

STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF ENGLISH AS A MEDIUM OF INSTRUCTION (EMI) IN NON-ENGLISH MAJOR COURSE

Abstract

This study investigates the nuanced meanings and lived experiences of non-English major students with the rapid increase of English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) in non-Anglophone higher education, an area that is often neglected within research. This qualitative, descriptive-exploratory study was conducted in Higher Education institutes in Pakistan, correcting a substantial research gap. Using semi-structured interviews, thematic analysis, and governed by Cognitive Load Theory (CLT), Sociocultural Theory (SCT), and the overarching Student Voice framework, the research identified a variety of meaningful linguistic challenges for students, and a significant extraneous cognitive load with implications beyond surface learning and impacts on their academic stress. Participants also acknowledged some benefits to their academic journey, such as improved English skills and enhanced access to global academic learning with EMI, but they also stated their lack of confidence and participation was inhibited by the language barriers. Overall, they had a pragmatic attitude towards EMI, but also expressed the immediacy of pedagogical scaffolding and flexibility in the way instructors delivered their courses. The findings provide critical perspectives on the student experience for educators and policy makers, creating momentum for the development of more effective, equitable, and sustainable EMI programs in global higher education that embrace aspirational policy intentions alongside actual classroom realities.

Keywords: English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI), Student Perceptions, Non-English Major Courses, Cognitive Load Theory (CLT), Sociocultural Theory (SCT),

Introduction

1.1 Background of the Study

The global landscape of higher education has been significantly altered by an increasing commitment to internationalization in the last few decades. This multilayered process includes the rising mobility of students, staff and knowledge across borders, as well as the intent of universities to increase their competitiveness and legitimacy in a global higher education arena (Knight, 2004; Altbach & Knight, 2007). A key and increasingly prominent aspect of this strategic change, for universities where English is not the first language of society, is the adoption of English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) (Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2014; Macaro & Akincioglu, 2021). Operationally defined here as the use of English to teach academic content in situations where English is not the first language of society, EMI has emerged as a verified, albeit problematic and increasingly global pedagogical reality across educational systems (Kirkpatrick, 2014; Hultgren & Klima, 2018; Hyland, 2019).

The reasons for institutions adopting EMI are not simple and refer to strategically directed wants. First, there is a strong desire to recruit more international students and larger numbers of diverse international students as the latter seek international study opportunities presented in a widely-accepted lingua franca (Lo & Hyland, 2019; Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2013;

43 Bradan&Maru, 2022). While providing educational offerings in English may allow
44 institutions to remove linguistic barriers and possibly increase international enrolment and
45 demographic diversity, institutions also want to enhance their global academic rankings and
46 expand their international reputation (Macaro et al., 2018; Sahan, 2019). Institutions often
47 view EMI as a clear marker of a university's international outlook and international
48 engagement capacity, such that the belief EMI represents a "world-class" education is a
49 strong motivation for many universities (Hultgren, 2014). Third, and importantly, EMI is
50 seen as a way to develop local graduates' linguistic and intercultural competencies as it is
51 believed to be necessary for navigating an increasingly English-dominant global workforce
52 and interconnected academic space (Evans & Morrison, 2018; Valcke& De Witte, 2019;
53 Pecorari& Malmström, 2018).In a world of unprecedented global collaboration and
54 communication, proficiency in English is often considered a "must-have" within academic
55 disciplines and access to an international pool of research and knowledge (Airey, 2011).

