*

*unfortunately, have to pay for English. It has always been so. If you want to get something, the good stuff is always paid version.*

**A6\_SU:** *I think it is always the educational centres impacting the development of language in Uzbekistan more than any other educational facility.*

Even though the system is undergoing some major changes and there is a major project, “English Speaking Nation”, run by the American Council throughout the country, the project's effect may only be evaluated later. The major scepticism regarding the “English Speaking Nation” project is that the project ambition, which is to have 500 teacher-mentors at schools throughout the Republic, is that it is unrealistic. This is a great example of the mismatch between international ambition and glocal reality. The fact that policymakers understand the project's problematic nature but cannot affect its implementation in the country shows how strong the top-down approach to language management is. Raising numerous social and economic issues, the policymaker voices the concerns that many local practitioners are aware of:

**A7:** *I think that it should have been thoroughly thought what intervention was needed and in what way that intervention should run. What we have now is that teachers are not motivated to take part, well not all of them, still, we have enthusiastic teachers, and we can assume that among those 44 co-trainers, we have the cream of the cream. Because they were applying themselves and it was for the first time, people were quite enthusiastic compared to this year's recruitment. This year we have to ask people to apply. Those trainers are paid only 100 dollars per year, which is nothing. Regional Peer Mentors are not expected to be paid at all. I can hardly imagine rural teachers being RPM who would have time, and we would be willing to work with another ten teachers to improve their performance. And at the same time, I also don't see much motivation and those ten teachers. I cannot imagine someone coming home after classes; they all are female teachers, most of them. I cannot imagine someone staying after classes doing the mentorials or observing someone's class. So, everything is complicated. I might sound pessimistic, but I just know it goes there because I am that teacher; I used to be that teacher.*

The third major drawback that language policymakers identify is the lack of materials. Discussed in the Roles of English dimension, this issue is considered one of

the cornerstones in the development of EME. The lack of locally produced resources makes this an area for development and an opportunity to publish a book that can be used locally at the university or even across the Republic. Materials development is another good example of glocalisation because the books published abroad are costly to purchase and may not be level-appropriate or culture-sensitive. Therefore, there is great demand for them to be produced locally. For example, one of the heads of an English department is finishing an ESP book that is aimed to be used at all state universities in the particular discipline.

***A5\_SU:** This book is of B2 level. It is a little bit complicated for our students because usually our students come from colleges, come after school, they know English, but not for B2. Some of them may be for B1 level, but the book is up to demands, modern demands of higher educational system standards, B2 is required.*

However, the policymakers involved in English materials development in the country state that many books that are written for publication are of a very poor quality, and their authors do not understand the basics of materials development.

***A1:** I believe in textbooks, and I believe that the textbook will give the teacher and will empower students, especially in the country where we do not have a lot of other sources. In our country, I think in post-soviet countries, we still have metodichkas; we collected these metodichkas and were looking at them. And now teachers started developing textbooks, but still, it is the same metodichka. The book I review now is also a metodichka, all texts are taken from Wikipedia, and they are almost like the same level, same source and the grammar exercises, and there is a mixture of words of all CEFR levels, but the exercises are for A1 level. There is a big mismatch. Questions before the text, then after the text, there is translation and grammar exercises. And actually, that is it. And the author calls writing “rearranging the words and make up sentences”. Again, A1 level and they do not have their vision; they cannot formulate their learning outcomes.*

The grant money that could be spent on the purchase of textbooks published abroad is usually for other purposes, and strong preference is given to locally produced books. The Ministry of Higher Education wants the textbooks to follow the standards of Education in Uzbekistan, but this on its own creates a great problem. One of the decrees

that are in progress is trying to include the point which states that there should not be real freedom of choice in terms of textbooks. One of the policymakers criticises this idea and tries to influence the inclusion of alternative textbooks. To what extent this will be possible is to be found out when the decree is published (it has not been published when this thesis was submitted).

*A7: The thing is that when applied for the grant for foreign textbooks, it was ignored, but actually, standards do not play an important role here in Uzbekistan. And another argument for them was that if we develop standards and the textbooks we buy do not match the standards. It is like buying a dress, coming home and trying to adjust it to your body and cutting half of your leg. It is just another way round. The standards are the overarching thing, and then we have a curriculum, and then we have textbooks. As a teacher, I have never checked the standards. They are somewhere on the shelf the same is the curriculum. Teachers remember about the curriculum before September 1 or when the inspection comes. Or they just do their syllabus based on the curriculum. Spending so much money on these documents in a country where we have domination of one textbook teaching has no sense for me because teachers what they do; they just teach the textbook. And it is natural because we have one textbook, that is the rule. All those beautiful ideas about standard-driven teaching are not the case for our country right now. I think it was, but not now. I see the problem of teaching English at the school level in the inability of teachers to choose the materials that fit the needs of their learners, and then no textbook or the textbook which is rubbish, no real assessment system, formative or summative, no matter, and no coherence and lack of motivation is a secondary factor. I think that a standard-driven teaching system can only be working or can be effective when you have freedom of choice to use resources or not to use resources, to use the textbook or handle without it. So, you have a destination where you should lead your students and no matter the way you choose, you to have to bring them there. In a country where you do not have the choice where there is one textbook for all classes, it is hardly possible. That is why the role of the standards is diminished here.*

Even though the macro-level policymakers understand all underlying drawbacks, when they were asked about the ideal scenario for the development of English language

policy in the country in the nearest ten years, they all tend to think that the importance of English will only grow with time. There is a strong ambition for the Ministry of Public and Higher Education, which aims to have an English-speaking nation, a great demand for EME, and an interest from the citizens.

*A4: There is always a risk that some plans may not be realised. I do not think that there will be many barriers, but a key barrier may be the change in the priority of the government. Today, the government is aimed at internationalising education, and it is great because this will be an opportunity for higher education to align not only the curriculum but also the academic process with those that we have in higher education at international universities. It is great that today the government pays much attention to the opportunities of getting international expertise from world-leading universities. If we compare the number of international universities working in Uzbekistan with those at the beginning of 2000, of course, the number is growing, and it is growing quite quickly for the last couple of years. And if the priority of the government changes and at least transnational education will not be important, then, of course, this will become a challenge. But I do not think that it will happen, at least in the nearest future.*

To summarise, the findings presented in the Language Management dimension highlight the complexity of the local top-down approach to language management and the real EME practices, which often do not match. Even with the great ambition of the government to move towards EME, it does not seem to properly think it over, to be ready to invest funds in EME development and organise the administrative processes. Despite its importance, EME is not handled with due attention from the macro- and meso-level managers and their support for the micro-agents.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

The findings in this chapter show that the practices and processes of EME differ drastically between international and state HEIs (key findings are reiterated in section 7.2.1). These differences are presupposed not only by an array of factors but apart from the most obvious curricular differences and financial base, the international and state

HEIs function following a certain “code of conduct” that shapes the use of English in and out of class. Belonging to one of these contexts imposes a certain behaviour on its students, teachers, and managers. The lack of language policies that would regulate, guide, and shape the practices and process within EMEMUS results in those practices being shaped by the personal attitudes and beliefs of the students, teachers, and managers, who are often driven by their own ad hoc understanding of internationalisation and language management principles.

EME is misinterpreted or rather re-interpreted in numerous ways in Uzbek HEIs. In Uzbekistan, EME is constantly remodelled to serve a range of purposes, which shows a need for flexibility in the EMEMUS framework. Hence, the 3D model of the updated framework can cater for this need. The need for language policies and international strategies that would address EMI is very topical in the study context. The next chapter will map the data against the Practices and Processes dimension, which is at the core of the updated framework. The findings presented in this and the previous chapter lay a foundation for the following proposed policy recommendations and study implications.



## Chapter 7

### Practices and Processes

#### 7.1 Introduction

The findings in the two previous chapters suggest that EME varies in many respects at state and international universities. Therefore, it is too simplistic to offer a “one-size-fits-all” policy for the HEIs in the country. The main aim of this chapter is to summarise the key findings and highlight the evidenced dichotomies between de jure and de facto policies and practices. These key findings and differences supported by data from state and international HEIs with EMI are also reflected in the 3D model.

The chapter is titled Practices and Processes, which are central in the updated EMEMUS framework, to lay the foundation for the final chapter, where I suggest a list of research-driven recommendations and policy implications for EME stakeholders. Based on the findings in the current study, these recommendations not only highlight the main areas of concern but also call for action in numerous aspects. Some of these findings were highly predictable, but most were not even anticipated at the start of the research process. This chapter summarizes the findings across all of the framework's dimensions to provide the overall picture of EME in Uzbek HEIs.

It draws on numerous considerations that EME stakeholders at different levels could address to maximize the effectiveness of EME and make students' and teachers' experiences with it more positive. A positive and productive experience is inseparable from the conditions created for its development. Based on the “optimal conditions for EME success” that are suggested in a case study, which highlights the importance of resourcing, funding, and training to support students, teachers, and administrators in EME, carried out in neighbouring Kazakhstan by Linn et al. (2021: 26-27), this chapter also tests the key findings against the list of optimal conditions to evaluate the readiness of Uzbek HEIs for further EME implementation.

## **7.2 Critical Issues in EME in Uzbekistan**

### **7.2.1 The Identified Differences at International and State Universities**

Since the study aimed to explore to what extent language policies and practices in Uzbek HE (in both international and state HEIs) are in line with EMI practices globally, the identified differences between these two contexts are too obvious to ignore. These differences inevitably affect the way the practices and processes are formed in Uzbek HEIs with EMI. To unpack the answers to the main research questions and to summarise the identified key differences between international and state EMEMUSs, the table below (table 33) compares the findings that affect EME development. They are organized under the categories (i.e., key factors in EME) based on the collected evidence in two academic settings, international and state. The findings are grouped under each dimension of the updated framework.

