Foreign Language Education as Glocal Capital: Statements of Educational Outcomes on China’s Double First-Class University Websites

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Abstract

The study draws on the Bourdieusian theory of capital to examine the way China’s Double First-Class (hereinafter referred to as “DFC”) universities capitalize on the values of foreign language education. Based on the content analysis of the representations of the officially published and accessible websites of 42 DFC universities, this thesis reports on a qualitative inquiry on the multilingual ideologies of China’s foreign language education in the context of China’s increasing global status. Findings show that China’s DFC universities advertise as ideal “glocal capital” providers for students and construct their foreign language education as a medium for achieving the global vision and local values. Findings also reveal the shifting paradigm of China’s foreign language education from previously orienting towards West-European and Anglophone languages to including the languages of peripheral countries in response to China’s socioeconomic transformations and global development. The study highlights the emerging patterns of China’s foreign language education, which is geopolitically motivated but unequally distributed in educational resources. The study is closed with some implications for enhancing China’s foreign language education and cultivating quality language talents for China’s global and local markets.

Keywords: multilingual ideologies, capital, Double First-Class universities, glocal capital, foreign language education

1. Introduction

1.1 Research Background

Since 2015, China has initiated a tertiary education development known as “Double First-Class Universities” (DFC universities) with the hope of turning 42 elite Chinese universities into world-class institutions by the end of 2050 (Ministry of Education, 2022; State Council, 2015). Over history, the Chinese government has been establishing foreign language education (FLE) to respond to national strategies. Since the reform and opening up, China has been working hard to develop foreign language degree programs in Chinese universities (Shao & Gao, 2017), aiming to contribute to China’s diplomatic cause and meet the demands of socioeconomic exchanges as well as the political end mandated by the government (Han, Gao, & Xia, 2019). Many Chinese scholars have discussed the close relationship between FLE and national strategies (see detailed review in section 2.1).

In order to understand how China’s FLE responds to the construction of DFC universities, this study turns to 42 DFC universities by examining the ideological representation of their FLE development. Following previous scholars investigating school websites (Chen, Dervin, Tao, & Zhao, 2020; Han et al., 2019; Hoang & Lizana, 2015; Nguyen, 2020; Terri & Robert, 2016), this study sees university websites as a tool for promoting the values of learning foreign languages following China’s socioeconomic transformations at home and China’s integrating into the world system.

Given the limited time and space for finishing this thesis, the collected data will only focus on the websites of the school of foreign languages from 42 DFC universities. This study explores how DFC universities ideologically construct the values of learning foreign languages in the contemporary context of China’s engagement with the world.
1.2 Research Significance

In theory, this study contributes to the Bourdieusian theory of capital (1986) by examining the ideological representations of China’s FLE in the shifting paradigm of the world economy. Following the Bourdieusian approach of seeing language as technical skills enhancing individual mobility and national capacity, this study focuses on the discursive representations of FLE through Chinese universities’ websites. The study can shed light on how China integrates with the world system through FLE.

In practice, the study with 42 elite Chinese universities as an object of research can represent the status quo of China’s foreign language development and provide many implications for language policy and planning in China and beyond. Situated in a broader context of China’s socioeconomic transformations and active engagement with the world, this study can offer a holistic understanding of how Chinese elite universities respond to China’s new global vision and strategy by advertising the values of learning and teaching foreign languages.

2. Literature Review

This section starts to review the historical profiles of China’s foreign language education (FLE) by arguing how various historical, socioeconomic, and political forces mediate the development of China’s FLE. Considering the study’s relevance, this section also includes a review of the promotion of FLE through institutional websites. By drawing from the relevant studies conducted in China and abroad, this section aims to build up the dialogue with the previous scholarship and bridge the gap to contribute to the existing literature.

2.1 Previous Studies on Foreign Language Education in China

Over history, China’s FLE has been closely associated with China’s historical, socioeconomic and political development. China’s FLE has a long history, dating back to the late Qing Dynasty when China began to decline (Zhang, 2011). There have been plenty of studies on China’s FLE probing into the history of China’s FLE to shed light on the relation between FLE and China’s socioeconomic and political development (Zhang, 2011; Pan, 2013) and illustrate the relationship between FLE and China’s global strategy in a new era (Li et al., 2020).

The study by Zhang (2011) presents a full explanation of how China’s FLE is closely related to China’s socioeconomic and political changes. Zhang shows how English education began to emerge after the first Opium war under the idea of “learning advanced technologies from Western barbarians to fight against them (师夷长技以制夷 shiyi changji yi zhiyi)” (p. 35). However, English was not the dominant foreign language in China, and China’s FLE shifted from English to Russian in the early days of the Cold War when the political ideology of Pro-USSR tendencies threatened the status of English in China. Since Chairman Mao issued the well-known “lean-to-one-side (一边倒 yibiandao)” statement on 30 June 1949, Russia had boasted special significance over English at that period. The shifting paradigm from English to Russian was associated with China’s diplomatic relations with the socialist countries, mainly Soviet Russia and Eastern Europe. Therefore, learning English was considered “Unpatriotic” (Pan, 2015). However, as Sino-Soviet relations tensed in the second half of the 1950s, the status of the Russian language also declined. Meanwhile, English made a “comeback” (Zhang, 2011, p. 43) as the PRC devoted itself to industrial expansion and established diplomatic relations with more foreign countries. As the study conducted by Pan (2015) suggests, the status of English “downgraded” again in the face of the Cultural Revolution. It was not until the reform and opening up that English regained its glory in China because China intended to integrate economically into the world. Zhang’s and Pan’s studies show the close relationship between China’s FLE and the national strategic development.

Different from previous scholars mentioned above, Li, Xie, Ai and, Li’s study (2020) highlights the new paradigm of China’s FLE since China became the second-largest economy. Their study suggests that China’s globalization is no longer confined to the Global North but includes the Global South, and languages other than English are gaining importance in China because of China’s foreign diplomacy toward peripheral countries. In sum, the review of China’s FLE indicates that the function and design of FLE in China change with the times, serving particular political and socioeconomic ends.

2.2 Previous Studies on Promoting Foreign Language Education Through School Websites

Given the importance of institutional websites as a critical medium for attracting potential students and capitalizing on the values of FLE, many scholars have conducted studies to explore the ideological representations of school websites. Hoang and Lizana (2015) focus on promotional discourses on the institutional websites of two famous Australian universities: The University of Melbourne and Macquarie University, by examining and comparing how these two universities represent and promote themselves through language on their institutional websites. The study discovers that Australian universities utilize promotional website discourses to appeal to investors and potential students to acclimatize themselves to social changes (e.g.,
the trend of academic marketing or cut down of funding), as well as to construct their new identities in the era of globalization to stay globally relevant. Still, a study by Terri and Robert (2016), focusing on the school websites of 55 elementary charter schools in a demographically diverse metropolitan area of the Twin Cities, the USA, attempts to explore how schools’ websites promote and communicate their disparate missions to potential families. The study suggests that these website discourses apply implicit information such as race, culture, and diversity to indicate a potential “fit” between particular schools and their potential clients/families. In this case, school websites act as a sorting machine, shaping the segmentation of a local marketplace of school options, which may aggravate the extent of sorting in education and deepen the inequality of educational resources. Similarly, Nguyen (2020) conducts a study examining Vietnamese bilingual schools’ statements of educational outcomes on their websites. The study demonstrates that these bilingual schools promote themselves as a provider of specific capital for students through the use of language on their school websites. All these studies justify that the school website is a suitable research object through which we can understand the school’s ideological representations.

