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Perceptions on English as a Medium of Instruction in Community School in Nepal

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Abstract

English as a medium of instruction (EMI) is a model of teaching in which non-English subjects are taught through the medium of English. It has become popular more than a decade and it has increased its tendency rapidly within Nepal and in global context. This study aims at exploring the perceptions of policy maker, head teachers, teachers, students and parents on the use of English as the medium of instruction particularly focusing on its effectiveness in the community schools in Nepal. Having seen the broader picture, I have conducted the qualitative interpretative research adopting narrative inquiry design to explore the ground reality of EMI implementation and its effectiveness. For this, I have selected altogether eight participants from policy to practice level who have observed and experienced the EMI. The entire research study is connected to the theory of neo-liberalism. This interpretive data reveals that the EMI has created a lot of tension to both the teachers and the students. The research findings suggest that the EMI is adopted without any planning and analyzing the teachers' readiness. The intervention of EMI at community schools has been a great challenge not only from the perspectives of instructional difficulties but also found much more challenges in terms of language to all the students and teachers.

Keywords: Medium of instruction, English language teaching, neoliberalism, community-based school

Introduction

English medium instruction (EMI) is defined as providing instruction in English to the students where English is not the commonly spoken language. Poudel (2021) mentions that EMI is a model of teaching in which non-English subjects are taught through the medium of English. The medium of instruction has become a hot

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issue among the educational sectors or academic institutions throughout the world but most specifically it is being a kind of interest in those countries where English is taught for specific purpose. Marsh (2006, as cited in Ryhan, 2016, p.4) mentions that a language number of educational institutions especially from 1995 to 2005 showed a great interest in implementing English as a medium of instruction throughout the world. Consequently, in the latest days, almost all the courses in the schools are being taught in English language and many have adopted it as compulsory subject as well.

EMI in education is a phenomenon speeding rapidly around the world. At present both local and international schools implement English as a medium of instruction. Dearden (2015) writes "There is a fast moving worldwide shift from English being taught as a foreign language (EFL) to English as the medium of instruction for academic subjects such as science, mathematics, geography and medicine. EMI is increasingly being used in universities, secondary schools, and even primary schools" (p.1)

EMI is considered as a more sensitive issue because some believe that it is a threat to home culture (Po-yung & Hang-yue, 2014), some other scholars think that it is necessary to keep up with the competitiveness of the world (Coleman, 2006; Wilkinson, 2013). Because of the global spread of English, several countries are starting English medium of instruction. There is a concrete example from some countries as Venezuela, Israel and Senegal. They were found struggling to the EMI expansion for their wish to preserve and protect home culture, language and education system (British Council, 2014). Hence, from these viewpoints it can be considered that the medium of instruction in the foreign language has become an issue as a threat to home culture and language.

Setting Context and Background of the Study

Nepal is one of the linguistically diverse countries in South Asia accommodating more than 123 languages (CBS, 2022). Nepal is a multi-lingual and multi-cultural country where people of different ethnic groups speak different languages as they have their own language. The number of English speaking people is quite less in Nepal. However, it has gained important position in the education system since English language is adopted as a core subject from basic to university level either as a main subject or an optional subject. Nepal has accepted two models of schools education system, institutional and community. In private schools, the medium of instruction is completely English whereas in public schools, Nepali is used as a medium of instruction. Different research studies have shown that the learning achievement of private schools is better than the community-

based schools. According to Phyak (2016), private English-medium schools in Nepal have consistently surpassed the ones in terms of academic achievement in different national-level tests and examinations such as SEE and NEB. Hence, many community-based schools have also started to apply their medium of instruction in English thinking that the private schools have charm due to the medium of instruction only. Educational manual (2015) has made the provision that the medium of instruction can be used either Nepali or English, however, the basic level education can be given in mother tongue. The Constitution of Nepal (2015), the fundamental rights- the article-31, has guaranteed the right for language communities to operate mother tongue based schools. This provision has also created a dilemma among the concerned authorities and stakeholders regarding whether to opt for EMI, Nepali medium instruction, or both English and Nepali languages.