	<b>Key Factors in EME</b>	<b>International HEIs</b>	<b>State HEIs</b>
<b>Language Management</b>	<b>English proficiency test required to enter HE</b>	Proficiency tests (i.e., IELTS, TOEFL, Pearson, GCSE A levels, etc.) are required. The minimum levels vary across the HEIs, but it is never lower than IELTS 5.0 or its equivalents.	Proficiency tests are not required except at English linguistics faculties. International proficiency tests elsewhere are optional, and students are admitted to “English groups” based on internal exam, interview, or by simply signing up.
	<b>Extracurricular English language support for students</b>	Most institutions have units that run workshops and training on specific skills and offer writing support. There are plenty of clubs that are run by	At state universities, some clubs are initiated by the students and teachers, but there are only a few

	the students and teachers, including drama, debate, research clubs, etc.	examples of this good practice.
<b>Teacher training</b>	Many pieces of training on pedagogy but not on EME. Teachers at international universities do not feel the need to be trained in how to teach English because they often have foreign/international experience and role models that used to be their teachers.	There have been two large-scale teacher trainings: CLIL training run by the Uzbekistan Scientific-Practical Centre for Developing Innovative Methodologies in Foreign Languages Teaching (not the most successful project due to lack of funding) and EMI in HE by the British Council.
<b>Funding</b>	Enough funding to invest in the development of EME, including higher salaries for the teachers and better-equipped classrooms for the students.	Not enough funding to provide students and teachers with the resources, equipment, and training.
<b>Language policies at HEIs</b>	Not present at the university level, but there is documented evidence that EMI is an official medium of instruction on university websites. At one HEI, the policy was	Not present at the university level. The universities follow government policies that stress the importance of English.

		developed but not institutionalised.	
	<b>Support systems for teachers</b>	Professional development units are present at a few HEIs. At several universities, training can be requested by the department and organised using university funds. English language support for teachers is not provided.	Teachers seek professional and language help mostly outside the university from external NGOs. There are no mechanisms to request training or use university funding to do so. At one state university that wrote an ESP book, the publishing was sponsored by the rector himself.
<b>Agents</b>	<b>English proficiency</b>	Self-reported and observed English proficiency is higher than at the state universities for both teachers and students.	Self-reported survey and interview results for English proficiency show an average English proficiency (a minimum requirement to study and teach in English).
	<b>Linguistic background</b>	The students' and teachers' linguistic backgrounds are very diverse. Most teachers are graduates of international universities in the country or abroad, some are foreigners who speak good English, and some are native speakers of English. There are a lot	The linguistic background is less diverse than at international universities. Most teachers who do not experience any issues with English have some degree of international experience. A few students are international but not from Anglophone countries.

		more foreign students at international universities.	
<b>Roles of English</b>	<b>Use of English</b>	English is used outside the class and for different purposes.	English is used mostly only during the class, often in parallel with Uzbek and rarely with Russian.
	<b>Resources in English</b>	There are libraries in place at most universities with an abundance of materials in English on different subjects. Access to online databases is also available. Students get their materials either in the library or through the internal learning management systems that are in place for each teacher to organise their courses.	The libraries are also present, but there are not many materials in English. Access to online databases is present at several state universities, but students find them less important. Students are often entitled to search for materials on the Internet. Teachers share the materials through a popular messenger, Telegram. Unofficial channels exist for different courses. Teachers are also often translating materials from their native language into English because there is no context-specific information available in English. Some teachers buy books themselves.

<b>Internationalisation and Glocalisation</b>	<b>Use of other languages</b>	English prevails, but Uzbek and Russian are also widely present. Overall, the linguistic ecology at international universities is very rich because of the presence of international students and staff.	Uzbek prevails, with some evidence of Russian. In society as a whole, Russian is mostly used in the capital and is rarely spoken in the regions.
	<b>Internationalisation strategies</b>	Internationalisation is realised through the attraction of international staff and students, international research outputs, and international trends in education.	Internationalisation is realised through the attraction of international staff, but less than at the international HEIs, and through popularising the idea of publishing research outputs in international journals. The journals are usually of the predator variety, which means that there is no peer-reviewing and editing, and the research quality may be poor.
	<b>Inequality</b>	When employed, foreign teachers are preferred over state teachers to internationalise university profiles. There is some evidence that foreign teachers may teach subjects that are	Local teachers are underpaid, while their foreign colleagues are provided with the necessary funding, housing, and additional

		not their primary expertise to fit into the university.	perks to internationalise the university profile.
<b>Academic Disciplines</b>	<b>English language subjects</b>	EAP courses prevail. These courses are usually run in the first year, a foundation year, of studies with a more specific focus on a study area. The courses are sometimes divided into specific skills. They are not offered in the third year of studies.	ESP courses prevail. They are usually run in the first and second years of the university, but this varies. Several universities that adopted the modular system and state universities that stress the importance of English had English courses in the third year as well.
	<b>Non-English language subjects</b>	All subjects taught at International HEIs are taught through EMI.	The number of subjects and their speciality varies from university to university. These subjects are students' majors. Usually, students at state HEIs have one or two subjects taught through EMI per semester. Sometimes, these subjects are only nominally taught in English. In reality, they may be taught in Uzbek or Russian.

Table 33. Comparison of the main findings at International and state HEIs.

The above table shows that, mostly at state institutions, the rhetoric about the importance of EMI development reflected in numerous policies differs from the model

representation of EME. To exemplify, the government objectives specified in the policy on the “Concept of Development of Higher Education of the Republic of Uzbekistan until 2030” (2019) are realised in practice but in a very questionable manner. The national policy states that the universities should achieve higher international ranking but does not provide guidelines on how to achieve it without negatively impacting the stakeholders. It results in the practice of extensive publishing under a lot of pressure from the administration. The articles are published in poor-quality journals that require teachers to pay for their articles to be published in a short period of time with no editing or peer-reviewing (Eshchanov et al., 2021).

International universities have funding to resource teaching and their well-established mechanisms of education provision. They already follow international standards and have all or most of the “optimal conditions” identified by Linn et al. (2021: 26-27) for successful EME development in place, including a good level of resourcing, additional English language support, and threshold evaluation of proficiency, which all makes it easier for them to fit in with the bigger government agenda of internationalisation in HE. On the other hand, the state universities lacking all the above-listed benefits of international HEIs have to work much harder to reach the government goals. The findings show that there is a lot of pressure on teachers to get published in international Scopus journals and pressure to develop their English proficiency without much university support. The teachers are also very vulnerable agents in Uzbek EME because although there are bonuses for them if they have a high level of English, they are underpaid and therefore demotivated to teach in English.

Applying the obtained study results to the updated framework, the differences between the state and international HEIs may be observed in the following trends. The prominence of the Internationalisation and Glocalisation dimension is observed in the state HEIs, while the Roles of the English dimension dominates in the international setting. The Language Management dimension at the state HEIs is less significant in comparison to the Agents and Roles of English dimensions due to the lack of institutional mechanisms and policies that would regulate EME practices. In both settings, the Academic Discipline dimension is the least prominent, which is a result of a lack of awareness about the importance of academic literacies and discipline-specific pedagogies. The revised 3D model depicts this relative prominence of different



dimensions in different contexts (i.e., international and state) by providing an overview of key findings.

Describing the changes in the dimensions in more detail at the state universities, the holistic idea of EME is sometimes missing in practice. 'EMI' is shorthand for something that should be done to internationalise education, attract foreign staff and students, and build up the ranking profile of the university. A similar tokenism was sensed from the university leaders and teachers at 18 state HEIs in Uzbekistan, who referred to EMI as "a thing... that should be done" (Bezborodova and Linn, 2022:7). English is used in combination with Uzbek in class, almost no use of English outside class, lack of resources, and poor English language support suggest that EMI itself is not fully realised at state universities, which makes it harder to reach the level of EME evidenced at the international HEIs. Even though there is no definition of an international EMI standard, the documented evidence of this study shows that the practices at state HEIs are far from those of international ones. Even though the idea of internationalisation is very dominant at state universities, the realisation of the international agenda is almost exclusively connected with the English language, neglecting other important aspects of the process. What is also evident is that the university leaders at state HEIs perceive the development of EME as a set of achievable goals. The tasks are often delegated to the teachers, who experience many challenges in reaching these objectives.

At the international HEIs, EME and EMI are not tokenisms; their presence is reflected in numerous practices and processes. Even though EME at the international HEIs is at the other end of the continuum from the state universities, it is often taken for granted. International universities have a lot more financial and academic freedom, but they also experience numerous challenges with EME. They do not have language policies, provide insufficient support for the students' English proficiency development, and strive to achieve higher rankings using measures similar to the ones at state HEIs. The conditions for the development of EME at international HEIs are more favourable than at the state HEIs, but the overall approach to EME should also be repositioned, putting the needs of its stakeholders at the centre. Mainly driven by the belief that English plays an important role in shaping a brighter future for students and staff, EME is perceived to be prestigious. Therefore, the Roles of English dimension plays a crucial role in defining the processes and practices at international universities.

What unites both these settings is the lack of developments related to Academic Disciplines, which may be due to a simple lack of awareness. Firstly, at both state and international HEIs, teachers and students are not aware of the importance of academic literacy development in disciplines. During the interviews, this issue was raised only once and in relation to the work of EAP teachers during the foundation year, which shows that there is no awareness of academic literacy and its importance in EMI. The work of the EAP team was evaluated poorly by EMI teachers, who would prefer to work with students fully aware of all the written and spoken conventions of the discipline on the foundation level. Secondly, the array of disciplines present at state and international universities calls for the need to develop discipline context-specific materials that students can learn from. Not being able to build a connection between the content in the internationally printed book or article with the reality of Uzbekistan is a major issue to work on. The lack of discipline-specific materials that would provide examples from the local context makes the knowledge gained in EME not applicable in the local context.

Furthermore, evaluating the situation with EME in Uzbekistan, its development can be schematically applied to the continuum of EMI by Thompson and McKinley (2018: 3) (figure 5). Developed before the concept of EME, EMI is viewed as policy, a planned outcome, on the one side of the continuum and as practice on the other. However, in the context of Uzbekistan, there are two different, almost parallel education practices in state and international university contexts. Located between CBI and ESP, the practice at some state universities, where English is truly observed to be used in class, focuses on the content more than on the development of English. Most English practice is observed in ESP classes. At the international HEIs, this practice can be marked solidly to the left of the continuum.

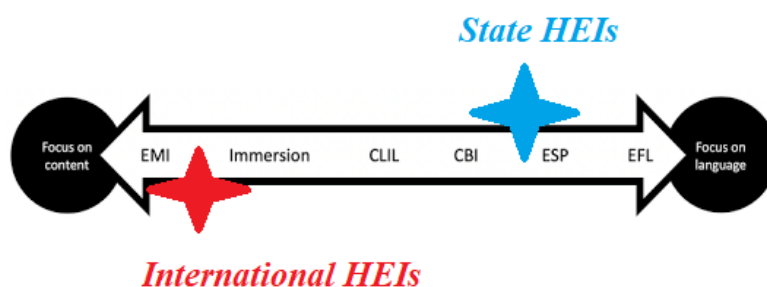


Figure 5. Continuum of EMI in practice.

However, the continuum itself does not fully represent all shapes and forms each of these practices may have in Uzbek EMEMUS, which is why the flexible 3D framework was developed. Multilingualism, the use of several languages, and parallel or concurrent use of languages are often forbidden or vice versa, left unnoticed in different settings. With very strong traits of parallel and multiple language use, at the state universities, in particular, these practices are not fully realised in English, they also operate without explicit EMI policies, and their effectiveness is not monitored and evaluated. At the international HEIs, even though they show the conventional characteristics of EMI, these practices lack a much-needed language focus and neglect the fact that for most participants, English is a foreign language that should be developed.