In a Chinese context, Chen et al. (2020) examine language policy documents at three layers (national/provincial and institutional level) published on the websites. Their study identifies the language ideologies and language planning in China’s context, indicating that China’s FLE is promoted for its practicality for national and personal development and global cultural value. Differently, Han et al.’s study (2019) seems to depict a pessimistic message. By focusing on Universities of Foreign or International Studies, their study probes into the so-called “actuality” of the current situation of China’s FLE by checking universities’ websites. Their study reveals many tensions embedded in China’s FLE, and the challenges confronting Chinese universities are “unrealistic” curricula, teacher shortage, and low-quality student intake, resulting from “a lack of long-term planning” related to the development of China’s FLE. Despite the increasing attention given to China’s FLE, our knowledge about how China’s elite universities discursively construct the meanings of learning foreign languages remains poorly understood. To bridge this research gap, this thesis selects China’s 42 DFC universities for an in-depth analysis to reveal how they ideologically produce the values of learning foreign languages through university websites in the context of China’s engagement with the world. By doing so, the study can shed light on the shifting paradigm of China’s FLE.

3. Theoretical Framework

This section first introduces the theoretical concept of Bourdieu’s capital, focusing on the exchange forms of different capitals. After reviewing the relevant studies that adopt the Bourdieusian theory to understand FLE in various social contexts, the section justifies using this theory to understand the capitalized values of teaching and learning foreign languages through Chinese university websites.

3.1 Bourdieusian Theory of Capital

This study draws on Bourdieu’s (1986) theory of “capital” to interpret the information related to FLE studies on the official websites of DFC universities. According to Bourdieu, “the social world is accumulated history,” and “capital is accumulated labor” (p. 241). He claims that “capital” makes social games more than just simple games of chance; without the concept of “capital,” the world would be without rules. He divides “capital” into three forms: cultural, social, and economic.

According to Bourdieu (1986), the cultural capital presents itself as three different states, i.e., embodied, objectified and institutionalized. Following Bourdieu’s theory, recent studies further elucidate that the cultural capital, which has educational capital and linguistic capital as its subset capital, embodies itself in students’ disciplinary knowledge, skills, and personal qualities (Tran, 2015), as well as their language competence, educational credentials or academic qualifications (Nguyen, 2020). In this study, the educational capital refers to various knowledge and skills students can obtain through DFC universities’ ample and multi-layered educational resources, strong faculty, and exchange programs at home and abroad. The educational capital accumulated in schooling is paramount for students’ upward mobility.

Bourdieu (1991) also points out that “linguistic capital” is an essential subset of embodied cultural capital. Nguyen (2020, p. 741) rephrases it as “the unique profit attached to a certain language of high-market value that can empower the language speaker in terms of social status and recognition.” In the shifting paradigm of the global economy China’s foreign languages, especially languages other than English, are becoming more and more strategically important for China’s initiation of a new version of globalization that is not exclusively driven by English (Li et al., 2020). Han et al. (2019) indicate that Chinese universities are breaking away from the mindset that English is superior to other languages and are exploring and developing toward foreign language education in less commonly taught languages, such as Arabic, Malay, and Urdu, which are more likely to
respond to the call of China’s B&R Initiative. Therefore, the linguistic capital attached to foreign languages is conducive for students to enhance their studies to convert into educational capital or get a profitable job for the economic capital.

According to Bourdieu (1986, p. 21), social capital is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of mutual acquaintance and recognition,” meaning the collective-owned capital an individual possesses. In the case of this study, the social capital comprises teachers, schoolmates, and alumni with that students make acquaintance in their schooling, who may offer some substantial benefits for them in the future. Foreign language learners can accumulate this “durable network of mutual acquaintance and recognition” through FLE in DFC universities.

Economic capital refers to the access to financial or material resources that help people to make money (Bourdieu, 1986). In the present study, economic capital can be referred to as those promising material resources that foreign language learners are given access to through DFC universities’ FLE, and these resources are instrumental for them to accumulate wealth in the future as the fruit of their educational achievements/educational capital (i.e., educational credentials, certificates, language competence, and interdisciplinary knowledge). The study also highlights the significance of social capital accumulated in schooling, which can facilitate the accrual of economic capital.

3.2 Marketing the Educational Outcomes in Learning Foreign Languages

In the era of globalization, the ultimate goal of education is increasingly driven both by domestic and global markets. Universities scramble to be globally and locally relevant in their education and marketize their educational outcomes to attract students and cater to the market demand. Nguyen (2020) suggests that schools display on websites the educational outcomes conveying massage such that they are ideal providers of capital for students to be both globally and locally competitive, meaning various types of capital referred to previously presenting themselves as two forms: global form and local form. In the case of the present study, the four types of capital, namely linguistic capital, educational capital, social capital, and economic capital, also have two forms (glocal form) in that Chinese students have to face the force of globalization and seize the advantage in the local and global market. Nevertheless, it is essential to note that in the case of this study, linguistic capital is included in educational capital because students’ improvement in language skills results in the education provided by the school; therefore, the accumulation of linguistic capital can be seen as (not equal) that of educational capital. Lin (2012) suggests that the accumulation of linguistic capital can reinforce the accumulation of other types of capital. Nguyen (2020) also indicates that the four types of capital are closely interconnected, strengthening each other in the accumulation process.

Aligned with the inquiry of how university websites might marketize the values of learning foreign languages, this study will focus on how various forms of capital are converted into each other and ideologically constructed. Following is an illustration of DFC universities’ capitalization of their educational outcomes with an example of the process of producing talents in foreign languages manifested on their school websites. According to Bourdieusian theory, Chinese university websites as virtual platforms constitute an ideal space to marketize the values of learning foreign languages. Promotional discourses are assumably associated with the convertibility of different capitals. In other words, if a Chinese university student can go to one of the DFC universities majoring in a foreign language, he/she has the linguistic capital that is likely to be exchanged for other forms of capital like academic credentials or economic profits. By learning a foreign language at a DFC university, the student can gain access to the educational resources of FLE, i.e., educational capital, meanwhile making acquaintances with teachers and schoolmates who might assist him/her in constructing a valuable social network (i.e., social capital). Due to the comprehensive education received, his/her foreign language proficiency (i.e., linguistic & educational capital) and personal skills (i.e., educational capital) will be considerably improved. He/she will be more likely to get educational credentials and certificates, which will help him/her get a good job (economic capital). Because of his/her increased linguistic competence (i.e., linguistic & educational capital), he/she takes advantage of the platform provided by the school. He/she avails himself/herself of the chance to apply for exchange programs to study at elite foreign universities where he/she can globally accumulate educational, social & economic capital. Upon graduation, he/she is an all-around developed talent (i.e., educational capital) with an excellent linguistic ability (i.e., linguistic & educational capital) in virtue of the excellent education provided by his Alma mater. Therefore, he/she has a better chance of job hunting (i.e., economic capital) or further education at home and board (i.e., another round of accumulating educational, social, and economic capital globally or locally).
4. Methodology

This section starts with an elucidation of the data collection process. Following an illustration of how the data are analyzed, this section then puts forward some limitations of the study.

4.1 Data Collection Process

All the data in the present study can be accessed from China’s 42 DFC universities online. The collection process lasted from November 2021 to January 2022. Given the high social prestige attached to these universities and the considerable funding resources from China’s Ministry of Education, China’s DFC universities can represent, to a certain degree, the overall development trend of China’s FLE. It is worth noting that there are still 95 universities in the Double First-Class Disciplines Construction program, but due to this study’s short time and space, this study just focuses on 42 China’s DFC universities.

First, the study compiles a list of these 42 universities according to their geographical location and ranking. These universities are coded U1, U2, …, U41, and U42. A DFC university has several schools, such as the School of Literature, Economics, and Physics. Each school has its official website, and each website may contain some superfluous information that is irrelevant to this study. Specific criteria are employed to collect relevant data by pinpointing the exact research objects.