56 This shift is particularly relevant and entrenched within fields: engineering, business, natural
57 sciences (e.g., physics, chemistry, biology), information technology, and medicine (Airey,
58 2011; Sahan, 2019; Evans & Morrison, 2018; Gao & Zhang, 2025). English is now so often
59 used as the common language for globally significant scientific research activity, and for
60 international communication in professional contexts, academic publishing, and
61 dissemination of the latest knowledge in specific disciplines (Hyland, 2019; Macaro, 2018a).
62 In this way EMI in these "content" or "non-English major" disciplines is viewed as more of a
63 practical matter, simply allowing students to engage with the latest developments in their
64 discipline, and for students to engage with newer conceptions of being part of an international
65 academic, and professional community. Advocates of EMI frequently attest to benefits in
66 some contexts that favour an understanding in terms of more than just learning
67 language. These purported benefits may include the enhancement of students' overall English
68 language ability, improved intercultural communication abilities, greater and more immediate
69 access to international academic resources and contemporary research, and ultimately the
70 improvement of future employment prospects by preparing graduates for a globalized labour
71 market (Dearden&Macaro, 2016; Phan & Leng, 2019; Costa & Coleman, 2013). In addition,
72 some supporters argue that EMI develops critical thinking skills by necessitating that students
73 consider ideas from an alternate linguistic and cultural perspective (Hellekjær, 2010;
74 Lasagabaster&Doiz, 2019).

75 **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

76 Even though English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) is increasingly utilized in Pakistan's
77 higher education system, substantial gaps remain in our understanding of its effect on non-
78 English major students. Likewise, while higher education institutions are increasingly
79 implementing EMI in ways intended to provide opportunities for internationalization, there
80 was little consideration of the cognitive and linguistic demands students would need to
81 negotiate, resulting in incidences of surface-level learning, a decrease in engagement, and a
82 greater level of academic stress students experienced (Lasagabaster, 2018; Valcke& De
83 Witte, 2019). Existing evidence and research lacks understanding of discipline-specific
84 learning and arguably over-researches the focus in EMI to be solely on language learners
85 rather than on both language and learning (Macaro, 2018b). This study examines Pakistani
86 students' perceptions of EMI and identifies some of the linguistic barriers, academic
87 outcomes, and attitudinal responses that can inform better educational policy to ensure it is
88 more effective and student targeted (Pecorari& Malmström, 2018).

89 **1.3 Research Objectives**

90 This study aims to:

- 91 1. To identify perceived language difficulties of EMI for non-English major students.
- 92 2. To explore students' perceptions of academic merits and problems of EMI.
- 93 3. To determine students' overall attitudes and preferences towards EMI in non-English
94 major courses.

95 **1.4 Research Questions**

96 This study will address:

- 97 1. What language challenges do non-English majors perceive in EMI courses?
- 98 2. What are non-English majors' academic advantages and disadvantages of EMI?
- 99 3. What are non-English majors' overall attitudes and preferences towards EMI?

100 **1.5 Significance of the Study**

101 The results of this study have important implications for various stakeholders in the Pakistani
102 higher education context. For EMI instructors, it identifies the linguistic and academic
103 difficulties that students experience, which can inform more student-centered teaching.
104 University administrators will have evidence-based knowledge that will help them refine
105 their EMI policies, and that is equitable in terms of their curriculum design, training faculty,
106 and allocating resources. The study expands the EMI literature globally through presenting
107 the under-researched standpoints of non-English majors in disciplinary contexts. The student
108 experience, centered in this study, sheds new light on understandings of EMI that are strictly
109 based on neoliberal notions of competition and institutional superiority, and instead presents
110 the need for quality pedagogical implementations of EMI that support collaborative learning
111 and meaningful learning outcomes.

112 **Literature Review**

113 **2.1 Introduction to Literature Review**

114 This chapter provides an extensive assessment of the existing academic literature relating to
115 English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) in higher education with attention to its use in
116 courses where English is not the focus of study. This chapter begins with an examination of
117 the worldwide emergence of EMI in terms of internationalization of universities and the
118 motivations for using EMI. Following this, the article will examine the purported benefits of
119 EMI, then review the main challenges relating to EMI during the application stage,
120 particularly the omitted student voice. Finally, the chapter will describe the three theoretical
121 frameworks (Cognitive Load Theory, Sociocultural Theory, and the Student Voice/Student
122 Experience) underlying this study and how these provide the framework within which to
123 review students' perceptions of EMI.