The positioning of state and international HEIs on the continuum suggests that EME in Uzbekistan may find its level, and it will exist in different shapes and forms in these two settings. If a “perfect EME” provision is required by the Ministry of Secondary and Higher Education, reaching it may become problematic in state universities. On the contrary, if EME is bottom-up driven, there are different ways of interpreting it and putting it into practice. Therefore, the perfect EME as a target that has to be reached may not allow it to develop into a part of the education ecology.

## **7.2.2 Key Findings in Each of the Dimensions**

Translating the identified issues in EME in Uzbekistan into the updated framework, it becomes clear that there are several areas that the stakeholders in EME need to consider. Discussing these issues in each dimension of the revised framework, this section highlights the research-driven findings, which will be reiterated in the concluding chapter as a list of suggested actions for different stakeholders.

### ***7.2.2.1 Agents Dimension***

The role of agents (i.e., teachers, students, university leaders, language policy writers, government representatives, stakeholders from various NGOs, etc.) in EME is crucial. The agents decide what shape and form EME will have, how it will be implemented in practice, and what direction it follows in the long term. Even though the dimension of

agents, like other dimensions, does not operate in isolation from many other external factors, the agents' role is particularly critical. The agents in this dimension are represented under analytical categories of their function on three levels: macro- (i.e., policymakers in the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Education and British Council Uzbekistan representatives), meso- (i.e., university management and administrative staff, and micro- (i.e., teachers and students). This research shows that agents may define actions that affect the development of EME in the country.

Agents at the macro- and meso- level, in particular, approach EME through the lens of internationalisation. Agents in-power in Uzbekistan strive to make HEIs internationally recognised using English as a useful tool to attract foreign students and staff, increasing university ranking through publications in English, and promoting the importance of English in society. Macro-level agents and key language policy stakeholders highlight these views in interviews and the policy documents (that they were involved in over the past four years). The government agenda that recognizes the importance of English is also supported by the strong beliefs that students, their parents, teachers, and university leaders hold about the prestige of English and the opportunities it provides for better employment and education. However, the research carried out worldwide on stakeholders' beliefs about EMI shows no conclusive evidence that these beliefs are translated into reality (Macaro, 2018: 291). Even though it is misleading to arrive at a consensus that English is a determining factor in the internationalisation of education and the creation of opportunities for those who know it in the context of Uzbekistan, where research is scarce on EME, agents at all three levels strongly believe in it.

The findings suggest that the realisation for EME agents that English proficiency truly matters in the EMI classroom is very strong. Many students and teachers at both state and international HEIs still have many concerns about the level of their English proficiency. At state universities, where English proficiency tests are not required to be admitted to an "English group", this becomes a major issue. Many teachers' concerns are related not to the fact that the classes can neither be characterised as CLIL, where the teacher has dual responsibility for language and subject development, nor as EMI, where the teacher has major if not exclusive responsibility for subject knowledge. Teachers are concerned about their students' poor English proficiency, and students, on the other hand, complain about the teachers' poor English.

Apart from students' dissatisfaction with EMI classes due to a lack of teachers' English proficiency, the class observations also showed that teachers at state universities use a lot more time to prepare for their classes; they often take additional classes to improve their English proficiency, which adds to their stress. Since many teacher trainings, conferences, and professional development workshops in EME available online and offline are also delivered in English, for teachers, a good level of English also allows them to concentrate on their professional development and not on their English proficiency improvement. Students' lack of proficiency also results in poor understanding of the content, low participation, lack of focus, lack of motivation to study, etc. Similar findings were reported in the international literature on EMI by, for example, Lei and Hu (2014), Floris (2014), Macaro (2018, 2019), Marsh et al. (2000), etc. Most students who want to improve their English also take additional classes, even at the upper levels at the university. Because the universities overlook English language support for both teachers and students, English proficiency development is costly, which adds to the concern. In an ideal world, for EME to be effective, both students and teachers should not experience major difficulties with English to have interesting and engaging classes. Ideally, they need to take a standardised English proficiency test to access EME.

The findings also show that meso- and micro-level agents do not have enough EMI training and do not take an active role in requesting, initiating, and co-constructing any training at the university, regionally, or countrywide. To do so, there should be policies, systems and organisations that could help distribute needs analysis surveys, analyse them, and develop and deliver these trainings catering to the identified needs of the agents in EME. Without proper professional support offered to all stakeholders in EME, including university leaders, the implementation of it will continue to be a symbolic effort. The creation of additional professional opportunities will grant EME stakeholders a sense of ownership for their own professional development, but their initiatives should be supported by policy, universities, and other interested organisations. The policies should, therefore, start to consider all EME complexities and pay more attention to the needs of EME stakeholders.

### ***7.2.2.2 Roles of English Dimension***

The identified roles of English differ in international and state universities, but what unites them are very strong beliefs about the importance of English. The most important, yet not surprising, finding is that the English language's prominent role in academia is inseparable from, predominantly, Uzbek and, to a lesser extent, Russian. The number of spoken languages in both state and international universities also exceeds the three languages mentioned above because of the international students and staff represented. The use of languages also varies in the regions, with, for example, the Tajik language overtaking Uzbek in Bukhara. In all class observations at the state universities and in a few international ones, the teachers and students would also mix languages. Even though in all 14 participating universities, the participants were strong proponents of tolerance of linguistic diversity on campus, during the interview, multilingualism was viewed by the study participants as a detriment to the development of English.

Most of the participants would also want to have an English-only language policy even at the state universities (in particular stressing the idea of an “English-speaking atmosphere” that would help them develop their English), which is similar to the findings by Linn et al. (2020). In light of numerous studies on EME, where multilingualism and translanguaging are viewed as an important meaning-making practice that is used across different international contexts (Garcia, 2010; Garcia and Li Wei, 2014; Paulsrud et al., 2017), multilingualism should be viewed as an important resource that should inform language policy at all levels. It is obvious from the findings that teachers are not aware of the translanguaging pedagogy because it is not addressed in the professional development training. Therefore, they do not know how it might be implemented in the university's teaching, learning, and assessment practices. Socialising the principles of multilingualism and translanguaging and viewing them positively will allow EME stakeholders to recognise the everyday realities of students and teachers in and outside the classroom.

Another important finding that affects the development of the academic research domain is the push for research in peer-reviewed journals solely in English, which leaves behind most non-EME teachers who do not speak English and are not able to read the published articles. Reiterating the fact that these publications are usually in predatory journals, which publish articles for a fee without reviewing the quality, where poor-quality research is written in poor English, the international conventions of

quality, informed consent, and impartiality in research are breached. Moreover, the teachers who do not speak English are simply left behind because they do not follow these research outputs. The local scholarship in Uzbek and Russian languages is also rather poor, which contributes to the already impoverished situation in this area.

The study also identified a lack of context-specific materials in English at the state universities, in particular. Great attention is paid to the development of English in the country. Therefore, many ESP departments at state universities are producing their own textbooks, which is rather questionable because they have minimal expertise in materials development. It would be more efficient but more costly to purchase English materials from different global publishing houses and concentrate on a more important issue, a lack of subject-specific resources. This massive move towards the development of English language materials that develop English proficiency is drawing attention away from building subject-specific contextual resources that can only be generated if they are research-based. EMI teachers at state universities often have to translate lectures from their native language into English, which is time-consuming and tiring if their English proficiency is not very high.

### ***7.2.2.3 Academic Disciplines Dimension***

The findings in this framework dimension suggest paying attention to a large area of academic literacies that Uzbek policymakers and even teachers rarely regard as important. Academic literacy in different disciplines is indeed a grey area in EME in Uzbekistan. The study identified that there is almost no focus on developing academic discipline-specific literacies but a great focus on teaching separate language skills. The EAP and ESP courses that are delivered at both state and international universities are run over the first and sometimes second academic year of study, focusing on writing, reading, speaking, and occasionally listening skills. There is some rare focus on genre-specific writing tasks, such as reports, at international universities, but this is rarely observed in the state HEIs. At state HEIs, most ESP courses focus on vocabulary building, reading comprehension development, and speaking skills practice. A heavy focus is given to students' presentation skills.

During the class observations, it also became apparent that the classes at the state HEIs are organised in a very conventional way of seminars and lectures, with seminars being a recap of the lecture but with the more active participation of students. In none of the observed 31 EMI classes in international and state settings was the issue of disciplinary literacy raised. However, during the interviews, teachers at international universities addressed the lack of academic literacy development in their students, blaming EAP and ESP teachers for their poor curriculum and the fact that these skills are not developed in students. Jalkanen and Nikula (2020) identified that when language courses take the disciplinary approach and address disciplinary literacies in their learning outcomes, the role of language teachers shifts towards conceptualising these literacies and teaching, preparing students for their particular field of study. This also means that the language teachers should work in close collaboration with the EMI teachers to shift from “language” and “content” teaching to a more specific “disciplinary language” and “disciplinary practice” teaching, which is not the case in Uzbek HEIs.

Even though the study did not delve into the analysis of teaching materials, it is evident that EME teachers in Uzbekistan use foreign resources that usually address general internationally accepted literacies, which may be less applicable in the local context. They, as previously mentioned, do not use a multilingual approach to disciplinary literacy pedagogy. However, for students who go through EME training in Uzbekistan, it is important to apply the skills and knowledge in the real world, where the literacy conventions may differ from those taught in EME. Since the chances that the vast majority of students will not use English in their employment after they graduate from EME are very high in Uzbekistan, it is crucial to bring students’ awareness of the fact that the disciplinary conventions may differ and equip them with enough skills to adapt to new norms (not necessarily academic literacy ones) with ease.

#### ***7.2.2.4 Internationalisation and Glocalisation Dimension***

The discussion of internationalisation in the Agents section above has already touched upon the distorted understanding of how to reach it through the popularisation of the English language in HE. Even though it is not explicitly stated in policy documents, the practices show that English is a key component of planned internationalisation. In fact,



in the latest decree on Effective Measures to Organize the Promotion of Foreign Language Learning (2021)<sup>23</sup>, “foreign language” is a proxy for English. Many international universities in the country are becoming brands that attract more students, and under-funded state universities are not marketing themselves, yet glocalising the international practices in numerous departments. Moreover, the university leaders and teachers at state HEIs in Uzbekistan believe that “if you do ‘EMI’, you can get into international ranking” (Bezborodova and Linn, 2022:7).

The primary consideration that universities, including the ones that call themselves international, should make is to stop considering internationalisation and English as synonyms because there is a lot more to do to reach the standards of international education. English is indeed an international language, but using EMI is not enough. Academic excellence, strong faculty, exceptional facilities and funding, and robust scholarship are among a few on the list. The findings show that even some international universities that are mushrooming in the country are not yet able to reach the standards of internationalisation even though they are affiliated with universities abroad. To illustrate, of seven participating international HEIs, two did not have a library, even though these universities were established more than a year ago. The access to online resources at these two HEIs was also rather limited. At the state universities, the situation is a lot more difficult with the materials, funding, and facilities and with the quality assurance that international education is prominent for. There are no transparent and fair assessment mechanisms because of bribery on all levels. There are no curriculum innovations, policies on academic honesty, and practices of self-evaluation and staff appraisal. What is more, there is limited academic freedom in what the teachers and students can discuss in the classroom.