Criteria No.1: not all the official websites of DFC universities are considered relevant to the study. Only those web links that are highly relevant to FLE will be included, and this study focuses on the institutions that are responsible for establishing FLE programs. Given the different naming practices of different DFC universities, the names of these institutions vary from the School of Foreign Languages and Literature, Department of Foreign Languages and Literature to the College of Humanities and Development Studies. However, on the whole, the targeted institutions center on the School of Foreign Language (SFL) (外国语学院). Therefore, for convenience, they are collectively called SFL in this study. U2 (Peking University) can be an example. By entering the Chinese name of U2 (for instance, 北京大学) into the search engine, its official website can be reached. Then in the column of the Institution Setup (机构设置), which contains the hyperlinks of every school’s website, the web link of its SFL can be found.

Criteria No.2: not all the content on SFL’s website will be considered a data source. What is collected in this study is associated with the educational outcomes of FLE. Information like perceived values of teaching and learning foreign languages, and students’ future trajectories, has been collected. What follows is how the relevant information online can be reached. First, enter columns such as About the School page (学院介绍), Introduction to Foreign Language Major (专业介绍), Talents Training (人才培养), Faculty (师资队伍), International Exchange (国际交流) and Alumni Window (校友之窗). Then, seek web pages promoting the value of FLE or web pages containing information about the educational outcomes of FLE, such as students’ language proficiency, the destination of graduation, and the result of TEM-4 and TEM-8, as well as excellent alumni. Finally, take a screenshot of these web pages.

After collecting all the needed data, the study compiles them into a PDF for ease of reference and makes a table of the overview of FLE in DFC universities according to the data collected. The data source is available in Appendix A. The table contains critical information about China’s 42 DFC universities featured with their geographical locations, types of universities (comprehensive, normal, science and engineering, agricultural and forestry, minzu, military), and educational levels (with bachelor’s degree, master’s degree or doctor’s degree).

4.2 Overview of Double First-Class Universities’ Foreign Language Education

Based on the collected data (see Appendix A), some patterns can be generated to account for the overview of China’s DFC universities. Figure 1 is a self-made map of the geographical distribution of China’s 42 DFC universities colored in red with various spectrums. The number in red indicates the quantity of DFC universities. The bordering countries are also listed for capturing the geopolitical locations for establishing FLE programs.
As Figure 1 shows, the educational resources of 42 DFC universities are not equally distributed. Most of these elite universities are located in the eastern coastal areas of China (developed regions), accounting for nearly 60% of them (24 out of 42). Beijing alone has 8 DFC universities (20%), with Shanghai’s 4 DFC universities closely behind (10%). While some peripheral provinces, including Yunnan and Xinjiang, merely have one DFC university each. Worse, regions like Tibet, Qinghai, and Inner Mongolia are not allocated to DFC universities. Nevertheless, it must be made clear that DFC universities in different regions carry different strategic missions for FLE construction on their shoulders. This phenomenon is particularly prominent in China’s bordering provinces, where FLE development is geopolitically motivated.

Besides the uneven geographical distribution of DFC universities, China’s DFC universities contain six types, namely comprehensive university (CU), university of science and engineering (USE), normal university (NU), agricultural and forestry university (AFU), military university (MU[1]), and minzu university (MU[2]). The different types of a university account for different proportions, as indicated in Figure 2.
Comprehensive universities account for most DFC universities, with universities of science and engineering closely behind, indicating that the main force of DFC university construction lies in the comprehensive universities and universities of science and engineering.

Regarding the quantity of FLE programs established in China’s 42 DFC universities, English still constitutes the dominant position in that all of these universities have established English degree programs, and some universities even offer doctoral programs. Despite the valorized status of peripheral languages listed in China’s B&R Initiative, not all of China’s DFC universities have established these languages. However, it is noted that the peripheral language programs are found in China’s bordering provinces like Heilongjiang, Xinjiang, and Yunnan, where the national languages of neighboring countries (such as Russian, Myanmar, Lao, Vietnamese, Thai) have been chosen as part of the educational programs.

4.3 Data Analysis

Following previous studies examining the ideological representations of written materials (Chen et al., 2020; Han et al., 2019; Hoang & Lizana, 2015; Nguyen, 2020; Terri & Robert, 2016), this study adopts content analysis (Krippendorff, 2012) to categorize the emerging themes based on the research questions (i.e., “how have the values of learning foreign languages been ideologically constructed?”). To respond to the research question, the study first gleans information from 42 universities’ school websites for key constructs, including “values of foreign language learning,” “upward mobility,” “reaching ample educational resources,” “increasing language competence,” “becoming interdisciplinary talents,” “competitive edge in job hunting,” “current situation of graduates,” “serving for the country.” Then, the study identifies the categories relevant to the interconnection between FLE and capital accumulation, including “the learning of foreign language constructing educational capital,” “learning a foreign language as a way to build social capital,” and “learning a foreign language as economic capital.” Finally, in line with the concept of glocal capital (Bal & Arzubiaga, 2014), I developed these categories into three themes: “FLE as a glocal form of educational capital,” “FLE as a glocal form of social capital,” “FLE as a glocal form of economic capital,” and “FLE as a glocal capital.”

4.4 Limitations of the Study

This study has included the relevant data from all 42 Chinese elite universities, and it is expected to generate some useful patterns about how China integrates into the world system through establishing foreign language education. However, this study is not without limitations. First, this study only focuses on the textual representations of FLE in China’s 42 DFC universities. It remains to be examined how foreign language learners or teachers perceive the values of speaking foreign languages and how their perceptions might be (not) inconsistent with their everyday language practices. As the key actors in implementing China’s FLE from the bottom up, foreign language teachers’ and students’ experiences would constitute an important part of research inquiry in the future. Second, it is admitted that there would be some differences between what is discursively constructed on the websites and what is observed on a daily basis. The promises of FLE might encounter contradictions in reality. Therefore, conducting an ethnographic study with foreign language learners would be desirable to examine to what extent the marketized discourses might be converted into social reality.

5. Findings

Following the theory of Bourdieu’s capital, this section describes the findings by analyzing how China’s DFC university websites capitalize on foreign languages. The section presents the findings in accordance with three different types of capital, focusing on transforming their local and global forms.

5.1 Representation of Educational Capital

Arguably, China’s DFC universities, with their all-round disciplinary construction and plenty of educational resources (Wang & Hong, 2018), can indicate Chinese overall educational strength and top strength of Chinese universities (Jin, 2017), and the social reputations attached tend to entice hundreds of thousands of students into applying and dreaming of getting permitted. Therefore, DFC universities are where students can access a considerable amount of educational resources, which are convertible into educational capital. Besides, the website discourses of DFC universities reveal the probability of students’ reaching international educational resources, empowering students with the accrual of a glocal form of educational capital, which the market values.

5.1.1 The Local Form of Educational Capital

Equipped with a team of well-organized, robust, and vigorous teachers and rich educational resources, DFC universities boast the top level of FLE in China, thus, producing continuously high-quality talents for the country every year. Through websites, they ensure students access to these resources embedded within (strong faculty
and complete allocation of disciplines) or without (cooperation with China’s top universities), and these multi-layered educational resources act as a tool for students to obtain educational capital.

**Sufficient Educational Resources**

The most prominent trait of DFC universities’ foreign language degree programs is their outstanding teacher resources. U13’s statement is an example of teacher resources embedded within facilitating students’ accumulation of educational capital.