124 **2.2 The Rise of EMI in Higher Education**

125 Globalization continues to increase, bringing pressure on universities across the world to
126 internationalize their operations, curriculum, and students (Knight, 2004; Altbach& Knight,
127 2007). The widespread use of English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) has been a central
128 part of their internationalization strategies, particularly in non-Anglophone countries, and
129 EMI has been adopted extensively in Europe, Asia, and other regions, radically changing the
130 language of higher education (Jenkins, 2015; Seidlhofer, 2011; Kirkpatrick, 2014;
131 Macaro&Akincioglu, 2021). In its most functional sense, EMI is when English is used for
132 teaching subject areas in academic contexts where it is not the societal language of the
133 country (Kirkpatrick, 2014; Hultgren &Klima, 2018; Hyland, 2019); EMI is a separate entity
134 from English language instruction programs.

135 The motives behind institutions adopting EMI are numerous. A main motivation is to attract
136 international students, who represent a crucial source of income and a contributor to campus
137 diversity (Lo & Hyland, 2019; Doiz, Lasagabaster& Sierra, 2013; Bradan&Maru, 2022). By
138 providing programs in English, universities are opening their educational offerings to a
139 worldwide pool of potential students without the linguistic hurdle. Secondly, EMI is a means
140 of enhancing global academic rankings and, at least in an implicit sense, international
141 prestige. The idea that EMI is equivalent to "world-class" education has led universities to
142 adopt EMI as a marker of their internationalization (Macaro et al., 2018; Sahan, 2019;
143 Hultgren, 2014). Thirdly, EMI is touted as a way of preparing local graduates with important
144 linguistic and intercultural skills for the English-speaking and globalized professional and
145 academic environments (Evans & Morrison, 2018; Valcke& De Witte, 2019; Pecorari&
146 Malmström, 2018). This emphasis on the need for English proficiency in order to succeed in
147 one's profession and to access global research is becoming increasingly pronounced (Airey,
148 2011).

149 This pedagogical shift is especially notable in disciplines such as engineering, business,
150 natural sciences, information technology, and medicine (Airey, 2011; Sahan, 2019; Evans &
151 Morrison, 2018; Gao& Zhang, 2025). In these disciplines, English is typically the language
152 of the latest research, international dialogue, and published scholarship (Hyland, 2019;
153 Macaro, 2018a). For this reason, EMI becomes a pragmatic necessity, allowing students to
154 gain direct access to the latest developments and participate in international academic and
155 professional communities (Fortanet-Gómez & Ruiz-Madrid, 2014).

156 **2.3 Benefits of EMI**

157 Supporters of EMI suggest that the potential benefits exist well beyond simply learning the
158 language itself. These benefits may include a higher level of English language proficiency
159 overall, specifically regarding terms and language used within specific subjects
160 (Dearden&Macaro, 2016). Students are presumed to improve, especially their listening,
161 speaking, reading and writing skills through continued exposure and use of English in
162 academic contexts. EMI is also believed to enhance intercultural communication skills
163 through students' interactions with fellow international peers and faculty (Phan &Leng,
164 2019).

165 In addition, EMI provides wider and more direct access to international research and
166 scholarly resources, many published in English (Costa & Coleman, 2013; Airey, 2011).
167 Access to extensive international knowledge is vital for keeping current in dynamically

168 changing disciplines; ultimately, EMI is argued to bolster career prospects because graduates
169 are qualified for an increasingly globalized job marketplace where English competency is a
170 requirement (Bradford et al., 2017). Scholars have also suggested that EMI could engender
171 critical thinking, as students mentally process ideas through a different language and cultural
172 reality (Hellekjær, 2010; Lasagabaster&Doiz, 2019). Students' exposure to a variety of
173 international continuing sources, and lateral academic conversations in English could expand
174 their cognitive dimensions and analytical capabilities (Björklund& Malmström, 2020).