The mismatch between the government agenda to develop internationalisation in HE and the readiness of the universities to act upon the identified government objectives is observed in the findings. The top-down approach that the policymakers use does not provide any guidance to the university stakeholders on what steps to take to reach their goals, nor does it refer to any additional support structures available for the stakeholders. Therefore, striving to reach the government objectives regarding internationalisation, both state and international universities should have their

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<sup>23</sup> <https://lex.uz/ru/docs/-5431845>

internationalisation strategies with clear guidance about their EME pathways. Ideally, the HEIs should also have language policies in place, showing their position on multilingualism and tolerance or not to linguistic diversity on EME campuses, highlighting the roles that English plays in academia, and clarifying the roles of other languages. Unfortunately, these policies are non-existent.

The results also highlight a broad topic of inequality in EME. Evidence of inequality in EME is observed in both students and staff. Students with more opportunities to study English can take private classes or attend costly language courses. Unfortunately, English language provision at the secondary level is not enough for students to prepare to enter a university with EME, and the ongoing IELTS preparation is not something that all parents can allow themselves to fund. Also, considered to be “better”, studying in international HEIs with EME is more expensive than at the state HEIs. Those who graduate from international universities are also perceived to have higher chances of getting employed. As for the teachers, the inequality is largely observed in the salary they get at the underfunded state universities and the choices that the employers make in hiring foreigners to expand their international profile at international universities. In both contexts, local teachers are unequally treated and disadvantaged.

#### ***7.2.2.5 (Language) Management Dimension***

The final dimension is inclusive of all the points mentioned above because, in one way or another, the identified areas of concern require the active involvement of government, university leaders, and teachers who manage the practices and processes at the university. Since one of the key objectives of this research was to explore to what extent policies are in line with EME practices, the study specifically looked at language management at 14 participating HEIs. The identified issues should all be addressed in the institutional strategy documents and/or institutional policies that are missing at the university level in most state universities that operate strictly following government orders. At international universities, the policies (not language policies, as the research findings show) are produced but only in well-established HEIs. Most of the other HEIs follow the policies of affiliated foreign institutes or adapt them to their context.

Therefore, there is an urgent call for state university leaders to adopt the practice of policy writing, especially now that most of them have gained financial independence.

Language policies in Uzbekistan are usually defined by the Ministry of Higher and Secondary Specialised Education and signed by the President. There are numerous decrees on the development of English in the country, and in the past few years, a great shift in the rhetoric of the policies has been observed towards the development of EME. Reviewing the policies at the beginning of this project, I wrote that there are no signs of a bottom-up approach in language policy development. At the university level, the planning, implementation, and management of policies can be considered bottom-up processes, but policies themselves are still top-down. The top-down method is a common practice in many contexts, and Uzbekistan is not an exception in this regard. However, a recent policy signed by the Ministry of Secondary and Higher Education promotes Methodological Guidance on how to teach through EMI, a document that was developed as part of the EMI teacher training project coordinated by the British Council. The document itself has been co-developed with the trainers from NILE and their trainees, the EMI and ESP teachers from Uzbekistan. This example shows that the bottom-up approach to language policy is possible in the country and suggests the potential for EME development.

HEIs could utilise this good practice and co-create language policies involving teachers and students in the discussion about their experience with English. There was no evidence that the university leaders collected stakeholders' views and came up with policies supporting EME development at the university based on the results. Moreover, the universities in the study do not share good practices between each other and learn from their experience to inform the Ministry of Secondary and Higher Education about the challenges and successes they have with EME. It is evident that staff and students are not motivated to partake. Staff, in particular, if the additional workload is required on their side, are not financially rewarded for their work or reimbursed for their extra time. One reason for that may be that the university leaders are not open to collaborating with other universities that implement EME to share good practices and learn from each other's experiences due to competition. The evidence of any collaboration does not go beyond a traditional signing of memorandums of understanding that exist only on paper and bring no improvement in the existing practices and processes.

Overall, the identified broader areas that should be considered in the policy documents suggest that there is a lot to consider for both state and international universities. With the current state of EME in the country, the former has to do a lot more to attain the achievements of the latter. Even though initially, the research did not intend to compare the two settings, the differences are drastic and should not be ignored. Therefore, each of the identified broad areas will further be refined into more detailed recommendations that will be addressed to specific stakeholders in macro-, meso-, and micro-levels of EME.

### **7.3 Optimal Conditions for EME in Uzbekistan**

In the case study of the private KIMEP University, Linn et al. (2021), in their research into EME in neighbouring Kazakhstan, identified a set of key conditions to help institutions consider in which areas they may need to invest for EME to be optimal. According to Linn et al. (2021: 26-27), the points below serve as a checklist for optimising conditions:

- Being officially fully EM, although translanguaging is used in practice;
- Being EM from the beginning;
- Being a relatively small institution with a clear mission and sense of identity, offering a coherent mix of programmes;
- Being private and having a more than adequate level of resourcing, greater prestige and thus the ability to attract higher-ability students who report few challenges studying through English;
- Operating in an education context with English as part of general education from Primary onwards;
- Recruiting students with the opportunity for additional tutoring before and during university and for the global travel and international experience;
- Recognising the need for extensive EAP training and providing it;
- Testing the English proficiency of new students and faculty and responding proactively to the outcomes;
- Making EME an explicit part of a wider internationalisation strategy;
- Recognising the needs of administrative staff.

Calibrating the study findings against the optimal conditions, it becomes clear that none of the international and state universities meets all these criteria. The only criterion met in both state, and international HEIs is that English has been taught from primary onwards at all schools in the country since 2013 following the government policy. It is important to note that not all students who took part in the study may fall into the category of those who had their English classes since the first grade. Therefore, even this condition may only be partly met by the participants. Moving from the top of the list to the bottom, it becomes apparent that the international and state universities will have a different response to each of the rest criteria. The international HEIs will all have English as an official MI, even though language policies are absent. The status of English is a de facto MI, which is evident from the university websites. The state HEIs do not specify that, but the de facto MI there is Uzbek and Russian.

Because the listed optimal conditions should not be viewed as goals but rather measures, the second criterion is not applicable to the state HEIs by default, while the international HEIs, even though only partially, fall into this category. Out of seven participating international HEIs, only one was fully private and relatively small. The rest of the universities are classified as semi-state HEIs because they are all affiliated with foreign universities. Student intake in each of these HEIs also varies from those that exceed 2000 students to those with 400.

Sufficient financing that would attract high-ability students is also not always the case for international HEIs. Well-established HEIs may allow themselves to select the best students, but even in their case, the financing always depends on the number of students they take. Therefore, oftentimes, the selection is based not on the quality but on the number of students. At the state HEIs, which are often underfinanced, the selection to so-called “English groups” is proven to be random, based on the willingness of students or internal exams. Students have to go through an additional selection process because they all have to take state exams to be admitted to the state university. The interviews showed that high-ability students opt for international HEIs, but if they do not get admitted, they study at the state ones. In other words, high-ability students state that state HEIs are not their first choice. Both state and international HEIs provide English language training during the course of study. However, the nature of this training also varies from General English to EAP and ESP. Modules run over the first and sometimes second years of study do not provide sufficient support making many

students take additional English language classes elsewhere. The language needs of teaching and administrative staff are also not considered.

A certain level of English proficiency is particularly required from the state university teachers, which is specified in a decree on “Effective Measures to Organize the Promotion of Foreign Language Learning”, published in 2021<sup>24</sup>. It states that by the 2024-2025 academic year, at least 50% of EMI teachers must have a national certificate of at least B2 level or equivalent. Teachers at international universities do not need to meet this language requirement because most of them have their postgraduate degrees from foreign English-speaking countries, but the state university teachers have to conform to this policy and show documented proof of their language proficiency to the administration. Without any support from the university administration, these teachers have to renew their English proficiency tests every five years to keep their place at work. Students’ proficiency is also required from all students at the international HEIs. At the state HEIs, the tests are optional or not required at all.

The findings in this research neither challenge nor refine the list proposed by Linn et al. (2021). The only minor addition that the findings suggest is that the universities may be quite big regarding the number of students and programmes offered to have successful EME. These big universities are long-time-established and usually affiliated with foreign institutions, which implies a certain level of quality control.

## **7.4 Conclusion**

The findings in this study show that EME in Uzbekistan is a very complex issue, and any complexity takes time to recognise. As soon as the stakeholders understand this complexity, EME has a chance to develop into a form of education that brings its benefits. It is very desired by the government, parents, students, and teachers, who consider English, as its main component, with many perceived benefits.

Based on the research findings of this study, it is proposed that in the context of Uzbekistan, the understanding of what EME is should be repositioned from a very

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<sup>24</sup> <https://lex.uz/ru/docs/5431845>

strong belief in English to a strong belief in Education. The changing nature of EME and the research trends in the field suggest that it cannot be considered in isolated educational contexts and applied following one blueprint.

The continuum of EMI in practice (figure 5) and the application of the findings to the optimal conditions by Linn et al. (2022) show that EME policy should be informed by lived reality. A perfect optimal EME should not be perceived as a de facto goal but should instead be viewed from the range of approaches on the continuum, which will inform EME policy from the bottom. EME is an intertwining of issues that have to be investigated to bring to the attention of policymakers. To pursue an empirical research agenda that addresses these challenges, researchers in Uzbekistan should aim to overcome misconceptions about EME by providing a research-driven base for each of the updated framework dimensions and linking theories with practices. Since there is very little research done about EME and EMI in Uzbekistan, there are a plethora of topics for further research.

## Chapter 8

### Concluding Policy and Practice Implications

#### **8.1 Introduction**

The final chapter aims to conclude the research by summarising the answers to the research questions, addressing the limitations that emerged in the study, revisiting the updated framework, and providing the key implications for policy, practice, and future research. In this chapter, I also evaluate the contribution this study makes to knowledge in the field. The provided recommendations are based on the key findings presented in the previous three chapters, which, in turn, are based on the updated theoretical framework. The significance of the framework is revisited to recap how it was interrogated and refined by the present study. The chapter concludes with a call for further actions in the context of Uzbek EME and possible avenues for EME development in the country.

#### **8.2 Answers to the Research Questions**

To recap and establish the guiding principle for the current chapter, below are the two main research questions (RQ1 and RQ2) and sub-questions that this study aimed to answer.

1. In which ways are language policies in the Uzbek HE institutions with EMI formed and managed?
  - 1.1 Are English language practices regulated in any way in Uzbek HE institutions with EMI?
  - 1.2 Who defines language policies and practices, and how?
2. What language practices and beliefs characterise EME in Uzbek HEIs?
  - 2.1 What are the main beliefs and attitudes that students, teachers, and administrative staff carry about EMI?