There are 128 faculty members in the school, including 104 full-time teachers and 14 international teachers, 62% with doctoral degrees. There are 21 doctoral supervisors, 61 professors and associate professors, including one distinguished professor and one lecture professor of the “Changjiang Scholars Program,” seven selected members of the “New Century Excellent Talents Support Program,” two winners of the “Order of Education of France” awarded by the French Government and a winner of the “Pushkin Medal” awarded by the Russian Ministry of Culture. (Excerpt 1 from U13) (All Chinese excerpts of schools’ website content the study employs for argumentation are translated by the author and can be checked in Appendix B).

By advertising the strong backgrounds of language teachers, China’s DFC universities construct themselves as ideal space for cultivating quality language learners. What is more, the potential language learners are also constructed as linguistically capable and can perform better in TEM-4 and TEM-8 than in other universities. For instance, U23 claims to have 90% of its students passing TEM-4 and TEM-8. U41 states in the introduction of its English Department that its best result is 91% of its students passing TEM-4, 89.83% passing TEM-8. By stating these data, DFC universities seem to attribute the success of students’ accumulating linguistic capital to the high-quality FLE they provide. It is noteworthy that students passing TEM-4 and TEM-8 will receive a certificate instrumental in applying to postgraduate programs or job hunting (Hu, 2018), transforming linguistic capital into educational or economic capital. Still, DFC universities often refer to the educational level of their FLE to demonstrate their academic strength; the higher the educational level is, the more resources can be provided (Fan, Zheng, Dong, & Wen, 2020). Nineteen DFC universities, such as U2, U10, and U23, offer bachelor’s degrees, master’s degrees, and doctor’s degrees in foreign languages, accounting for nearly half of them (see Appendix A). Therefore, accumulating educational capital will be easier in DFC universities because of their rich educational resources.

Furthermore, some universities attempt to demonstrate their success in producing high-level talents with educational capital by referring to the high rate of admission of their graduates into China’s key universities. For instance, U15 mentions that 30% of its graduates of foreign languages can enter top universities in China to study postgraduate programs through recommendations or examinations. Graduates in China have two ways to further their education: taking part in the postgraduate entrance exams or being recommended without examination. In either case, foreign language proficiency, mainly English, is badly required because of the linguistic capital attached to English, and the linguistic capital of English thus transforms into educational capital. Once they are enrolled, they can start a new round of accumulation of educational capital. By referring to this, U15 implies that students’ success in furthering education results in its high-quality FLE. Students successfully accumulate linguistic/educational capital. Therefore, they are more likely to enter top universities. Using their Alma mater as a springboard, students can start a new round of accumulation of educational capital in another excellent university. Hence, doing FLE at DFC universities is like killing two birds with one stone.

In addition to the subject knowledge of foreign languages, students of DFC universities can touch the zone of other disciplines such as history, politics, and science and engineering, which is convertible into educational capital. For instance, U2, a comprehensive university (CU), has a comprehensive range of subjects such as history, politics, economics, philosophy, religion, and education. Students of U2 can access these educational resources to construct educational capital. On the web pages of its SFL, U2 claims to “break the silos” and provide students of foreign languages with opportunities to reach to other disciplines and develop into interdisciplinary talents (educational capital) as below:

The SFL aims at breaking the silos and opening up channels between different disciplines to realize cross-training education. We are expanding the FLE into many other areas, including history, politics, economy, philosophy, religion, and education. We actively promote cross-disciplinary collaborations and construction with our brother schools in Chinese, history, archaeology, philosophy, and international relations. The SFL has jointly set up the Foreign Languages and History major with Yuanpei School and School of Archaeology and Museology (Excerpt 1 from U2).

Similarly, U34, a university of science and engineering (USE), combines FLE with its science disciplines,
enabling students the accumulation of multiple educational capitals. It states as follows in the introduction of its SFL:

The SFL started to implement double-degree training in 1992. In 2008, we started to recruit students of 2+3 international training, majoring and minorining in Russian and Flight Vehicle Design and Engineering. In the same year, we started to recruit students, majoring and minorining in English and Mechanical Design, Manufacture, and Automation (Excerpt 1 from U34).

In today’s era of globalization, China spares no effort to integrate into the world and is in great need of multilingual talents of multiple competencies. U34’s training mode of combining FLE with other disciplines is standard among DFC universities. Students under this mode are bound to have a more competitive edge in the market that requires multilingual, interdisciplinary talents, and their accumulated linguistic/educational capital can thus transform into economic capital.

Collaborated Educational Resources

Apart from the learning resources available in a university, DFC universities (like U41) emphasize that their FLE has integrated cross-university education resources by cooperating with other top Chinese universities to offer a platform for students to convert resources of other universities into their educational capital. After the screening, the student will study for a year or two at another university. Upon graduation, the student in the program will receive a diploma saying that he/she is jointly cultivated by these two universities, which is instrumental for him/her in job-hunting, facilitating the conversion of educational capital into economic capital.

Above all, DFC universities, especially CU and USE, profess to recycle the educational resources within (i.e., strong faculty and resources of other disciplines) and take advantage of those without (i.e., educational resources of other top Chinese universities) to expedite students’ accumulation of educational capital. Students doing FLE in DFC universities can receive comprehensive education and become interdisciplinary talents, in which case, they can stand a better chance both in applying for postgraduate/doctorate programs and job-hunting occasions.

5.1.2 The Global Form of Educational Capital

The local form of educational resources embedded within or without DFC universities facilitating students’ accruing of educational capital has been discussed in detail as above. This section examines constructing a global form of educational capital in FLE. It has been discovered that doing FLE at China’s DFC universities is also associated with accumulating desirable capital for overseas studies. Almost every DFC university stresses the overseas exchange programs of their FLE or that their SFL invites foreign scholars to teach in the school or deliver periodic lectures for the school. By displaying information about such on their websites, DFC universities imply to students that they can reach global educational resources on the campus (i.e., constructing international educational capital locally) or apply for international exchange programs (i.e., constructing international educational capital globally). What is noteworthy is that these exchange programs do not exclusively target English-speaking or European countries but take into consideration some peripheral countries such as Thailand, Pakistan, and Laos.

Constructing International Educational Capital Locally

A majority of DFC universities mention they invite foreign experts from the target country to offer courses on their campus so that students can access an international educational resource on a local campus, thus, accruing a global form of educational capital locally. For instance, U6 hires three German teachers with doctor’s degrees in the German Department. Still, the German Department of U11 proclaims to invite many famous German professors to give lectures yearly and hold influential international conferences periodically. Also, it is found that the nationalities of foreign teachers are also diversified. U31 mentions that more than ten foreign teachers from America, Germany, Britain, and Sweden are teaching in its SFL every year. This phenomenon is a good sign that Chinese students do not necessarily have to suffer the high cost of going abroad to receive international education. They can quickly realize that by doing FLE in DFC universities and constructing global educational capital locally.

Constructing International Educational Capital Globally

It is an often-used practice for DFC universities to introduce international exchange programs to appeal to the students, insinuating the possibility of constructing international educational capital. For instance, U11 stresses that 100% of German majors, including year three undergraduates, postgraduates, and doctoral students, can study abroad at German universities as exchange students. Also, there is another university where all students can participate in the exchange programs. U24 claims to send 100% of its Japanese majors, including undergraduates and postgraduates, to study abroad at 34 famous Japanese universities, including the University
of Tokyo, Nagoya University, and Hokkaido University. Though unable to offer all students the exchange opportunities, others can send a certain proportion of them or some “excellent” students abroad. For instance, U27 mentions that eligible outstanding Spanish majors are offered exchange opportunities during their studies. U5 also claims that 45% of English majors can study abroad for one semester at top universities, including Massachusetts State University, Boston, University of Kent, UK, and Midbury-Monterey Institute of International Studies advanced School of Translation, the US. In addition to top university partners in West-European countries or developed countries, university partners in peripheral countries are also coming into the light, especially in countries along the route of the B&R. U27 sends its Spanish majors abroad to study in Peru, Colombia, Mexico, Costa Rica, and other Latin American universities. U31 claims that its partner includes the Air University of Pakistan. U33 mentions that the exchange program for its Russian majors includes Abraham University of International Relations and Foreign Languages in Kazakhstan. U41 claims to send two of its English majors to Khon Kaen University, Thailand, every year. All these foreign universities mentioned above are located in B&R countries. Students who take part in these exchange programs, whether it is to developed countries or peripheral countries, are bound to stand out in the future market in that the national languages of these countries are collectively seen as desired linguistic capital in the achievement of mutual understanding and mutual benefits in the current context of China (Li & Zheng, 2021).