175 **2.4 Challenges in EMI Implementation**

176 Even with the strong rationalizations and supposed benefits, EMI is a complex and
177 multifaceted process. The theoretical benefits may not neatly or easily transition to practical
178 realities in the classroom (Macaro et al., 2018; De Jong, 2018; Tsui, 2003). In terms of input
179 as research on EMI has typically focused on either policy (top-down) contexts, pedagogically
180 developing educational practices for EMI teachers or investigating the English language and
181 teaching readiness for academic staff (Koizumi &Fujii, 2025; Galloway &Ruegg, 2017;
182 Valcke& De Witte, 2019; Airey & Linder, 2009). The key student or students' perspectives
183 and the often subtle nature of that perspective, however, is somewhat missing, under-
184 represented or simply not studied in the EMI literature (Pecorari& Malmström, 2018; Kim &
185 Kim, 2020).

186 This oversight is especially important for students who are not English majors since they
187 generate the largest impact from EMI policies in many universities. Differences in exposure
188 to language learning lead to different experiences between students from language
189 departments who were focused on learning English (specifically a language) while engaging
190 with disciplinary content (e.g., complex principles of engineering, nuanced models of
191 business, or advanced theories of a scientific discipline) in a foreign language (Dafouz&
192 Smit, 2016; Han & Yin, 2021; Aguilar, 2017) and students who do not study English and
193 whose English level may vary from intermediate to advanced (Rao, 2017), adding another
194 layer of difficulty to their responsibilities. The heavy load of processing, learning, and
195 explaining new content through a second language may be extremely taxing for students,
196 which in turn may detract from the attainment of deeper meaning in their learning, resulting
197 in content learning that may be characterized as either mechanically reproduced from various
198 resources or a result of ruptures in learning processes and misinterpretation (Lasagabaster,
199 2018; Doiz&Lasagabaster, 2019; Chang, 2010).

200 This dual burden can lead to increased academic pressure, anxiety, decreased engagement in
201 the classroom, few chances for authentic expression and critical inquiry, and continuous
202 feelings of academic or social alienation (Costa & Coleman, 2013; Pecorari& Malmström,
203 2018). An additional, ongoing challenge is a lack of strong, contextually relevant support
204 models and well-considered and flexible pedagogies for non-English major students in EMI
205 contexts to accommodate their particular linguistic and learning needs (Galloway &Ruegg,
206 2017; Fortanet-Gómez & Ruiz-Madrid, 2014). This is a significant research gap, which
207 makes this study important.

208 **2.5 Theoretical Frameworks**

209 This study employs three complementary theoretical frameworks to investigate the students'
210 experiences of English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) within the context of higher
211 education in Pakistan.

212

213 Cognitive Load Theory (CLT) (Sweller, 1988) provides an important view on how EMI is
214 experienced with a focus on cognition. CLT identifies three types of cognitive demands: (1)
215 intrinsic load (difficulty of the content), (2) extraneous load (poor pedagogical design), and
216 (3) germane load (meaningful learning). EMI presents a dual obligation to both figure-out
217 disciplinary content and process the content through a foreign language; hence, EMI creates a
218 significant degree of extraneous cognitive load (Lasagabaster, 2018), which can result in
219 students engaging in shallow learning while experiencing more academic stress and strain.
220 This framework was useful to analyse issues related to language problems and how it
221 facilitated or impeded students' content acquisition (Research Question 1).

222 Sociocultural Theory (SCT) (Vygotsky, 1978) emphasizes the social nature of learning
223 through the ideas of the Zone of Proximal Development (ZPD) and scaffolds. In a EMI
224 context, limited language proficiency may limit students' access to collaboration with peers or
225 guidance from instructors (Fortanet-Gómez & Ruiz-Madrid, 2014). SCT aids in examining
226 how classroom actions and existence of support agency impact academic outcomes (Research
227 Questions 2-3).