2.2 What is the status of English in HE, and to what extent is it used?

2.3 What are the challenges associated with the use of English by students, teachers, and administrative staff in the EMI context?

### 8.2.1 RQ1

To begin with, language policies at the university level are not formally stated but exist de facto. Except for one well-established international university, which has developed one but has never approved it, there is no documented evidence of language policies at any of the 14 studied HEIs. The abundance of government-level policies also does not directly address the bigger concept of EME and even a more specific EMI. The only instance where EMI is addressed is a methodological guideline on how to teach through EMI approved by the Ministry of Secondary and Higher Education (British Council Uzbekistan, 2022)<sup>25</sup>. The document (i.e., not a decree or policy) was developed as a part of the EMI project run by the Ministry of Secondary and Higher Education and British Council Uzbekistan. The genuinely bottom-up nature of the document is an encouraging example of good practice, which signifies the potential for bottom-up approach in this field. The rest of the policies approved at the government level use a top-down approach to policymaking. They mainly address the promotion of the English language in the country, language requirements for students and teachers, and some aspects of teacher training.

Throughout the study, it was observed that English practices per se are not regulated. Even though the state and international HEIs differ in many regards, what unites them is a lack of understanding of EME holistically among the stakeholders, how complex it is, and what challenges it faces in multilingual settings. Therefore, the complexity of EME is not addressed in how the policies are written and later implemented in practice, which is not unique to the context of Uzbekistan. While international HEIs mostly follow the principles of international institutions that validate them, state HEIs have to comply with government policies to their fullest. With the number of educational reforms in the country that do not always concern the English

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<sup>25</sup> [https://www.britishcouncil.uz/sites/default/files/method\\_recom\\_emi\\_eng\\_2022.pdf](https://www.britishcouncil.uz/sites/default/files/method_recom_emi_eng_2022.pdf)

language, state universities and their main stakeholders have to cope with numerous objectives set by the government. Therefore, it is fair to state that state HEIs that adopt EME face a lot more challenges than international institutions.

By and large, the state defines language policies and practices. However, the implementation of these EME practices in Uzbek HEIs has proven to be a phenomenon not only because most of the population does not speak English but largely because EME is represented in different shapes and forms throughout the country in international and state HEIs (sections and sub-sections of 7.2 and 7.3). These practices are presupposed by the context, the role of key meso- and macro-level stakeholders, and optimal conditions, which are not fully in place.

### **8.2.2 RQ2**

Despite a very positive attitude towards EME, its benefits, and a general desire to be a part of it, the study participants treat EME tokenistically. Despite all aspirations of the government to internationalise HE with EMI, class observations show that the reality is often different from what is written in the policies. One of the key findings is that EME agents in Uzbekistan on any of the levels do not appreciate or address the nature and complexity that EME entails. The findings show that the way EMI is implemented at state universities, in particular, is built around the positive image of English that all agents share. EMI is a token gesture since the whole idea of it is missing in practice, and insufficient credit is given to the importance of EMI in the internationalisation of Uzbek HE.

EME is not understood by students, teachers, and university leaders the way it is understood by researchers, which is a sign of the remoteness of researchers from the lived reality of stakeholders. The complexity of EME and its impact on agents is often misunderstood and simplified, which inevitably results in practice. Students do not see that EMI adds complexity to their learning. They simply treat it as a tool that will help them build their professional and economic capital. Similar results are documented in numerous studies. Among the most recent ones are Spain and Italy (Doiz et al., 2019) and Bangladesh, Nepal, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan (Linn et al., 2021). Teachers, on the contrary, see that EMI adds complexity to students' learning, mainly due to students'

low-level proficiency. The research findings show that for teachers in Uzbekistan, students' level of English is the main hindrance to students' learning and teachers' teaching. Students, on the other hand, blame teachers for their low level of English. Managers blame nobody but mostly complain about the lack of funding.

Even though EME is positively viewed by its main stakeholders, English is sometimes used as a medium of instruction only in theory. The development of EMI as a lexeme in its own right is a token gesture, and EME is implemented at numerous HEIs as a proxy for internationalisation, and its complexity is not addressed in practice.

### **8.3 Contribution to Knowledge**

In Central Asia, a region with historically very low English proficiency, the development of EME is becoming one of the priorities in the education sector. Despite all the changes happening in English language education, not much research has been done to explore the function of English language policies in EME, the changing role of English in education, and the associated challenges. Overall, this study, as well as my other post-graduate studies in a broader Central Asian context on EME in HE, contribute to the overall body of knowledge in the field addressing the existing research gap in the study context. My research to date serves as a baseline for future individual studies on numerous EME-related topics in Uzbekistan and the Central Asian region, building on the praxis of a researched context.

#### **8.3.1 Updated Framework**

The extension and restructuring of the original ROAD-MAPPING framework by Dafouz and Smit (2020), the only theoretical model thus far developed in EME, makes the research a pioneering attempt to look at EME from a different perspective to adapt the framework to the context of the Central Asian region, to map current EME practices in Uzbek HE, and to highlight issues that the Ministries and university leaders should address. Furthermore, approaching EME holistically using the updated ROAD-MAPPING framework allows us to see that practice triumphs over abstract policy.

The developed 3D model of the updated framework is another contribution to knowledge, as its use in a large-scale study has allowed me to refine and develop it further. The key change to the ROAD-MAPPING framework is that the Practices and Processes dimension, discussed quite broadly by Dafouz and Smit (2020), is centralised along with the Discourse dimension. This central combination represents the university ecology itself, where linguistic resources are dynamic and not static and where the lived realities of the EME stakeholders are at the heart of the model. The centrality of Practices and Processes in this study develop, structure, and refine this dimension, contributing to knowledge.

The updated framework has also been challenged within the initial structure of the Roles of English dimensions. More specifically, the updated framework applies a more holistic approach to the sub-categories of the Roles of English, moving away from the discrete classification (i.e., societal, institutional, pedagogical, and communicational roles) to more hierarchical levels (i.e., macro-, meso-, and micro-level roles). This organisation of the findings into analytical categories shows that while the levels remain static, the identified roles are fluid. Furthermore, since the study findings show that the roles face various practical challenges and even affect each other, functioning as a ripple effect, the complex relationship between them had to be reflected in a more inclusive structure.

Reflecting on the use of the EMEMUS framework, I admit that the framework, inclusive of many factors (i.e., dimensions), is very versatile. Theoretically, the framework acknowledges using languages other than English, which aligns with my research context. Since I applied and followed one particular dimension of the framework in an earlier study on EMI (Bezborodova and Radjabzade, 2021), I had some prior experience and knowledge of it. The framework used wholistically in this PhD study helped structure the written work, guided the design of the data collection tools, and drove the data interpretation and analysis chapters' alignment with the framework dimensions. Not only was it a guiding principle behind the logical and coherent organisation of the research, but also a building block for data interpretation.

Despite the numerous benefits of the EMEMUS framework for the structural organisation of research with its clearly identified dimensions, finding a dividing line between the dimensions was challenging. The overlapping nature of the dimensions made it hard to decide on what exact data to place under each specific category.

Therefore, I referred to the original definitions of the framework dimensions to make informed decisions and clarify the exact points for discussion.

Using the framework in its original form was also challenging because Discourse is considered an access point in it, but in the study context, there were no policies-as-discourse and policies-as-text. Therefore, the original framework was revisited, and the Discourse dimension was centralised along with the Practices and Processes dimension, which is discussed in more detail below.

Moving forward, I intend to make the 3D model an accessible EME framework that can be easily manipulated online. While the original ROAD-MAPPING framework is driving the expectations, the manipulative nature of the 3D model reflects the practices and processes and the importance of lived reality in informing the EME policy. The potential further use of the framework is that it can serve as a building principle for any research of existing EME and EMI practices, EME-related policies, and language planning processes. Being able to manipulate the model, the researchers may view their potential study areas within the identified dimensions from different perspectives. They may centralise the dimensions their research falls into and look at it from different perspectives, further refining and enhancing the framework and contributing to the knowledge of EME. The model may become a yet more valuable functional tool for research in the field of EME. Any further adjustments to the updated framework will be research-driven and may result from future planned studies.

Overall, my research findings, including the developed 3D model, bring significant theoretical and practical contributions to the advancement of EME in Uzbek HE and the wider Central Asian region, where EME is becoming widely used under similar conditions and comparable cultural norms. In addition, the study provides guidelines on the improvement of EME practices and equips key stakeholders with the research-driven knowledge needed to support students, teachers, and administrators in institutions with English medium instruction.

#### **8.4 Study Limitations**

In evaluating the research process and progress, it is important to consider what could have been addressed differently in the study design and data collection. This study's methodological limitations resulted from challenges I had to overcome during the data

collection process. The main methodological challenges were related to the recruitment, firstly, of the universities and secondly, of the teachers for the focus-group interviews. Teachers are difficult to gather in one place without much support from the university. Often, this support was only reflected in an official letter and not provided in practice. At a few universities where I had no personal connections with the teaching staff, I had to knock on every door to recruit participants, which was very unusual and time-consuming. On the one hand, this may seem to pressure the participants, but in the reality of the context, there was no other way of raising awareness of my research. None of the participants was pressured to take part. Where gathering the teachers in a group was impossible, I undertook individual interviews. This change in the initial design may be considered one of the study's limitations. If the data collection had not happened during the pandemic, for the consistency in data collection methods, I would have changed this practice and taken the necessary time to recruit the participants for focus-group interviews. However, under the circumstances, this was the only possible approach.

Another possible limitation of the study is the fact that I used only English to interview the participants. Since the findings show that many participants experience difficulties using English, the use of it in the interviews may have hindered the participants from clearly articulating their viewpoints. The main justification for using English during the interviews is that the study was conducted among stakeholders in EME, which assumes the use of English. All students, teachers, and administrative staff at different levels were involved with English; therefore, it was easier to make it the operating language. However, I understand that some participants may have decided not to take part in the study because of their lower self-evaluated English language proficiency, which may not have potentially meant that their ideas about the use of English would be less valuable. If I had a chance to reconsider the study methods, I would allow for the use of other languages to hear more voices, which might have provided more insights into the position in state universities.

Lastly, the fact that out of 14 participating HEIs, only one was not in the capital is a limitation imposed by the pandemic. I wish I could have travelled more around the country to collect richer representative data, but due to the pandemic, the travels around the country, not to mention undertaking fieldwork outside the UK at all, were very problematic. I was happy to collect data at any university that agreed to participate

in my research, but logistically it was very difficult to reach the regions. Even though many students from the regions come to study in EME at the capital, the data may have been more diverse from the point of view of understanding the national picture.

### **8.5 Policy Implications for Different Stakeholders**

The final section of the chapter combines the refined findings to generate a list of recommendations for different stakeholders in developing EME-related policies, managing the processes and practices in EMEMUS and simply approaching the phenomenon of EME in the country. The research-driven recommendations are based on the findings of this study, aiming at raising awareness of the complexity of EME in the country, raising important issues on how to improve EME, and calling for further research in the field. Each section of recommendations to different stakeholders is also grouped under the more general categories, which differ from section to section. The list of recommendations may be used as a blueprint for future policymakers and university stakeholders.