Furthermore, students in DFC universities are offered chances to use international educational resources to obtain a double degree. Students under this training mode can obtain linguistic capital plus multiple global educational capitals. U14 is a case in point, who mentions that since 2011, the SFL has cooperated with Monash University in Australia to train dual-degree postgraduates in Applied Linguistics and Translation. U27 also emphasizes that the Polish Department has partnered with the University of Warsaw, the top university in Poland, to offer a 2+1+2 double degree program in Polish and Economics and International Relations. Below is its statement on the website:

In the first two years, Polish majors will learn the basic knowledge of the Polish language and culture, language application skills, and basic knowledge of economics or international relations with English as the language of instruction on U27’s local campus. In the third year, students will continue to study Polish at the Language and Culture Center of the University of Warsaw. In the fourth and fifth years, students will systematically study professional knowledge in the School of Economics or the School of International Relations of the University of Warsaw, with Polish as the language of instruction (Excerpt 2 from U27).

The above statement suggests that U27’s Polish majors will obtain the linguistic capital of Polish in U27 and the University of Warsaw. Then, Polish majors use their accumulated linguistic capital (Polish and English) to obtain the educational capital of economics and international relations. In this form of innovative joint training mode, students can take advantage of the educational resources of two traditional renowned universities at home and abroad to accumulate various global educational capital and become interdisciplinary talents. However, this program requires students to have a good command of English because English is the language of instruction in the first two years. Unfortunately, students who failed to accumulate the linguistic capital of English before college due to various reasons will be excluded from this exchange program.

Besides, foreign language majors can further their education in renowned foreign universities, accumulating a new round of education capital globally by using their Alma mater as a springboard. Because of the outstanding education and platform provided by their Alma mater, these graduates usually have muscular academic strength and capability of language skills and have an excellent accrual of linguistic capital and educational capital; therefore, they can apply to elite foreign universities. U19 states that 33 graduates have been studying at Columbia University, University of Pennsylvania, New York University, University of Queensland, Durham University, and other well-known overseas universities in recent three years. In these foreign universities, students will expose to international educational resources, constructing a global form of educational capital and preparing a better self for a future career.

Above all, DFC universities claim to offer students two ways to construct a global form of educational capital.

NO 1. Constructing educational capital locally:
- hiring foreign experts to teach or deliver lectures on the campus (like U6 and U31).

NO 2. Constructing educational capital globally:
- sending exchange students to top universities abroad (like U11 and U24)
- offering a double-degree program with foreign universities (like U14 and U27)
- acting as a springboard for graduates to pursue further education in elite foreign universities (like U19)
5.2 Representation of Social Capital

The website discourses of DFC universities jointly imply the possibility of constructing social capital in the college community, which is significant for students’ future upward mobility (Xu, 2016). Influenced by globalization, they also ensure students’ chances to reach glocal social resources, accruing facilely glocal forms of social capital.

5.2.1 The Local Form of Social Capital

According to the websites, DFC universities provide their students with access to social capital: renowned professors and distinguished alumni.

**Renowned Professors**

Professors can be social capital because many are of high social status. In other words, a student of DFC universities can accumulate social capital by getting to know these professors, who may offer substantial benefits for them in the future. Following this logic of constructing the social capital by introducing ‘big’ names, the SFL of DFC universities tends to emphasize the social title of some teachers to highlight their strong faculty and imply to students the social resources they can access. For instance, U15 stresses that among its 136 full-time teachers, five are elected president or vice president of national professional associations, and one is on the editorial board of foreign journals. Similarly, U41 advertises a long list of titles of Professor Li Chenyan, now the Director General of the Commerce Department of Yunnan Province, who enjoys a high reputation in the International Myanmar Academy. The list includes the former Vice President of U41 and the Vice President of the China Association of Southeast Asian Studies. Consequently, students of foreign languages will be more likely to get to know these famous professors and obtain social capital.

**Distinguished Alumnus**

The university websites also state that the distinguished alumnus can constitute a form of social capital students can accumulate. While DFC universities introduce the background of their SFL, the most frequently used method is to introduce their famous alumnus. For instance, the SFL of U18 posts on its web page a piece of news from Chaozhou News Network, whose protagonist is its alumni, Yong-Qiu Wan, who has realized the leapfrog of class from a farmer’s son to an ambassador. Similarly, U17 makes a list of the whereabouts of recent German graduates, including Zhang Rufeng as the after-sales manager of Shanghai Volkswagen East China Sales and Service Center, Zhang Yi working for Sinopec Group, Wu Shiyun working for China Radio International, and You Lanlan teaching at East China Normal University. On the one hand, all these alumni are deployed by DFC universities to demonstrate the high level of their FLE and, on the other hand, to construct a kind of social capital for students of foreign languages, which will be conducive to their future career.

5.2.2 The Global Form of Social Capital

Students of DFC universities are offered two ways to accumulate a global form of social capital: studying abroad or taking volunteer activities in foreign affairs.

**Studying Abroad**

As mentioned in section 5.1.2, China’s SFL has established various forms of cooperation with foreign universities to carry out international exchange programs. While acquiring foreign educational and linguistic capital in a target country, foreign language students can acquire global social capital through their contact with local society and native speakers, as indicated by Chen Junyi, a Japanese graduate of U17 who studied at Osaka University as an overseas exchange student.

The greater significance of studying abroad is to go deep into foreign culture and society and further strengthen cross-cultural communication and comprehension ability through personal experience and communication with people. A warm Christmas Eve with the host family or an intimate cultural exchange with the students of the county primary school is all unforgettable memories of my one-year exchange experience. In school, I joined the Aikido club of Osaka University, strengthening my body and feeling the blood of Japanese campus activities. Furthermore, I’ve met many good teachers and helpful friends from Osaka University (Excerpt 2 from U17).

From the statement above, it is evident that Chen made acquaintance with a group of Japanese teachers and friends in the Aikido club when studying at a foreign university. Owing to his accumulated linguistic capital, he could accumulate global social capital, which would be helpful both in his personal life and on job occasions.
Volunteer Activities of Foreign Affairs

Volunteer activities have long been regarded as a golden chance to improve one’s ability to socialize. Tao et al. (2009) demonstrate that volunteer activities can facilitate participants to establish a specific interpersonal network. These activities emphasize mutual help and benefit. In helping others, students have to speak to strangers, get to know their needs, and help them solve their problems. The helper, in turn, improves his interpersonal skill. Due to mutual benefit, both parties easily win trust and goodwill. Thus, it is easier for them to become acquaintances.

This study also discovers a similar discourse promoting the opportunity of gaining social capital by working as a volunteer. China’s DFC university websites tend to promote a series of foreign affairs volunteer activities to help students accumulate social capital. For instance, U18 organizes foreign language majors to participate in a series of volunteer activities such as the Asian Games, Universiade, International Friends Games, Global SME Leaders Summit, and Chinese Enterprises in Latin America Forum because of their higher linguistic ability. It can be interpreted as students’ accumulated linguistic capital transforming into global social capital. When participating in these activities, volunteers are responsible for receiving foreign guests, making it possible for volunteers to build some connections by practicing language skills.