The trend to shift to EMI has become a fashion and growing in many community schools especially in urban areas after the implementation of federal system and also they are expanding it to rural areas too. In the recent years, there is a trend in public schools education in Nepal that have been adopting EMI as a new linguistic market (Saud, 2020). Sah (2021) asserts that one of the most important and crucial tools worldwide has been teaching the English language. That's why it has been the globally accepted language, and Nepal can't be an exception regarding the use of the globally most prestigious and powerful language. Today, many public schools in urban areas of Nepal have adopted EMI. The worldwide spread of EMI in the educational sector has tremendously penetrated the school education system in Nepal (Sah & Li, 2018). Similarly, Sah and Li (2018) assert that most students, parents and teachers view EMI as a crucial linguistic capital that enhances advanced English proficiency, academic progress, economic and social prosperity, and access to higher education. Paudel (2021) states that many private schools have persuaded many well-to-do families because these private institutions have assured quality education through EMI.

However, many educationists, and language practitioners have given some serious concern with the medium instruction in foreign language. They emphasize that when the students are taught a language as medium of instruction which is not used in a particular speech community, their learning is considered as weaker (Khan, 2014). Mostly the students focus their learning on memorizing the given information without getting meaning from the context that cannot foster their creativity in learning. Consequently, their learning becomes imperfect and poorly exposed (Baral, 2015). However, keeping such concern in isolation, many parents are found that if their kids are not taught in English medium schools they may not have their bright future because English has become a part associated with success with life (Phyak,

2015).

For this main reason, regarding the classroom situation, some fundamental questions need to be elucidate such as the complex procedure of EMI. The influence of EMI over the academic success and the language proficiency, and EMI practices along with its challenges in real classroom settings can be observed. Not only classroom applications of EMI but also the complete procedure of assessment on the success of an EMI program is worth discussion. Therefore, this study attempts to explore the existing reality of adopting EMI in community schools exploring the perceptions of the different stakeholders from policy to practice level in Nepal. This present interpretive research study attempted to answer the below mentioned research questions as 'How do the different stakeholders of education take the EMI in classroom practices in community school in Nepal?'

Theoretical Framework

This study is guided by the theory of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism, which is constantly associated with globalization, is even considered as one element of globalization (Chang, 2015). Within the language education arena, neoliberal discourses often surface as ideologies and processes that promote language. Holborow (2012) explains "In less than a generation, neoliberal principles have spread across every continent and become so integral to public and private life that thinking outside its parameters is almost unthinkable (p. 14)". The neoliberalism theory prescribes its relevance of envisioning the acculturation of global trends and marketization of English in Nepal via medium of language.

The adoption of EMI in Nepal is a result of constant stress from private schools to stablish their instructional practices like English medium of instruction. There are basically two reasons associated with thins theory why the EMI is adopted in community schools in Nepal. First, there is a widespread narrative in Nepal and elsewhere that credentials from English-medium education not only develop English literacy skills but also open doors for jobs in international markets. Second, there is an increasing trend among Nepali students to go abroad for further study (Linn, et al., 2021). Therefore, neoliberalism has become a hidden agenda for the development of EMI since 'English is prioritized as the language of education stepping from the neoliberal ideology of English education as international practice.

Methods and Procedures

This study used a narrative inquiry approach to explore the perception of the different professionals associated with EMI adopted in community-based school. More specifically, this study focused on exploring the perception of different people

about the use of EMI and its effectiveness by capturing their stories (Beauchamp & Thomas, 2009) within some community-based schools. Through this research design, I have tried my best to craft the lived experiences of the participants with narrative inquiries begin with storytelling (Clandinin & Huber, 2014) form since their stories make grate contribution for finding the ground reality of the EMI and its implication.

Research Site and Participants of the Study

In qualitative research, in-depth study of fewer participants supports understanding the culture of participants and brings more vivid description. According to Creswell (2013), the small size is useful for analyzing the data properly. Hence, I selected eight participants for the present study, the researcher purposively selected from five different schools of Kathmandu where the EMI was adopted. They were purposively selected because in one hand it could focus on the same interest and in other hand it was convenient place for me to elicit the required information. I have selected a policy maker, one head teacher, three teaching faculties, two students and one parent as research participants. All the participants were from five different schools of Kathmandu valley. I tried my best to explore the ground reality of EMI in community-based schools especially being focused on its effectiveness getting the perception of all the stakeholders. For maintaining ethical consideration, I have given pseudo names as Krishna (the head-teacher), Rabi (the policy maker), Hari Kala (science teacher), Durga (mathematics teacher), Binod (EPH teacher), Radha, (a parent), Ritu and Bibas (students) for the participants of this research. For the inclusiveness of the respondents, out of eight, four male and four female participants were there.