228 The Student Voice framework (Cook-Sather, 2006) advocates for the centrality of learners
229 epistemology in educational research and practices and educational policy. This framework
230 ensures that researchers are prioritizing and privileging the students' stories and
231 understanding of their EMI experiences, which in many cases will reflect the lived reality of
232 classrooms as opposed to institutional or researcher expectations.

233 **Research Methodology**

234 **3.1 Research Design**

235 In this study, a qualitative, exploratory-descriptive design was used to explore the non-
236 English major students' experiences with EMI. A qualitative approach enables a full
237 exploration of the students' perspectives, obstacles, and attitudes (Creswell & Creswell,
238 2018). This approach equips researchers with rich information that quantitative approaches
239 could miss and provides the full scope of the influence of EMI on learning.

240 **3.2 Research Paradigm**

241 This study is framed as interpretivist, with reality being shaped by experiences, not absolute
242 truths (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Students' perspectives on EMI are regarded as unique and
243 subject to the influence of their language proficiency and academic background and field of
244 study (Cohen et al., 2018). The study did not aim to establish universal principles, but instead
245 was primarily concerned with students' individual perspectives in order to gain a deeper
246 understanding.

247 **3.3 Population and Sampling**

248 **3.3.1 Population**

249 The target population for this study consists of university students who are not English
250 majors and are currently taking EMI courses. This group includes non-English major
251 undergraduate students in Bachelor of Engineering, Business and Administration, Natural
252 Sciences, Information Technology, and Medicine who took EMI courses. Therefore, English
253 has been used as a medium of instruction for these courses despite their not being the
254 students' native language or the official language of the wider community. This study is
255 focused on students from Higher Education Institution in Pakistan .

256 **3.3.2 Sampling**

257 This study used purposive sampling to select participants who could provide meaningful
258 insights about EMI experiences (Patton, 2015). Selection criteria included:

- 259 ➤ Current enrollment in EMI courses for non-English majors
- 260 ➤ Non-native English speakers
- 261 ➤ Willingness to share detailed experiences
- 262 ➤ Representation across disciplines (STEM, business, etc.)

263 The sample size (20-30 participants) was determined by data saturation when new interviews
264 stopped revealing new themes (Guest et al., 2006). This approach ensured diverse
265 perspectives while maintaining depth of analysis.

266 **3.4 Data Procedures**

267 **3.4.1 Data Collection Instrument**

268 The main means of data collection was the semi-structured interview, which provided scope
269 for both structure and flexibility (Bryman, 2016). The researchers used pre-ordained
270 questions but were prepared for students to elaborate their experiences of EMI. These open-
271 ended questions explored:

- 272 ➤ Language difficulties
- 273 ➤ Benefits and challenges in academia
- 274 ➤ Personal attitudes toward EMI

275 To provide some context for responses (age, discipline, EMI exposure, and English
276 proficiency), a short demographic survey preceded each session, enabling a balance between
277 focused inquiry and the engagement of natural discussion relating to the issues.

278 **3.4.2 Data Collection Process**

279 Participants were identified through department coordinators and EMI instructors. Initial
280 contact occurred via email or in-person meetings, where researchers explained the study's
281 purpose and confidentiality protections. All participants:

- 282 ➤ Received and signed informed consent forms
- 283 ➤ Were assured of voluntary participation/withdrawal rights
- 284 ➤ Understood data usage policies

285 Interviews lasted 45-60 minutes, conducted privately either on-campus or via secure
286 platforms (Zoom/Google Meet). With participant permission, all sessions were audio-
287 recorded and later transcribed verbatim for analysis

288 **3.5 Data Analysis**

289 The qualitative data resulting from the semi-structured interviews was analyzed using
290 thematic analysis, based on Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-step framework: 1) Focusing on
291 familiarization with the data through transcription of the interview, and also repeated reading
292 and reflection over the transcribed text; 2) Initial and descriptive codes from initial segments
293 of the relevant text; 3) Searching for themes by clustering codes into patterns in relation to
294 the research questions; 4) Reviewing provisional themes by checking each theme against the
295 relevant coded extracts, and finally checking those themes against the complete data set; 5)
296 Defining and naming themes based on capturing the essence and story told through the
297 themes; and, 6) Producing the report by telling an analytical narrative weaving together the
298 theme narrative with examples of data to illustrate the findings in relation to the research
299 questions and the existing literature.