The findings showed that there is a very limited understanding of EME complexities, low English language proficiency, and insufficient university support for professional development and research. Academic literacies development and the use of multilingual resources are identified as the main areas of policy concern in the Academic Disciplines dimension. Policymakers should consider it an important structural change at the universities to provide enough support and training for the teachers to make necessary changes in their curriculum. This change requires extensive training on literacy pedagogies for both language and EMI professionals.

Advocating for the need to embrace the multilingual nature of education in Uzbekistan, the findings within the Roles of English dimension suggest treating multilingualism as a resource, promoting linguistic diversity, using translanguaging pedagogy, and developing the academic domain through research and pedagogical materials development. The use of multiple languages is observed in all the studied contexts. Lasagabaster (2022), who summarises the Plan of Action for Multilingualism in a Catalanian HEI, states that while acknowledging the status of English as a working language, the guiding principles behind the Plan of Action for Multilingualism also

strengthen the status of Catalan, foster coexistence of multiple languages in the classroom, and assure the use of multiple languages at the university. Following Lasagabaster's (2022: 12) idea that the plan provides “the foundation to progress towards functional multilingualism” at the university, the recommendations for Uzbekistan also support multilingualism. Even though Uzbekistan is hardly comparable with Spain in regard to the competence of English and the availability of resources, it should also try to find means of working towards functional multilingualism. If the policies are supportive of the environment where multilingualism is expected, and the bottom-up realities inform the policies, they will have an impact and credibility.

The important finding within this dimension also suggests that instead of pushing for the research outcomes to be published in English, the national policy should address and develop the research-building capacities in academia as a whole. Those who can publish in English will do that without any external incentive because they would aim at a larger audience of peer researchers. Those who struggle to do so need support, not punishment. It should be the responsibility of the HEIs to build the research capacities of academics alongside their English professional development and teaching and learning innovation.

The findings in the Internationalisation and Glocalisation dimension also identified areas for the policymakers to navigate. They include lack of quality assurance and academic freedom, absence of university internationalisation strategy policies, and inequality in EME. The policies at the university level can become the guiding principles that are missing in the government decrees. The discussion around them with the university stakeholders, including students, may also result in a bottom-up approach to policy development that would be easier to understand and realise in practice. One more critical consideration in this dimension is to follow the internationally recognised trend for EME as a holistic trend in education. Moving away from EMI, which is glocalised in the context of a country where English is not spoken, towards EME that stresses the use of English in education as a whole will allow all stakeholders to consider the issues that students and teachers face beyond the classroom, to analyse the reasons behind these issues, and address them in practice and policy documents.

Findings within the Language Management dimension suggest that there is a great need for a bottom-up approach to policy development, which is only possible if stakeholders contributing to these policies are guided and motivated to take part in it.



They need to be provided with ongoing training, equipped with the needs analysis results, and eager to work in collaboration with others (e.g., NGOs and other universities). Well-informed government decrees would hopefully provide more guidance and support in helping HEIs reach their objectives. The work they do being involved in policymaking should be counted towards their official paid workload. Study findings also show that both students and staff are not frequently involved in annual monitoring. For language management to be truly effective, university leaders should organise and monitor the ongoing training in EME at their university. Sustainable, ongoing, and consistent training, workshops, and discussions on EME matters will bring awareness to the issues in EMEMUS. Both students and staff should know that their needs in EME are catered for. They should know that their voices will be heard.

In this study, the reality is informing policy. If the policy is abstract and not informed by lived reality, the policy will have no credibility. Therefore, it is suggested to run annual monitoring and needs analysis surveys among students and staff to understand what practices and processes in EME they may need help with. The system of feedback collections should become a new norm that aims at improving everyone's experience in EMEMUS. Openness to feedback is a good sign of the university's readiness to collaborate with staff and students. Collaboration is yet another important area to pay attention to. University leaders should also be open to collaboration with external NGOs and international organisations that may have expertise in EME, may be providers of teacher training, or initiate joint projects with the university.

Lastly, the ideal scenario for any country to start implementing EME would be to chart global practices followed by comparative research on the current situation of EME in the country. However, the above-described scenario is an unrealistic and naive practice that has nothing to do with reality, which suggests that the development of EME in the country should be supported with quality research alongside implementation. Building on the findings of this study, more research is called for on EME in Uzbekistan. The spread and growth of EME, its complexity and its changing nature should be documented to be better addressed in the policy documents and implemented in practice. The research findings should be disseminated not only internationally through publications in English but also locally in Uzbek, Russian, and other locally used languages. Building local scholarship on EME matters will allow more people to understand the nature of EME and treat it accordingly. This will also allow

other stakeholders, such as parents who do not speak English, to make informed judgements on what language they want their children to be educated in. Only through the realisation of what EME involves in the context of the country would it become possible for it to be truly beneficial. Potentially, this perspective may shift the preference paradigm from the prestigious but often poorly delivered EMI classes at state universities to native or second language classes, where better quality may become a new norm.

A feasibility assessment of the below-listed recommendations is an important consideration. Even though the policy recommendations provided below are based on the findings of this study, they may be considered as proposing western values that are far from the local traditions and norms. This study is the first step toward mapping the current state of EME in the country, and the recommendations proposed, even though some may be judged as being naive, are based on the best practices. I understand that bringing the recommendations to the attention of policymakers may be challenging. The key senior figures in EMI, Macaro et al. (2018: 68), are also doubtful that “policymakers and particularly university managers are [...] going to be swayed by sociolinguistic and sociocultural objections to the implementation of EMI as proclaimed in books on the subject”. However, the recommendations I propose have a chance of being considered since there is a great interest in EMI and EME in the country. The tools that I can apply to bring this to the attention of policymakers are publications (in English, Uzbek, and Russian languages), conference proceedings, and projects that the Ministry representatives initiate. Policymakers may use this study as a blueprint for their own feasibility analysis identifying the allocation of budget, time, and human resources needed for these recommendations to be realised. The provided recommendations all start with the “document” sections, which is a good starting point that requires careful planning.

## **8.5.1 Recommendations for University Leaders:**

### ***8.5.1.1 Documents***

- To develop language policies at the university level, taking into consideration the principles of multilingualism and tolerance of linguistic variety on campus with explicit guidance on what language to use in the following matters:
  - Teaching and learning
  - Research
  - Internal communication on academic matters
  - Internal communication on personal matters
  - Language of public communication
  - Language of social events
  
- To address the development of EME in internationalisation strategy documents providing sustainable goals and manageable outcomes in the areas of teaching, learning, training, management, and research.

#### ***8.5.1.2 University Support***

- To provide students and staff with necessary language support through workshops, training sessions, drop-in consultancy, extracurricular English courses, online and offline resources in English, etc.;
- To commit to ongoing analysis of students and staff needs through feedback collection, anonymous surveys, and open discussions organised within the university;
- To continue to diversify the array of disciplines taught through English supporting teachers to build a context-specific teaching materials base;
- To encourage teachers' research outputs in English and their native languages with proper financial and professional support (i.e., organising research skills training and supporting academic English for publication development);
- To provide teachers with professional development opportunities on campus and support their professional development outside;
- To grant teachers the right to request necessary training and have clear mechanisms and procedures on how to do that;

- To raise awareness about the complexities that EME entails among university leaders, students, and teaching staff.

#### ***8.5.1.3 Collaboration***

- To collaborate with other universities, share good EME practices and learn from each other's experiences;
- To engage with external professional bodies, NGOs, and institutions that can help develop EME at university level.

#### ***8.5.1.4 Financial Incentives***

- To reimburse teachers' expenses on their English proficiency test;
- To reward EMI teachers financially across the university (it should be done equitably with the other teachers);
- To arrange clear criteria-based employment requirements that do not financially and socially disadvantage local teachers.

### **8.5.2 Recommendations for University Teachers:**

#### ***8.5.2.1 Documents/Collaboration***

- To engage actively in EME policy development at the university by realising that the ESP/EAP and EMI teachers play one of the most important roles in EMEMUS.

#### ***8.5.2.2 Language Proficiency***

- To develop their English language proficiency, advance their academic English and research writing skills;
- To engage in professional development training on EME inside and outside the university;

- To develop/engage in a network of EMI professionals inside and outside the university collaborating on EME-related projects, sharing good practices, building professional discipline-specific bodies, disseminating research, etc.;
- To request professional training from the university expressing professional needs and needs of the students;
- To engage in action research on EME practices and share the research outputs within the university community and outside of it.

#### ***8.5.2.4 Pedagogy***

- To treat multilingualism as a useful resource recognising the importance of translanguaging pedagogy;
- To acknowledge the importance of academic literacy (i.e., genre-specific use of language in speaking and writing, professional disciplinary discourse) and commit to its development in the curriculum;
- To develop context-specific materials in different disciplines.

#### ***8.5.2.5 Students' Support***

- To continue supporting students in their EME journey, realising that their experience in academia largely depends on their EME practices.

### **8.5.3 Recommendations for Students:**

#### ***8.5.3.1 Language Proficiency***

- To improve their English proficiency by focusing on academic literacy development;
- To treat multilingualism as an important resource acknowledging the development of necessary academic skills in languages other than English to be important for their future employment within the country and outside.

#### ***8.5.3.2 Collaboration***

- To engage in dialogue with university authorities and teachers about their EME experiences praising the good practices but also raising concerns about lacks and needs.

#### **8.5.4 Recommendations for EME Policymakers:**

##### ***8.5.4.1 Documents***

- To employ bottom-up policy development approaches to address the needs of the students and staff in EMEMUS;
- To sustain the internationalisation agenda by addressing it in the policies and employing the practices of quality assurance, academic freedom, and extensive professional support for EME development.

##### ***8.5.4.2 Principles***

- To reconceptualise their understanding of EME complexity in the context of the country through the evaluation of its practices and processes in the state and international universities;
- To address the principles of equality and transparency for local teachers and students in academia by providing additional resources to tackle the disadvantages they face in EME.

##### ***8.5.4.3 Support***

- To provide more funding and guidance to stakeholders through different support systems that they can use to improve EME practices at their HEIs;
- To fund the expansion of EME at HEIs by focusing on the following important aspects:
  - Teachers' professional development (trainings, conferences, professional research bodies)
  - Staff (university leaders included) English proficiency development

- Students' English proficiency training at schools;
- To establish an EME professional development Unit that would coordinate teacher training, develop research capacity building, and popularise good EME practices.

#### ***8.5.4.4 Collaboration***

- To create avenues for local and international networking in EME by establishing forums, conferences, and research centres.

#### ***8.5.4.5 English Provision at Schools***

- To provide solid English provision at schools to enable a smooth transition to EME.