Data Collection and Analysis Procedure

The information was elicited from the participants using interview technique. I used a set of semi-structured and unstructured interview questions for all the participants. Firstly, I took consent from the participants and they were convinced in the matter of their privacy. After building a good rapport between participants and the researcher, I took my interview with the participants along with the support of a recording audio on a mobile set.

I, first, took interview with the teachers and students through the support of a recording device using semi structured and unstructured interview questions respectively and I went to the school head teacher for collecting his opinion about the adaptation of EMI in his school. Similarly, I took interview with the parents for knowing her opinion to send her children at English medium school. Likewise, I visited one of the participants, the curriculum designer of EMI. In addition, follow-up questions were asked to explore the problem in depth (Turner, 2010).

After the interview schedule was over, I transcribed the data elicited from all the participants. After transcribing the data, I again examined the responses of the semi structured questionnaires distributed to the students. The first step of data analysis involved examining the semi-structured interviews for the themes and secondly the unstructured questionnaires for the themes as participants' perceptions the students. I coded recorded interview data and analyzed inductively driving from the themes. After transcribing translations, codes and categories were developed and finally synthesized into the themes (Clarke & Braun, 2021). Pseudo names were used while analyzing the data for maintaining the confidentiality of the participants.

Results and Discussion

Based up on the data analysis process the following four themes were generated as presented below for this research study.

EMI for Opportunity and Prosperity

The first and the foremost reason behind choosing the EMI is none other than the parents' willingness to admit their children to institutional English medium schools. Consequently, the community schools have faced a huge challenge of decreasing the number of students in their schools in recent years which has obviously encouraged them to adopt EMI to admit more students and retain them at their schools. The concerned authorities and stakeholders take this paradigm shift in medium of instruction as the dire need of the time. Radha, one of the parents under this study, reported as there was strong suggestion from parents to start English medium class at school. She further added;

Last time school called a parents-teacher meeting. Then many parents suggested all the teachers and the head teacher to teach in English. He listened our voices. Now, my one son and one daughter are studying in this school. Both study in grade eight. Other neighbours who were sending their children to boarding school have been sending to government school now. We want our son/daughter speak in English and become big person in future. Now those who speak English can get good job. (3 June 2023)

The mentioned view resonates that the reason of selecting the English as a medium of instruction in the school was the pressure that head teachers and school management committee received from parents. The school might lose the students if they fail to do so. In align with this view, Shah (2021) states that parents believe that English promotes prestige in the community and EMI promotes their children to facilitate the learning of content better in English. It indicates that the parents thought that if their children got English language like in private school, they would

get better opportunity of employment in future. It was all due to the trends of English language that the children get at private schools.

Another participants, Krishan, the head teacher of the school, under this study reported with my question: 'what motivated you to shift to EMI', and he shared that there was strong pressure from the parents and guardians to adopt EMI and further he argued;

Looking high demand and scope of English, everyone wants to enroll their wards in private schools since they have adopted English as mandatory means of classroom delivery. Parents admit their kids in private schools if we do not shift to English medium. They say that their neighbour's children are studying in private school in better way and there is nothing than English language. One thing we cannot deny that obviously there is more opportunity for getting jobs with English skills but language is not everything. But parents' voice is quite opposite to us. (5 June 2023)

The data reveals that the school adopted English medium instruction without any proper plan and investigation whether they had adequate resources or not just to compete with private schools and better number of students' enrollment. While analyzing the information of my participants' this view has close connection with Phyak (2016) who mentions that public schools are shifting to EMI to compete with private schools.

After analyzing the information given by my participants, it is found that the community schools are using English medium for the social, financial and or better future of individual. They have just implemented it to please the parents and for the better enrollment of students thinking the English craze in the education is for better jobs and career of their students.

Regarding the use of English by the speaker, Pennycook (1994) noted that one's status in social, educational, and professional contexts is seen to be determined by their command of the English language. However, the state, in the pursuit of social justice in education, introduced it, which, without proper planning and resources, is nothing more than a religious ritual.