300 **Data Analysis and Discussion**

301 In this chapter, the researcher presents the results from the thematic analysis of the semi-
302 structured interview data. This chapter is intended to provide a thorough investigation of non-
303 English major students' perceptions of English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI). The
304 analysis used Braun and Clarke's (2006) six-phase process to identify, review, define and
305 name the themes associated with the recurring patterns and meanings highlighted in the
306 transcribed interviews. The discussion will connect the themes and findings to the theoretical
307 frameworks of Cognitive Load Theory (CLT) and Sociocultural Theory (SCT), and the
308 Student Voice framework, the literature review in Chapter 2, and the research questions of
309 the study.

310 **4.2.1 Perceived Linguistic Difficulties in EMI Courses (Responses to Research 311 Question 1)**

312 **Research Question 1: What are the linguistic difficulties perceived by non-English
313 major students in EMI courses?**

314 The analysis indicated that students consistently faced significant linguistic difficulties in
315 EMI courses, predominantly seen as a tremendous increase in extraneous cognitive load,
316 which was consistent with predictions from Cognitive Load Theory (CLT). Participants often
317 described a "dual-processing" struggle in which their working memory was strained from
318 needing to process meaning in English while also needing to understand complex disciplinary
319 content.

320 **Theme 1.1: Linguistic Processing Burden:** Many students said that factors like the
321 instructor's accent, speed, or academic English vocabulary were often barriers to
322 understanding the class lecture delivery. Many students described an ongoing internal
323 translating process that took up cognitive resources that could have been deployed to process
324 deeper content understanding. This directly reflects on Lasagabaster's (2018) notion that
325 processing content in a foreign language can create extraneous cognitive load which could

326 lead to superficial processing. For example, students commented that when introduced to new
327 technical terms in English without adequate explanation or repetition, they just struggled with
328 feelings of being a bit overwhelmed. This aligns with CLT's focus on how instructional
329 design (or lack of it) can create extra load.

330 **Theme 1.2: Reduced Participation Due to Language Barriers:** A key finding was that
331 students' were hesitant to have an active role in discussions or ask questions based on their
332 perceived level of English language proficiency. Based on their comments, a number
333 expressed fears that they would make grammatical mistakes, mispronounce words and be
334 misunderstood. This issue does not just affect individual learning, but has consequences to
335 social and collaborative learning, which is the focus of sociocultural theory (Vygotsky,
336 1978). When students are reluctant to engage in verbal interaction, they miss out on
337 opportunities to co-construct knowledge and learn from each other. This raises an issue
338 related to Student Voice, as the students' inability to express themselves is compromised.

339 **Theme 1.3: Difficulty with Academic Reading and Writing:** In addition to oral
340 comprehension, the students had difficulty with reading academic texts in English. The data
341 showed that they reported slower reading speeds and needed to consult a dictionary
342 frequently which increased their cognitive load even more. Likewise, they also struggled to
343 express complex ideas in academic English writing, often becoming frustrated and simplified
344 instead of using complex language, which impacted their ability to demonstrate deep
345 understanding and critical thinking - two fundamental academic expectations.

346 **4.2.2 Perceptions of EMI's Academic Benefits and Drawbacks (Addressing Research** 347 **Question 2)**

348 **Research Question 2:**The academic advantages and disadvantages of EMI: how do students'
349 perceptions differ in terms of their major?

350 Students expressed a mixed perception of the academic implications of EMI, recognizing
351 both academic benefits and downsides, reflecting the experience of lived reality of their
352 student experiences and the complicated relationship of linguistic and disciplinary learning.