All in all, the discourses made by DFC universities guarantee students of foreign languages both the accumulation of local form of social capital in their schooling and global form of social capital by studying abroad as exchange students or taking parting in the volunteer activities of foreign affairs. Their accumulated social capital will be instrumental in their upward mobility (Tao, Zhou, & Yi, 2009).

5.3 Representation of Economic Capital

Through promotional discourses of their FLE, DFC universities promise students a sanguine future by selecting and displaying some successful stories of graduates in securing themselves a profitable job. These discourses reveal to students the prospect of doing FLE in DFC universities and that they can make money, constructing a global form of economic capital as their predecessors do.

5.3.1 The Local Form of Economic Capital

The value of economic capital can be represented in employment trajectories like getting a profitable job or gaining a high salary. Such discourse can be observed on the websites of China’s DFC universities. Take U10, for instance.

Students of the English Department have a good command of basic language skills. They have won many awards in various national and international English speech and debate competitions, coming out top in the National English Test for TEM-4 and TEM-8. Graduates mainly go to important government departments, major educational, cultural, media and business organizations at home and abroad, and foreign institutions in China (Excerpt 1 from U10).

The above statement contains three points regarding the manifestation of economic values attached to learning foreign languages. First, by referring to the language skills that language students command, U10 wants to show that it can cultivate excellent foreign language students with linguistic capital. Then, it continues to imply that because of the linguistic capital accumulated, students can win awards in competition and obtain good results in TEM-4 and TEM-8. What calls for special attention here is that the linguistic ability students obtain in their schooling and the awards and certificates they get are of incredible significance for them to get a good job (Hu, 2018). It can be seen as the transformation of linguistic/educational capital into economic capital. Finally, U10 continues to display the destination of graduation of its graduates, which are very respected and dream jobs in China (like working for government departments). In this single statement of its educational outcomes, U10 displays to the audience the whole process of developing its students, that is, provision of good chances to accumulate educational capital, improvements of students in accruing linguistic capital, and finally, students’ success in job hunting and converting accumulated educational/linguistic capital to economic capital. The real purpose of this discourse is to ensure its students accumulate economic capital based on the FLE it provides. While the problem is that those destinations of graduation of English majors mentioned by U10 are too general to be convincing, which is particularly prominent compared with the introduction of its Korean department as described below:

The Department of Korean Language and Literature aims to cultivate senior Korean professionals. Graduates have better Korean language and literature application ability and Korean-Chinese bilingual translation skills. The employment rate of graduates has reached 100% over the years. Twenty percent work in departments or agencies, including the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, customs, Xinhua News Agency,
People’s Daily, and the Embassy. Fifty percent work for large companies such as Samsung, Hyundai, LG, Citigroup, and SAIC (Excerpt 2 from U10).

The statement clearly states that graduates work for which department or company. It is noted that these departments and companies referred to are promising enterprises that can provide employees with good developmental prospects; however, these enterprises are also very demanding. By mentioning graduates’ successful entry into them, U10 hints at its high educational recognition among these promising enterprises so that its graduates can get into them more easily than others. It can be seen as students’ accumulated educational capital facilitating their accumulation of economic capital. After entering these enterprises, graduates are bound to accumulate a large amount of economic capital.

5.3.2 The Global Form of Economical Capital

Learning a foreign language is often associated with investing in future employment prospects in the domestic and overseas markets. Such conversion from language to economic capital can be observed in China’s DFC universities.

When living and studying in a foreign country, foreign language students are expected to socialize with local native speakers to accumulate social capital, which may help them to get a job in foreign companies. Following is a statement made by Chen Junyi (see section 5.2.2), a graduate of Japanese major of U17, who took part in an exchange program to study at Osaka University, Japan, in 2012−2013, and got a job in Japan during this time of period.

In the face of huge employment pressure, one year of exchange experience may cause undergraduates to lose the opportunity to practice in China. However, Japan, which has a huge demand for overseas talents, can provide opportunities for excellent Chinese students to develop their careers overseas. In the second half of my study at Osaka, I got an internship opportunity at a large financial institution. Before returning to China, I participated in employment activities for overseas students and was admitted by Japan’s largest investment bank and a well-known American financial consulting company. Consequently, I avoided the fierce competition for employment in China. Working in Japan will be a special experience for my future development both at home and abroad, and the strong alumni network of U17 in Japan also helped me complete my career start in Japan (Excerpt 2 from U17).

In the statement above, a foreign language graduate mentioned that he got an internship opportunity at a Japanese company and was later admitted by a Japanese bank and an American consulting company. Such experience corroborates that an overseas exchange student can start his career in foreign countries by taking advantage of the platform provided by his Alma mater. With the help of education and linguistic capital accumulated globally, this student could get a job in a foreign company, accumulating a global form of economic capital. In addition, such a statement also implies that U17 can help its foreign language students obtain a global form of economic capital, as indicated in this graduate’s statement that the strong alumni network of U17 (social capital) in Japan is instrumental for his career start.

All in all, the above evidence suggests that DFC universities advertise graduates’ succeeding in constructing economic capital (local or global) to prove their high-quality education and to ensure potential language learners that their FLE can promise them a bright future.

5.4 Foreign Language Education as Glocal Capital

China’s DFC universities, through website discourses, attempt to construct themselves as ideal providers of glocal capital for students, establishing a kind of glocal relevance in their FLE (see more details in 5.1, 5.2, and 5.3). In addition to producing multilingual talents with glocal capital, the FLE in DFC universities is discursively constructed as a kind of glocal capital for its global vision and local-mindedness, which can be observed from the website discourses.

5.4.1 The Global Vision of China’s Foreign Language Education

The global vision of DFC universities’ FLE represents its new meaning for constructing China’s positive image. FLE in China functioned as a tool for China to learn about the World, learning from foreigners to compete with them when China was lagging (Xue & Gao, 2015; Zhang, 2011). However, China’s rising status in the world needs to promote Chinese culture worldwide, which is confirmed by DFC universities’ website discourses emphasizing their FLE following the needs of the times, playing the role of letting the world know about China. For example, U15 mentions that its students spread Peking Opera abroad by singing it in foreign languages in Japan and other countries and regions, vigorously promoting the traditional Chinese culture.
The global vision of China’s FLE also embodies the cooperation with foreign universities in various regions (see U27, U31, U33 & U41 in 5.1.2) and its continuing addition of new foreign language programs, especially peripheral languages, to form a coexistence of multiple foreign language disciplines (Meng, 2009). For example, U41 is setting up in succession foreign language degree programs in less commonly taught languages such as Burmese, Sinhalese, and Malay (see Appendix A), challenging the ideology mentioned by Pan (2015, p. 83) that “English is for globalization, informatization, economic and social development.” It is due to China’s shifting world positioning, which valorizes peripheral countries’ languages (Li & Zheng, 2021). This point is confirmed by U8, whose Russian major includes four directions: Russian-Kazakh, Russian-Uzbek, Russian-Kyrgyz, and Russian-Turkmen.

The global vision of China’s FLE also finds its embodiment in producing talents of international vision, contributing to the communication between China and the world. For example, U1 mentions that its FLE carries on its shoulder the mission of producing multilingual talents of international vision needed for global cultural integration and communication.

5.4.2 The Local Values of China’s Foreign Language Education

While promoting China-related cultural practices through foreign languages, Chinese foreign language learners are expected to perform their loyalty and highlight their national identity.