Similarly, Rahmah (2005) also writes:

The preservation of English remains essential for the attainment of a prosperous future-a future of human dignity, if not public respect, a future of material prosperity, and a future of the security, human rights, and recognition that all human beings aspire to So, irrespective of what the state provides,

parents are willing to part with scare cash to buy their children such a future (114).

With the all these views it can be discussed that the English language has been embraced by many as a source of dignity and opportunity. It has been seen as a symbol of hope, advancement and modernity, and is seen as a reflection of one's sense of dignity and self-identity in society. From the data it can be understood that the English medium of instruction in private school has given a kind of pressure to the community school to shift towards English as parents have high demand. Parents have a kind of perception that if their children are given education in English, they will have good social status, better career. A wider socioeconomic context on schooling to English medium creates what Savage (2003) calls "a new kind of class paradigm, recognising the mutual constitution of markets, classes and individuals" (p.535). Hence, this has led many parents and schools to encourage their children or students respectively to acquire English without proper planning.

EMI Creates Two Tyrese of Medium

Intervention of any new program to an organization in the initial stage is simply known as introductory phase. While introducing the English medium instruction at school, many schools are found using English medium curriculum and its textbooks to the students. Pennycook (1989) and Phillipson (1993) argue that language teaching is an integral part of life, and that all methods and materials are imbued with the ideologies of the creators. EMI has become popular fashion within Nepal and the globe. With my question, 'in what context the EMI was adopted in your school', Krishna, the head teacher, reported;

At the beginning we started EMI at our school from grade 1-3 in 2069 BS. First, School Management Committee passed a decision to use EMI then we decided to use it. We brought textbooks in English from Janak Shiksha Samagri Kendra. Another year, it went to grade 4-5. Now, we have been using it up to garde-8. We have both Nepali and English medium at our school in grade 6-8. (June 5, 2023)

The data reveals that the schools has adopted the two types of medium of instructions in the same school as English and Nepali. It seems that the school has divided the students into two system of education delivery for having the same education in the name of language. Those who prefer English medium curriculum have provided English and vice versa. While analyzing his views it is quite contradiction with Educational manual (2015) that has made the provision that the medium of instruction can be used either Nepali or English, however, the basic level education can be given in mother tongue. The Constitution of Nepal (2015), the fundamental

rights- the article-31, has guaranteed the right for language communities to operate mother tongue based schools. After analyzing the views and the policies, it seems that the school's intervention of EMI seems opposite to the act. School's rules has underprivileged the rights of the students to get their education is mother tongue.

Radha, a parent, reported, "We want our students speaking English like boarding school's students. Boarding school are taking more charge from the parents. I am financially not good to pay that much amount so I sent my children in this school. But I have to pay some extra fee for English medium teaching class here too. (3 June 2023)

This excerpt shows that the school has introduced English medium instruction but parents asked to pay for the education provided in the English medium. It reveals that the parents who have good economic status have admitted their children in English medium and those who cannot afford in Nepali medium in the same class/ school. In contention to this Poudel (2019) argued that in the context of Nepal, English is the most influential language among upper and middle classes. To oppose with the participants, the Constitution of Nepal (2015) has given a right to have free and compulsory basic education (Grades 1 - 8) and free secondary education (Grades 9 - 12) to all children. It has created the strata in society as EMI educated are taken as superior and Non-EMI educated are as inferior.

Rabi, the curriculum designer added, "Medium of instruction has no problem itself. We have designed our curriculum in both languages; Nepali and English. But it is unethical to take extra fee in the name of English class." (7 June 2023)

The aforementioned expressions reveals that the school can make their choice as education act has given privileges to adopted English or Nepali medium instruction at school. However, taking extra fee from the parents with the English medium education is unethical practice within academia. In this regard, EMI without a genuine English education provided the poor and working class children with an illusion of access.

Analyzing the results from the participants and the scholars' viewpoints it can be discussed that the English medium instruction has invited a dangerous practice of two tires of education system in the same school. There is contradiction with the intervention and the policies of medium and charging fees as provisions have not given such privileges. Taking extra fee with the parents after introducing the EMI at school is awful action. The school is taking extra fee with the parents who are capable to pay in the name of EMI but the students from poor economic family are studying Nepali medium. The medium of instruction has become a tendency that has divided the society. EMI has become globalization in the local market (Sah & Li,

2018), English in EMI is 'Market English rather than a second or foreign language, constructing EMI as a Discourse in Nepal. Neo-liberalism have had a significant impact on the contemporary society and have had a range of consequences on individuals as a market fashion tendency with the influence of having better career and jobs in the market.