353 **Theme 2.1: Perceived Linguistic Improvement:**A lot of students mentioned that they felt
354 EMI exposure did boost their general English language ability, especially vocabulary
355 specifically related to their academic fields. They viewed this positively as useful skills for
356 future career opportunities in the globalized labour market, and, in this case, recognized the
357 advantages pointed out by scholars like Dearden and Macaro (2016) and Evans and Morrison
358 (2018). This suggests that, despite the cognitive load, the immersion does provide some
359 incidental language learning opportunities.

360 **Theme 2.2: Enhanced Access to Global Resources:**Student access to international
361 textbooks, academic articles, and online resources, all of which are ultimately English-
362 language-based, was an important IV; the EMI offered students an academic advantage,
363 increasing students' intellectual breadth, and linking them to contemporary legacies and
364 emerging knowledge in their respective fields of study (Airey, 2011; Hyland, 2019).

365 **Theme 2.3: Risk of Superficial Content Understanding:**Students highlighted a significant
366 concern that EMI resulted in superficial understanding and rote learning rather than true deep
367 learning. Many felt that they were aware of the "what" but were not able to understand the

368 "why" or "how" due to the language barrier. The students' fears corroborate the literature
369 previously raised by Chang (2010) and Doiz and Lasagabaster (2019) and relate directly to
370 the situation where extraneous cognitive load detracts from germane load. The students
371 mentioned spending cognitive load on the language detracted from their conceptual mastery.

372 **Theme 2.4: Academic Stress and Reduced Confidence:** Many participants expressed
373 heightened academic stress and anxiety linked to EMI, particularly when undertaking
374 assessments or when assessed in presenting in a set task in English - this reduced their
375 academic confidence even if they potentially being competent in the area of study if the
376 education was being delivered in their first language. This emotional aspect of the student
377 experience is an important disadvantage the higher education sector often ignores in top-
378 down policy considerations.

379 **4.2.3 Overall Attitudes and Preferences Towards EMI (Addressing Research Question** 380 **3)**

381 **Research Question 3:** What are the attitudes and preferences of non-English major students
382 generally in relation to EMI implementation?

383 Overall, students' attitudes towards EMI were multifaceted, marked by a pragmatic
384 acceptance of necessity along with a wish for more individualized support and flexibility.
385 Their preferences were largely influenced by the experiences of classroom interactions and
386 the overall adequacy of pedagogic strategies, echoing SCT principles and Student Voice.

387 **Theme 3.1: Pragmatic Acceptance of EMI:** While students recognised the difficulties
388 surrounding EMI, most expressed a general feeling that EMI was an acceptable "necessary
389 evil" or at least a "useful stepping stone" an effective tactic for future workplace success later
390 in life and internationally orientated careers. They understood the institutional drivers of EMI
391 (increasing international students, improving global ranking, preparing graduates for the
392 global workforce) outlined in the literature (Lo & Hyland, 2019; Macaro et al., 2018), but
393 even students who accepted and subscribed to EMI activities recognised that implementation
394 could be improved; they did not want EMI just to be an expected expectation that they
395 followed.

396 **Theme 3.2: Desire for Increased Pedagogical Scaffolding:** A clear desire emerged for
397 instructors to provide more explicit pedagogical scaffolding and language support for
398 students in EMI courses. Students expressed suggestions for this, such as clearer explanations
399 of complex terminology, slowing their speech, offering visual aids, providing glossaries, and
400 utilizing opportunities for collaborative learning in smaller group, less intimidating contexts.
401 These suggestions seem to closely reflect SCT's principles of scaffolding within the Zone of
402 Proximal Development (ZPD) to promote learning. The perceived absence of such strong
403 support mechanisms as identity was introduced, as indicated in the problem statement
404 contributed to inhibiting their learning.