For instance, U31 released a statement on 5 May 2019, titled Sun Yuqing, 2019 Graduate of the SFL, Attending the 100th Anniversary of the 4 May Movement. Sun said that inspired by the passionate remarks of President Xi for the youth, she aspired to carry forward the patriotic feelings of the May 4th movement and dreamed of dedicating herself to the Chinese Dream of the great rejuvenation of our nation. Still, U24 is another case in point, proclaiming its SFL has always been committed to cultivating inter-disciplinary foreign language talents with roots in China as well as men of global vision and that the paramount concern of the SFL is whether its students can give back to the society and achieve leap-forward development. By referring to “taking roots in China” and “giving back to the society,” U24 wants to highlight that its FLE does not forget its national identity and strives to contribute to society by reproducing patriotic multilingual talents.

Besides showing their national loyalty, the local values are also associated with China’s DFC universities’ producing interdisciplinary, multilingual talents enjoying a competitive edge in the domestic market. DFC universities (see U10 in 5.3.1) advertise their graduates’ working for some large Chinese enterprises or official departments to demonstrate the competitive strength of their students and the higher recognition of their FLE in the market than other universities.

Above all, DFC universities attempt to establish a kind of glocal relevance, constructing their FLE as glocal capital. On the one hand, they try to stay global relevant by injecting new blood (i.e., languages of peripheral countries) into the foreign language discipline and cooperating with universities in countries of various regions, nurturing multilingual talents China’s global strategy demands considerably. On the other hand, they try to manifest their local values/local-mindedness by stating that their FLE has never forgotten their national identity and is producing patriotic multilingual talents who resolve to give back to the country.

6. Discussion

Drawing on the findings from section 5, this section links three emerging issues to the relevant studies for an in-depth discussion. The section first highlights the revitalization of China’s foreign language education by addressing the fact that China’s internationalization is no longer confined to West-European and Anglophone countries. Based on the diversifying paradigm of China’s internationalization, the section demonstrates that China’s FLE features the geopolitical distribution in that universities in various regions are assigned different missions. By revealing the uneven distribution of educational resources among 42 DFC universities, the section closes with the challenges confronting Chinese university students of diverse backgrounds.

6.1 Challenging West-European and Anglophone-centric Education by Revitalizing China-oriented Internationalization

In line with the previous studies (Duan, 2020; Li et al., 2020; Zhang, 2021), this study confirms that English and other West-European languages are no longer sufficient to meet the needs of China’s foreign communication in the current context of China’s global development. The revitalization of languages other than English in China’s DFC universities indicates the valorized status of peripheral languages due to China’s foreign policy, e.g., the B&R Initiative (see U8 and U41 in 5.4.1), thus challenging the West-European and Anglophone-centric education.

Besides, the internationalization of China’s DFC universities is no longer limited to exclusively
English-speaking countries in Western Europe but is more inclusive and diversified, which can be observed from the partners and forms of their foreign exchange programs. Rather than merely cooperating with universities in West-European countries, DFC universities include universities in peripheral countries like Pakistan, Kazakhstan, and Thailand (see U27, U31, U33 & U41 in 5.1.2).

6.2 Geopolitically-Oriented Distribution of Foreign Language Programs

Similar to the study conducted by Li et al. (2020), the FLE in DFC universities features geopolitical distribution in that some DFC universities, especially those located in border areas, set up language majors in accordance with their geographical location to respond to the call of the government for establishing good relations with China’s neighboring countries (Zhou, 2019). These 42 DFC universities, located all over the country (see Figure 2 in 4.2), carry different “political missions” on their shoulders and, therefore, have different orientations of foreign language development. For example, U41, Yunnan, is located in the southwest border area of China, facing Southeast Asia and South Asia, and sharing borders with countries, including Myanmar, Laos, and Vietnam. It actively responds to the call of the B&R Initiative by making use of its geographic advantage to set up foreign language majors, including Vietnamese, Burmese, Lao, Thai, Sinhalese, and Malay (see Appendix A). U34, Heilongjiang, shares borders with Russia and has set up a Russian major (ibid); U20, Shandong, across the sea from Korea and Japan, has set up Korean and Japanese major (ibid).

6.3 Uneven Distribution of Educational Resources

Despite China’s DFC universities enjoying many privileges and national funding resources, a close examination of their educational resources reveals a series of uneven distribution in terms of educational resources. Previous studies have problematized China’s higher education for its uneven distribution of educational resources (Hu, 2014; Huang, 2009; Wang, 2017), leading to serious societal problems. This study also confirms that the educational resources are unequally distributed among DFC universities, which can be seen from the quota of the foreign exchange programs that a DFC university can offer its students. While some universities can send all the students abroad to exchange programs (like U5 & U27 in 5.1.2), others can only send a certain proportion abroad (like U5 & U27 in 5.1.2). The quality of these exchange programs also reflects the unfair distribution of educational resources. Take U5 and U41 in 5.1.2, for instance. U5, Beijing can send forty-five percent of English majors of U41, Yunnan, have only one choice, Khon Kaen University, Thailand; besides, there are only 2 two places available. Efforts have been made, yet the gap is hard to bridge. Worse, for universities that can only send a certain proportion of students abroad, certain requirements are often attached in screening the applicants. For instance, the exchange programs for Polish majors in U27 (see 5.1.2) requires participants to command good English, the language of instruction. It means the educational/linguistic capital accumulated previously affects the future educational resources a student can access, which may lead to a kind of “Matthew Effect” among students resulting from the unfair distribution of educational resources (Wang, 2020).

Still, the difference also lies in the quantity of foreign language degree programs a university can offer. U2, Beijing, claims to have 21 foreign language majors, with nearly 40 languages available for teaching and research, while universities like U3, U7, and U42 have only three foreign language majors or less (see Appendix A). The gap lies not only between universities but also between regions. There are 8 DFC universities in Beijing, 4 in Shanghai, and two respectively in Jiangsu, Tianjin, and Guandon, which are all developed regions in China, while there is only one in undeveloped regions like Yunnan and Xinjiang (see Figure 1 in 4.2). Regions like Tibet and Inner Mongolia do not even have one. China has a long way to go in eliminating educational resource gaps.

Furthermore, the uneven distribution of educational resources may result in students’ different employment quality, leading to a massive wealth accumulation gap. In addition to the disparities in the quality and quantity of exchange programs of DFC universities, the study finds that their website discourses about the destination of graduation contain incomplete information, and the number of succeeded students is highly limited due to certain unknown reasons. Instead of statistics on where each graduate is going, they only display those who stand out among their peers. The discourses that advertise their excellent graduates who got great jobs or were admitted by top universities at home and abroad seem to insinuate the idea that as long as students study languages well, they can succeed in the future (see U10 in 5.3.1). It is wondered if this is a kind of “survivorship bias.” Nevertheless, for those not “eligible” for being chosen and displayed on the website, their situation is worrying.
7. Conclusion

7.1 Summary of the Findings

The study examines the statements of educational outcomes on the websites of China’s 42 DFC universities, focusing on the capitalized values of foreign languages. The findings indicate that China’s DFC universities discursively construct themselves as providers of linguistic, educational, social, and economic capital that is important for Chinese students’ upward mobility. In responding to promoting China’s global image, DFC universities claim their global significance while carrying the meaning of shaping Chinese students’ national loyalty and cultivating their competitive edge in the local and transnational markets. Based on the findings, this study reveals the new forms of China-oriented internationalization by diversifying China’s foreign language resources and orienting towards peripheral countries. The study also reveals that China’s foreign language education is not homogenized but geopolitically and unevenly distributed in various DFC universities.