Effectiveness of EMI in Learning

The utilization of English language in Nepalese community schools has had a significant impact on their enrollment figures since the implementation of the EMI in the city of Kantipur (Kantipur, 2019). Tran et al. (2021) stated that students' knowledge of technical terms was believed to be improved most through EMI by both lecturers and students. The school is taking it as a great achievement in their school. Most community-based schools have been comparing their students with private schools' students. In this connection Hari Kala, the science teacher shared:

Our some students have come from private schools after we introduced EMI in our school. Now, some of them can communicate in simple English." Similarly, the head teacher added, "After the introduction of EMI in our school many students have come and enrolled from private schools. It is a great achievement for us since our parents are quite happy to our initiation. Isn't it a matter of good news to all of us? (4 June 2023)

When I inquired of about the learning achievement of the students, the head teacher did not give very clear response on it. However, Durga, the mathematics teacher added "The students have been learning English language, some of them speak little English but learning achievement is the same." (4 June 2023)

The above mentioned expressions show us that the school has succeeded to enroll few students those who were previously going to private English medium schools. Some students have learned to speak in English means all the learners are not able to use English. In align to this Chang (2010) mentions that English instruction helped them improve their English proficiency. However, in contrary to this, Sah and Karki (2020) suggests that pupils that switch to EMI are not adequately equipped. They don't know enough English and don't live in an English-speaking environment.

Analyzing the above participants' viewpoints and scholars' standpoints it can be discussed that those community schools which have introduced the EMI have increased the students' enrolment. However, there is no significant difference in students' learning achievement. The head teacher believed that shifting to EMI was the much success story to him for being able to compete with private schools and wining the heart of parents. However, he is not aware about the learning achievement of their students and linguistic ability. This demonstrates the importance of mother tongue education in fostering a positive relationship between the student and the school, as it can provide a sense of comfort and relief to the child from the psychological distress of poor performance in the classroom, as they are able to express their thoughts in their native language with ease. Furthermore, the increase in the students' population is not sufficient to achieve this. The center of all these factors shaping the EMI policy in Nepal's remains neoliberal logic. This custom is fully connected with globalized society that parents of children in community schools want their children so far as the parents of children with private English medium schools as a fashion.

Teachers and Students Face Challenges with EMI

Most of the teachers in community schools are using Grammar Translation method. Giri (2011) mentions that the proficiency of English language teachers is always questioned in community schools. Pennycook (1989) and Phillipson (1993) add, "Language teaching is an integral part of life, and that all teaching methods and materials are imbued with the ideologies of their originators. Durga, the mathematics teacher put her opinion:

It is really quite difficult for all the teachers because we have to learn English ourselves first before we go to class. Before we used to teach in Nepali. Now the course books are in English. It is difficult for me to teach in English because I don't have habit of speaking in English. (4 June 2023)

The science teacher, Hari Kala added "This English medium instruction for teaching science has become a hectic job for me. Firstly, I have no good English myself. The course is given in English and school administration forced us to teach in English. But I explain the textbook in Nepali for students' convenience." (4 June 2023)

The above expressions reveals that due to lack of English proficiency of the teachers, it is the biggest challenge to community-based schools to implement the EMI properly. It shows that the teachers are to be well trained to teach in English and use various pedagogical ideas in classroom practices. If the English teachers teach any subject in English medium who do not have appropriate proficiency to explain concepts in an understandable way obviously brings an unpleasant situation among the learners.