### **8.6 Calls for Action**

The study identified that top-down policies in EME do not acknowledge the numerous challenges that stakeholders experience. For EME to develop with fewer challenges for its main agents, serious consideration should be made of how EME is approached in practice and in national and institutional policies. These important considerations are reflected in three main calls that this study concludes with.

The first important call is the call for more research. The identified gap between policies and practices can only be bridged with the help of research, which would inform future policies. Therefore, teachers, researchers, policymakers, and external NGOs should undertake research studies exploring the challenges they experience in EME and sharing the best practices to help overcome those challenges. The development of EME in the country opens countless avenues for research. To illustrate, teachers can engage in more action research to explore pedagogical practices, the use of English, and classroom management. Researchers may apply theories in practice and contribute to the development of theoretical basis in the context of the country, test hypotheses, and evaluate the effectiveness of EME implementation at the universities. The updated framework and this study's findings may serve as a solid base for that.

Shifting from the ideas that guide the implementation of EMI towards a more holistic EME approach is an important consideration to make as well. This study

mapped existing EME practices that suggest an appreciation of multilingual reality in the country, acknowledgement of existing challenges, and evaluation of possible ways to overcome these challenges. All these principles should be at the core of national and institutional EME-related policies. Since change does not happen overnight, the second call for the policymakers and EME stakeholders is to reconsider their approach to EME development in the country from more goal-oriented to more developmental. The developmental approach toward EME will allow for a step-by-step improvement that can be supported by ongoing assessment from the stakeholders and through research. Collaboration, dialogue, and research are the key aspects that can motivate these changes. These key aspects are interconnected with the first and the last calls.

The final call ties the previous two calls together. It is a call for collaboration. Collaboration has been an important issue in EME literature, mostly in light of language and content teacher collaboration, but this study suggests that the borders of collaboration may be moved further to collaboration with policymakers. English specialists have to collaborate with the content teachers to improve the curriculum, cater to students' needs, align their teaching with disciplinary practices, and carry out interdisciplinary research. This collaboration may inform policymakers, who should be eager to learn about EME stakeholders' current challenges and good practices by addressing them in national and institutional policies. Collaboration may only be possible if there are mechanisms and platforms for it.

The identified need for more EME research, the shift from goal-oriented to developmental EME policies, and collaboration between stakeholders and policymakers lay a solid basis for numerous EME studies in Uzbek HEIs and across the region more broadly.

## **8.7 Conclusion**

To conclude, EME in Uzbekistan is a current reality that requires much more attention from policymakers and EME stakeholders. The reality of Uzbek EMEMUS is a multilingual environment. Developing policies through the lens of this reality will be one of the key steps forward to optimising the conditions for the development of EME. The fact that EME exists in different shapes and forms in Uzbek HE is even helpful in recognising the range of approaches towards optimisation.



The research-driven recommendations in this study inform stakeholders and researchers interested in the Uzbek HEIs with EMI about the current state of EME and avenues for improving stakeholders' experiences within it. This study has explored how EME-related policies are addressed in Uzbek HEIs by examining the practices and processes that are employed in EME. It particularly looked at the main trends that characterise Uzbek EME, the beliefs and attitudes that shape the practices, and the challenges that students, teachers, and managerial staff experience in EME. The findings show that EMI, metaphorically described as an "unstoppable train" by Macaro (2015: 7), is already running around the country. Applied in Uzbekistan's context, the metaphor indicates that even though EMI is challenging for the stakeholders involved in its implementation, it is still evident that the unstoppable EMI train is running around the country at a rapid speed.

The existing policies indeed popularised the use of English in the country, but how it is handled is more problematic than it may seem. The findings within each dimension of the updated EMEMUS framework identified that the government's proposed policies are not yet proven effective, particularly at state HEIs. Therefore, more bottom-up informing of the policy should be recognised. An identified mismatch between the practices and processes in two very different settings, international and state HEIs, shows that there are different starting points for EME development. EME is re-interpreted and remodelled to serve a range of purposes identified in the top-down policy. The privilege of studying and working at the international HEIs with EMI allows getting a taste of what EME entails, while those at the state HEIs face numerous challenges that inevitably affect their experience with EMI.

Being realised in such an inconsistent manner, a broader notion of EME and a more specific EMI are persistently pursued in HE regardless of all the challenges and inequalities that its main stakeholders experience. The evidenced complexity of practices and processes that EME entails could have been better realised in practice to improve stakeholders' experiences within EME. If the train running around the country is unstoppable, we all at least need to enjoy the ride.

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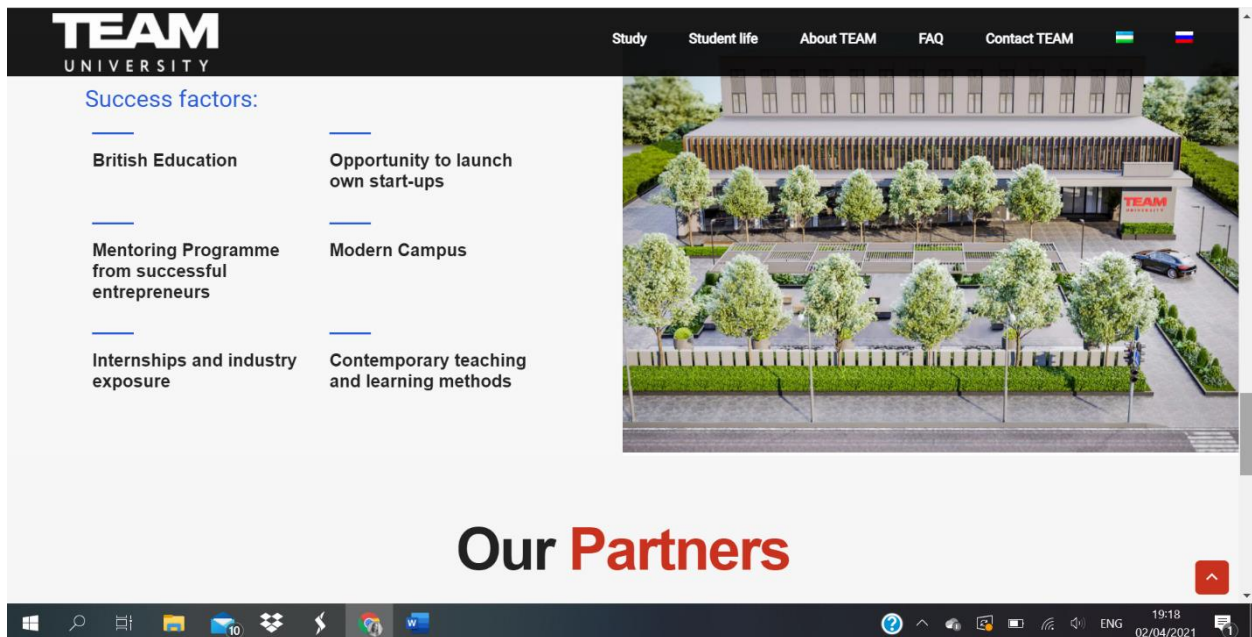
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## Appendix 1

Below is an example of the newly established university in Tashkent that is actively recruiting a new cohort of students. On their official website, they list British education as their first success factor and always put the LSBU logo next to their logo whenever possible. The fact that the logo had the year when the university was established (i.e., EST 1892) also adds to its credibility.



The screenshot was taken on April 2, 2021, from the university website

<https://teamuni.uz/>

## Appendix 2

Method	Authors and Year	Country	RQs /or aim/ or hypothesis	Data collection tools
<b>Quantitative</b>	Jensen and Thøgersen (2011: 22)	Denmark	“Hypothesises: 1. Younger lecturers have a more positive attitude towards the increasing use of English. 2. Lecturers with a higher teaching load in English are more positive towards the increasing use of English.”	Questionnaire for teachers
	Bolton and Kuteeva (2012: 430)	Sweden	“1. How does the use of English vary among students and academic staff across different disciplines? 2. How does the use of English-medium instruction differ between the undergraduate and Master’s levels? 3. What attitudes towards language choice and language policy are reported by students and staff across different disciplines and levels of instruction?”	Questionnaire
	Hellekjær (2010: 11)	Norway and Germany	“The study investigates this issue by comparing student lecture comprehension in English and the first language.”	Survey
	Kym and Kym (2014: 37)	South Korea	“1. Do participants’ overall satisfaction and comprehension ability differ according to their English proficiency? 2. Do participants’ perceptions of overall satisfaction and ability to comprehend differ according to their instructor’s native language and nationality? 3. What other individual characteristics influence participants’ perceptions of overall satisfaction and comprehension ability? 4. How necessary do participants perceive English for their academic success and future success in the workplace?”	Questionnaire
	Belhiah and Elhami (2015: 8)	United Arab Emirates	“1. To what extent has the English language proficiency of Arab students improved as a consequence of studying in English? 2. To what extent do students report facility in reading and understanding English (lectures,	Two surveys and two email interview questionnaires

			textbooks, examination instructions, etc.)? 3. What is the student's level of facility in interacting in English inside the classroom (asking questions, answering questions, communicating with classmates)? 4. Do students and teachers prefer instruction to be conducted in Arabic, in English, or concurrently in English and Arabic?"	
	Macaro and Akincioglu (2018: 260)	Turkey	"1. What are the reported motivations of Turkish university students for choosing to study via EMI, and do these differ according to which year they are in? 2. How do the first and second-year EMI students rate the provision in their university? 3. What difficulties do first, and second-year EMI students perceive they are experiencing in EMI lectures and seminars? 4. To what extent is gender a variable concerning (1), (2) and (3)? 5. To what extent is university type a variable concerning (1), (2) and (3)?"	Questionnaire
	Inbar-Lourie and Donitsa-Schmidt (2019: 305)	Israel	"1. What are the preferences of Israeli students regarding lecturers' NS/NNS background when teaching EMI courses in Israeli higher education institutions? 2. Do the preferences of Israeli students regarding EMI lecturers' NS/NNS backgrounds vary according to students' English language proficiency, ethnic background, institutional affiliation, and familiarity with EMI courses? 3. What are Israeli students' expectations regarding the desired qualities of EMI lecturers?"	Questionnaire
Qualitative	Doiz, Lasagabaster, Sierra (2013: 1409)	Basque Country in Spain	"1. What do internationalisation and globalisation at university mean to the university community? 2. How much does the community value English-medium instruction? 3. What are the effects of the spread of multilingualism?"	Discussion groups with students, academic and administrative staff
	Karabassova (2021: 554)	Kazakhstan	"1. What processes were undertaken to involve teachers in the reform? 2. What professional development opportunities were available for	Interviews

			teachers implementing the reform? 3. To what extent was the educational change (content and language-integrated learning) supported by the context?"	
	Djuraeva (2021: 100)	Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan	"Respond to the call for additional research on the role of English in the multilingual practices of people in the Expanding Circle by focusing on multilingual post-Soviet communities."	Interviews
<b>Mixed method</b>	Chang (2010: 60)	Taiwan	"The main goal is to evaluate the implementation of EMI for content courses. Four main areas of interest are: students' reactions to the EMI subject courses influence of EMI on the students, difficulties that students encountered in their EMI courses, and their English language learning needs."	Interviews with students and teachers, questionnaires
	Kim (2011: 713)	South Korea	"1. Can the efficacy of EMI classes change depending on the different levels of English and subjects? 2. What are student preferences and professor views regarding EMI classes, and what needs to be improved? 3. What are the successful features of EMI classes?"	Interviews and questionnaires
	Evans and Morrison (2011)	Hong Kong	The article examines the language-related challenges that first-year students face when adjusting to the demands of EMI higher education in Hong Kong.	Interviews, questionnaires, diaries and activity logs
	Jiang, Zhang, May (2019: 108)	China	"1. What pragmatic strategies do subject teachers adopt to express linguistic meaning appropriately and to deliver the course effectively? 2. Do subject teachers concern about students' language acquisition in EMI classrooms, as seen in Focus on-Form episodes? 3. What are students' ESP learning motivations and needs? What factors are influencing their motivation and needs? 4. How can complementary ESP courses contribute to successful EMI learning outcomes?"	Audio-recorded classroom observations, semi-structured post-observation interviews, and a structured questionnaire survey