405 **Theme 3.3: Call for Flexible and Differentiated Instruction:** Participants showed a desire
406 for more flexible and differentiated instruction that recognized differences in English
407 proficiency levels. Some participants suggested that teachers provide bilingual explanations
408 of complex concepts, students talking to peers to clarify points in their home language, or
409 teachers offering optional supplementary materials in the students' home language. This
410 emphasizes the importance of sincerely hearing the Student Voice and changing our practices

411 for the specific needs of the students. They believed that a one-size-fits-all approach to EMI
412 detracted from their learning.

413 **Theme 3.4: Importance of Instructor's Linguistic and Didactic Skills:**Students repeatedly
414 emphasized the importance of how well an instructor could communicate English as well as
415 how much they were able to communicate complex content and idea in EMI. Students
416 appreciated instructors who used EMI and were seen as clear communicators, patient, and
417 who empathetically recognized that fluency often takes different forms within EMI courses.
418 These results are aligned with the literature already discussed on how instructor preparedness
419 is key to EMI (Galloway &Ruegg, 2017).

420 **4.3 Discussion**

421 The results of this study emphasize the important notion of investigating EMI from the
422 students' perspective, addressing a clear gap in the literature (Pecorari& Malmström, 2018;
423 Kim & Kim, 2020). Institutions embrace their EMI approach strategically, to help
424 internationalize their institution and provide a competitive edge, while non-English major
425 students are obliged to navigate a more complicated and banal experience riddled with
426 cognitive and linguistic burdens.

427 The overwhelming finding related to the linguistic processing burden corroborates the
428 application of Cognitive Load Theory (CLT) to EMI contexts. The students are
429 unquestionably entering a significant extraneous cognitive load, where their effort to process
430 the communication medium (English) is inhibiting their efforts to assimilate the message
431 (i.e., disciplinary content). The pernicious danger of shallow learning compared to deeper
432 learning is an important issue with significant implications for academic performance and
433 graduate quality.

434 In addition, the indications of decreased participation and the strong evidence of a desire for
435 pedagogical scaffolding and flexibility further confirm the legitimacy of Sociocultural Theory
436 (SCT). In instances where languages apart from the target language restrict social interaction
437 and collaborative learning, the nature of knowledge construction as human and social is
438 challenged. Students' requests for educational scaffolding point to an apparent need for
439 instructors to act as mediators of learning in the ZPD, which allows for temporary support to
440 enable students to cross the chasm between their current knowledge and their potential
441 knowledge.

442 The overall emphasis on Student Voice in the analysis of the datasets reinforces the study's
443 first principle. Students, although challenged, are not passive agencies in EMI; they are
444 insightful observers of EMI's efficacy and voice their needs for a more student-focused
445 enactment of EMI. Their pragmatic interpretation of EMI, combined with their ability to
446 articulate their desired changes, provides policymakers and educators with valuable,
447 evidence-informed information. Not incorporating these primary perceptions may block EMI
448 policies from connecting with the reality of the classroom and may jeopardize reaching its
449 intended effects.

450 **Chapter 5: Conclusion**

451 The findings show that the study came to a number of important conclusions. EMI has a
452 significant cognitive load on non-native English-speaking students because they are trying to

453 learn both disciplinary content and a language that is foreign to them. Their cognitive load
454 impacts student agency and the extent to which they can engage socially of through academic
455 activities in the classroom dialogue. Students do acknowledge useful aspects of EMI, such as
456 their English language proficiency, and availability to access global resources, which might
457 have some benefits in their academic and/or future career prospects. However, none of this
458 replaces their more immediate concerns related to their current level of understanding as well
459 as academic assessments and coursework. Most importantly, student voices confirm the need
460 for adapted pedagogy and good quality teaching when being taught by an EMI instructor.
461 Furthermore, student experiences suggest that the current "one-size-fits-all" approach is
462 damaging. Therefore, EMI policies need to be reconsidered from the standpoint of students to
463 learn about how they experience the classroom engagement, and try to understand how
464 unintended consequences of EMI might be affecting their learning or academic well-being.

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