Likewise the next teacher, Binod teaching Health for 9 years further shared, "Firstly, I go to the classroom being fully prepared but my students do not understand. Many things I have to tell them in Nepali to make clear. In fact, I have no proper ideas about teaching social using English language." (6 June 2023)

The above data presented by the respondents reveal that the English language itself has become a great burden to the teachers as they have no competency in English language. The teachers themselves have no good English language and unable to use it properly. Giri (2011) believes that the largest issue community schools face in implementing EMI policy is teachers' lack of English language competency. Almost all the teachers had problems of teaching course book in English because they had difficulties of understanding English themselves. In regard to this, Sah and Li (2018) say that implementing EMI without proper preparation result in negative outcomes: students neither achieve content knowledge nor English language skills. It vividly portraits that lack of proficiency of English language has become another great challenges to the teachers themselves. We can imagine that if a teacher does not have good English proficiency, how he/she can use English instruction for classroom delivery. They explain the text into Nepali as well. The outcome was that the students did not acquire the necessary knowledge of content or English language proficiency. Sah (2015) mentions that the MOE is facing a significant challenge of EMI in order to guarantee that all teachers possess a high level of proficiency in English language. Teachers are found not getting much exposure of training on English medium instruction's for classroom delivery which has become another great stressful job to most of the teachers in community schools where the EMI is adopted.

Reetu, a student studying in grade IX shared her opinion, "I feel much difficult to perceive the language used by the teachers in the classroom. Teachers do not teach using materials and activities in the classroom" The next student, Bibas studying in grade VIII said, "I don't understand the way of teaching by the teachers. They only read the text themselves. They use dictation only in the class". (6 June 2023)

This above data presents that the students are having an unfavorable situation due to poor performance and not having commanding over of English language of teachers. Sah and Li (2018) contend that the school has adopted their own EMI practice, combining English and Nepali as the medium of instruction due to the inadequate competence of their teachers and pupils. In a setting where Nepali medium instruction is widely considered to be weak and has not been successful in producing satisfactory outcomes, the utilization of a foreign language as a language of instruction can further exacerbate the disparities in the educational experience of both students and teachers (Baral, 2015).

From the above themes as the evidences or the findings of the study, it is found that the participants, expressed their ground reality and we can imagine that

it is challenging for non-English courses to be taught using English as a medium (EMI) by teachers who lack the necessary English language proficiency. Especially the school management committee and the school administrators agreed that the EMI can promote learners to be able like the private English medium school's students. In most of the cases, the language was reported as a major challenge taken both by the teachers and the students. They are facing many challenges like they do not have good English language, nobody has received the adequate training of EMI for classroom practice, no idea for the better methodology or classroom teaching techniques etc. The students are being victimized in the name of EMI. Similarly, students express their hidden reality after the EMI practice in their school. They have many problems of understanding the language, teachers teaching skills or textbook. This suggests that the decision to introduce EMI was made by policy makers, the school administration, and the teachers themselves, without any prior preparation on the part of the latter. They just thought that English course book allures the students towards community based schools. It is, in one hand, teachers themselves are not able to teach English course books. On the other hand, students cannot perform well. Therefore, Sah and Karki (2020) state that neoliberalism has become a hidden agenda for the development of EMI since 'English is prioritized as the language of education stemming from the neoliberal ideology of commodification of English education as international, global and quality.

Conclusion

The craze of learning English language is booming in Nepal. In one hand, the parents are sending their children to the private English medium schools for their bright future. On the contrary, the community based schools are reached in such condition that they are not able to run schools until or unless they are not adopting English medium instruction to enroll the students in their schools. Linguistic imperialism is a reality in many contexts worldwide. EMI can be taken it as one phenomenon that has hegemonic role in language throughout the developing countries like Nepal. The adaptation of EMI is a salient feature of globalization, a modern contemporary economic ideology. Neoliberalism has had a direct and indirect influence on the dissemination and utilization of English as the primary language of communication in the context of business, commerce, and various industries. This present study has taken a preliminary glance of EMI as the fast emerging phenomenon in Nepali community based schools and in the globalizing world. In this study, I have tried to gain insight of EMI and its learning difficulties among the teachers and students. It is necessary to review the marketing of Educational Media Initiatives (EMI) in Nepal in order to gain insight into the implementation of these language-integrated education policies at the local level.

The policy makers, school management committee and school administration decided to adopt EMI in the community schools in Nepal without any deep study on their teachers' capacity or their ground reality. In long run, there is another big threat to the education system in Nepal that if EMI is strictly implemented in this way, mother tongue and culture will be lost very soon. Many community-based schools in Nepal have introduced EMI however, they need to adopt EMI only after wider discussion with all the stakeholders. Without proper preparation and prerequisites especially the preparedness of teaching in English implementation of EMI remain ineffective in the classroom context. Therefore, in fact much more investigations and research study required in order to dig out more hidden reality to ensure the best possible outcomes in the future.

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