	Aizawa et al. (2020: 6)	Japan	“1. To what extent do English language proficiency (TOEIC or Test of English for International Communication) and academic preparatory success (ESP) predict student ease of study in EMI? 2. To what extent do student perceptions of academic ease for different skills change by L2 proficiency level?”	The questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, proficiency and ESP course performance scores
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## Appendix 3

1. Online questionnaire - <https://forms.gle/jEYxYLOfnXmiwurw8>

### 2. Interview Questions

#### **Interview Questions to the Ministries Representatives**

4. Why does English become so popular in Uzbekistan?
5. Are English language practices regulated in any way in HE institutions in Central Asia?
  - If yes, are you satisfied with the current condition or results of the policy?
    - What are the driving forces behind the decision to regulate language use?
  - If no, do you see any need in regulating it now?
    - If it becomes a necessity, who would drive this change?
6. Who defines language policies and practices and how?
7. How are policies implemented?
8. How is the language competence of students, teachers, and administrative staff verified, if verified at all?
9. Are there any preferences for certain disciplines to be taught in English?
10. What professional training, if any, is provided to help teachers teach through the English medium? Is it voluntary or imposed?
11. In 10 years what is the ideal scenario of English language development in the country?
12. What could be potential barriers to achieve ideal scenario?

#### **Interview Questions to Senior Management and Administration of the Universities**

1. Why have you gone in for EMI? In what disciplines /programmes?
2. What is the number of programmes/number of international students/staff?

3. Who defines language policies and practices at your university and how? Do you have a written policy on EMI?
4. How policies are implemented?
5. How much EMI do you hope to achieve and is it part of your strategy?
6. What is the impact of EMI on the language needs of administrative staff and how is that supported?
6. Are there benefits to staff for teaching in English?
7. What professional training, if any, is provided to help teachers teach and students learn through the English medium? Is it voluntary or imposed?
8. What additional resources have you put in place to support staff and students in EMI programmes?
9. Do you review the experience of teachers and students in EMI/ efficacy? Satisfaction questionnaires? CPD?
10. Are you aware of any of the research into EMI and its people impact?

### **Discussion questions on the experience of EMI - students**

#### **English in everyday life**

1. How important is knowledge of English in the country today, and do you think that knowledge of English will become more or less important in the future?
2. Does everyone need to learn English?
3. Do people learn more English in school or outside of school? – Is there a difference between the capital city and the regions?

#### **English at University**

1. Why did you choose this programme/university?
2. Do you feel that you were ready to cope with academic English when you started university?
3. Do you think that only English should be used in English-medium classes? Is there a place for other languages?
4. Do you think that other languages (e.g. Russian or Chinese) should be taught and encouraged at University?

5. Are you happy with the subject-specific English-language books and other materials you use?
6. Why do you think your University wants to teach you in English?
7. Do you think that your university could do more to support students with their language needs? If so, what would you like?

### **Your own experience**

1. Do you think your own English is 'good enough' for your academic study? Have you ever had any difficulty expressing yourself in English at the university? Were there any situations when your English proficiency could not meet your needs at the university? What did you do?
2. Do you find English 'easy'?
3. Do you think that your teachers' / fellow-students' English is 'good enough'?
4. Do you prefer British / US / regional English?
5. In the future will you use your English more within the country or overseas?
6. Do you think that studying in English will make it easier for you to get a good job?
7. Do you ever speak English outside the class?

\*Is there anything else you'd like to tell me so that I can provide good advice about EMI in universities in your country?

### **Discussion questions on the experience of EMI - teachers**

#### **English in everyday life**

1. How important is knowledge of English in the country today, and do you think that knowledge of English will become more or less important in the future?
2. Does everyone need to learn English?
3. Do you and your students learn more about their English skills in school/university or outside school/university?

#### **English at University**

1. Why did you choose this programme/university?

2. Do you feel that you were ready to cope with teaching in English when you started doing it?
3. Did you receive any professional EMI teacher training?
4. Do you think that your university could do more to support teachers with their language needs? If so, what would you like?
5. Do you think that only English should be used in English-medium classes? Is there any place for other languages? Does it matter if you 'code-switch'?
6. Do you think that other international languages (e.g. Russian or Chinese) should be taught and encouraged at University?
7. Are you happy with the English-language books and other materials you use? Does the university provide you with enough resources?
8. Why do you think your University wants you to teach in English?
9. Are you rewarded for teaching in English?

### **Your own experience**

1. What professional training, if any, is provided to help teachers teach through the English medium? Is it voluntary or imposed?
2. Do you think your own English is 'good enough' for your professional needs? Have you ever had any difficulty expressing yourself in English at the university? Were there any situations when your English proficiency could not meet your needs at the university? What did you do?
3. Do you find English 'easy'?
4. Do you think that your fellow teachers' / students' English is 'good enough'?
5. Do you prefer British / US / regional English?
6. In the future do you think you will use more English in our professional life?
7. Do you publish scientific work in English? How does that compare with writing in your own language?
8. Do you ever speak English outside class, either in the University or elsewhere?

\*Is there anything else you'd like to tell me so that I can provide good advice about EMI in universities in your country?

### 3) Class observation form

<b>Country:</b>	<b>University:</b>	
<b>Date:</b>	<b>Discipline:</b>	
<b>Nº of students:</b>	<b>Nº of females:</b>	<b>Nº of males:</b>
<b>Questions:</b>	<b>Notes</b>	
<b>1. Which languages are used and under what conditions?</b>		
<b>2. Is code-switching seen? If so, how is it managed?</b>		
<b>3. Does the teacher face language challenges?</b>		
<b>4. Does the teacher face any content challenges?</b>		
<b>5. Are the students all equally responsive?</b>		

<b>6. Who is speaking at the end of each five-minute period? Teacher, Students or Both?</b>	
<b>7. What learning resources are available during the class? Are they used?</b>	
<b>8. How is the learning environment (quality/layout of the room)?</b>	
<b>9. Is the session affected by the presence of visitors?</b>	

**Questions to class teachers for class observation:**

1. Why are you teaching in English and do you teach the same class in other languages? If so, how do the experiences compare?
2. Is preparing for EMI classes the same experience as preparing for classes on your native language?
3. Do you feel that students respond in the same way in both classes?
4. Do you enjoy teaching in English?
5. Have you received the support you need from the University?

## Appendix 4

№	University	Main Subject Areas Taught/schools/faculties	English Entry Requirement
<b>International Universities</b>			
1	I_1	Medicine Dentistry Pharmacy Nursing Accounting and Finance Economics International Business and Consulting Entrepreneurship and Innovation Management Digital Marketing Applied Mathematics English Language Software Engineering Department Hardware Engineering Department Civil Engineering and Design	In different faculties: IELTS 5 / TOEFL iBT 50 / Duolingo English Test 80 or above or IELTS 5.5 / TOEFL iBT 55 / Duolingo English Test 95 or above
2	I_2	Business and Technology Management Accounting Financial Accounting Corporate and Business Law Performance Management Taxation Financial Reporting Audit and Assurance Financial Management IFRS and Financial Statements	IELTS 5.5 or other certificates confirming this level
3	I_3	Computer and Information Engineering Business and Logistics Fundamental Business Concepts for Managers Introduction to ICT for Managers Digital Marketing Customers and Processes in Digital Transformation Financial Statement Analysis and Valuation Global Business and Digital Transformation Economics for Managers	In different faculties: IELTS 5.0 or higher / TOEFL iBT 50 or higher IELTS 5.5 or higher / TOEFL iBT 71 or higher

		Global Logistics and Transportation Management Intelligent Digital Transformation Initiating Successful Projects Using Big Data Analytics Blockchain Technology and Business Applications Cloud Computing and Business Applications	
4	I_11	Mechanical Engineering Automotive Engineering Information Technologies and Programmemeing in Industry (Computer Engineering) Industrial and Civil Engineering and Architecture	IELTS 5.5 band or higher
5	I_5	Commercial Law Economics with Finance Business Management Business Information Systems Research Methods Public Health Human Resource Management Business Intelligence and Analytics Learning and Teaching	IELTS 5.5 (5 in the writing component)
6	I_14	Economics International Relations Media Studies Business Administration Management Information Systems TESL Education and Innovation Media Communications	IELTS: 6.0 minimum score TOEFL iBT: 80 minimum score Pearson (PTE): 53 minimum score LanguageCert: C1 minimum level Duolingo: 120 minimum score
7	I_8	Theory and Practice of Entrepreneurship Creative and Design Thinking Entrepreneurial Mindset Theory and Practice of Marketing Managing People Global Business Environment	IELTS 5.5 or equivalent
<b>State Universities</b>			
8	S_9	Accounting and Auditing Economics Finance	Not stated



		Business Taxes Investment Projects Marketing	
9	S_4	International Law Criminal Law Public Law Civil Law Private Law Theory of Government and Right	Not stated
10	S_10	World Economy International Relations Business Marketing Banking and Audit Accounting	Not stated
11	S_6	Linguistics Translation Studies Journalism	Not stated
12	S_12	Pathophysiology Anatomy Pharmacology Surgery Microbiology Pharmacy	Not stated
13	S_13	Tourism Tourism Marketing International Hotel Management Teaching Pedagogy	Not stated
14	S_7	World Politics Political Science International Economics and Management Jurisprudence International Relations and World Politics Practical Political Science Foreign Economic Activity (by industry and activities) International Economics and Management (by region and line of business) International Law (by area) Diplomatic and Consular Law International Business Law	Internal test (100 words essay)

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<sup>i</sup> The 3D version of the framework is available at  
<https://bekhzodov7mu.github.io/frameworkPresentation/>