7.2 Implications and Future Research Directions

This study has revealed a diversifying approach to establishing foreign language programs in the shifting paradigm of China’s increasing global status. The investigation of China’s 42 DFC universities indicates the valorization of foreign languages with global and local significance. Given the uneven distribution of educational resources, some DFC universities are likely confronted with additional challenges in offering quality programs and cultivating potential language talents. Therefore, more national resources should be provided to counterbalance their disadvantages and enhance their educational outcomes. In addition to bridging the educational resources, a more diversifying educational program is expected to be established to respond to China’s global development. This study indicates that English still dominates China’s FLE. All DFC universities have set up English majors, while only a few set up majors in peripheral languages. The study suggests that China’s universities should tap their potential to the full and spurn such an ideology that bigger languages are worthier than smaller ones. U41 sets an excellent example for us. Although located in undeveloped regions (Yunnan), U41 fully uses its geographical advantages, setting up a series of majors in Southeast Asian languages. Other universities should learn from U41, setting up more foreign language majors in accordance with their circumstances.

The study centers on the analysis of website discourses, aiming to generate some patterns of the paradigm of China’s ELE. Therefore, the research scope is limited to what the website designers/school administrators want us to know. However, since teachers and language learners are the key factors in implementing China’s FLE, an ethnographic study centered on them would be desirable in examining to what extent the marketized discourses might be converted into social reality, which helps to deliver a better understanding of the real “actuality of China’s FLE.”

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Appendix A

Overview of Foreign Language Education in China’s Double First-Class University

The third column is the level and scale of DFC universities’ education; C stands for Comprehensive University; N, Normal University; SE, University of Science and Engineering; AF, Agricultural and Forestry University; E, Ethnic University; M, Military University. BA in the fourth column means that the program offers bachelor’s degree; MA, master’s degree; PhD, doctor’s degree; N/A means the program doesn’t offer degree or that the information can’t be found on the websites; SL stands for the second language.

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<th>Name</th>
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<th>Types</th>
<th>(non-)Degree programs</th>
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<td>U8(C/CN)</td>
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<td>English, Russian</td>
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SL: (1) ML: Dutch, Malay, Cambodian, Lao, Javanese, Bengali, Turkish, Hausa, Swahili, Igbo, Anharic, Yoruba, Ukrainian, Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaijani, Uzbek, Kurdish; (2) Old: Latin, Ancient Greek, Old Icelandic, Akkadian, Aramaic, Ancient Syriac, Middle Persian (Pahlavi), Sumerian, Hittite, Ugaritic, Lydian, cuneiform, Hieroglyphic Luwian, Ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic, Tocharian, Khotan, Old Russian; (3) Old and modern Languages that can be applied to teaching and scientific research.
<table>
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<tr>
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<td>U9(SJTU)</td>
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| U32(USTC)  | Anhui | SE     | English(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Russian(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Japanese(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | German(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | French(BA, MA & N/A)  
| U33(LZU)   | Gansu | C      | English(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Russian(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Japanese(BA, MA & N/A)  
| U34(HIT)   | Heilongjiang | SE | English(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Russian(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Japanese(BA, MA & N/A)  
| U35(JLU)   | Jilin | C      | English(BA, MA & PHD)  
|            |       |        | Japanese(BA, MA & PHD)  
|            |       |        | Russian(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Korean(BA, MA & PHD)  
|            |       |        | Spanish(BA, MA & N/A)  
| U36(DLUT)  | Nianong | SE | English(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Japanese(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Russian(BA, MA & N/A)  
| U37(NLU)   | Nianong | SE | English(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Japanese(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | German(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Russian(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | SL: English, French  
| U38(HNUI)  | Hunan | C      | English(BA, MA & PHD)  
|            |       |        | Japanese(BA, MA & PHD)  
|            |       |        | SL: English  
| U39(NWAFU) | Shaanxi | AF | English(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Russian(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | SL: English, Japanese, Russian, French  
| U40(ZZU)   | Henan | C      | English(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Russian(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Japanese(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | German(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | SL: English  
| U41(YNU)   | Yunnan | C    | English(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | French(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Japanese(BA, MA & N/A)  
|            |       |        | Vietnamese(BA, MA & N/A)  

SL: English
Appendix B

Excerpts from the Websites

U1(THU), Beijing

Excerpt 1: 为中国人文学术和国家战略暨国际社会文化在交汇交融中发展所需要的优秀人才。 (https://www.dfli.isinghua.edu.cn/gymw/xzrzc.htm)

U2(PKU), Beijing

Excerpt 1: 打通本学科内部教学课程壁垒，在夯实的语言文学传统优势研究基础上，拓展到历史、政治、经济、哲学、宗教、教育等诸多领域，积极推动与中文、历史、考古、哲学以及国际关系等相相关学科院系之间的学科合作与共建，实现“通识”培养模式。与元培学院、考古文博学院联合开设外国语言与外国历史专业-外国考古方向。 (http://sfl.pku.edu.cn/xygk/xyjs/index.htm)

Excerpt 2: 北京大学外国语学院拥有 21 个本科语种专业。除招生语种外，学院还拥有近 40 种外语（古代语言和现代语言）及跨境语言资源可用于教学和科研。 (http://sfl.pku.edu.cn/xygk/xyjs/index.htm)

U5(RUC), Beijing

Excerpt 1: 该系致力于与世界知名高校开展深入交流与合作，已与美国麻省州立大学波士顿分校、英国肯特大学、澳大利亚迪肯大学、美国应用语言学中心、新西兰奥克兰大学、美国米德伯里-蒙特雷国际研究院高级翻译学院正式签署院际合作协议，该系每年有近 5 年共有 179 人次参加联合培养、交换学习或寒暑假交流项目，本科生有交换学习一学期及以上经历者约 45%，硕士生有交换学习一学期及以上经历者约 37%，博士生有交换学习一学期及以上经历者约 23%。 (http://fl.ruc.edu.cn/sy/xygk/xbsj/index.htm)

U6(BIT), Beijing

Excerpt 1: 德语系现有教师 14 名，其中中国教师 11 名，德籍教师 3 名。中国教师中教授 2 名，副教授 4 名，讲师 5 名，具有博士学位的教师 10 名。3 名德籍教师均拥有博士学位，其中 2 人受聘教学科研教授，1 人为校聘语言外教。 (https://sfl.bit.edu.cn/xygk/jgsz/dyx.htm)

U8(CUN), Beijing

Excerpt 1: 外国语学院现有设有英语、翻译、俄语（俄语-哈萨克语、俄语-乌兹别克语、俄语-吉尔吉斯语、俄语-土库曼语方向）、日语四个本科专业。 (https://sfs.muc.edu.cn/xygk1/xyjj1.htm)

U10(FDU), Shanghai

Excerpt 1: 英语系的学生语言基础功扎实，专业学生在各类全国及国际英语讲演、辩论竞赛中屡获胜荣，在全国英语专业四、八级测试中一直名列前茅。本专业每年还向学生提供相当数量的赴欧美大学短期学习机会。毕业生的主要去向为重要政府部门、国内外主要的教育、文化、传媒、商务机构以及各国驻华机构等。 (https://dfll.fudan.edu.cn/a/7/54/c27663a304980/page.htm)

Excerpt 2: 韩文系旨在培养高级韩语专门人才，毕业生具有很强的韩国语言文学应用能力和韩中双语互译技能，历年来就业情况良好，学生就业率高达 100%，毕业去向主要分为三类：30%的毕业生出国攻读硕
士或博士学位；20%的毕业生在外交部、海关、新华社、人民日报、大使馆等单位就职；50%的毕业生在三星、现代、LG、花旗集团、上海汽车集团等大型跨国公司及韩资企业就职。

U11(TJU), Shanghai

Excerpt 1: 同时，德语系每年均聘请多名知名德国教授讲学并周期性举办具有影响力的国际会议。

Excerpt 2: 德语系与与波鸿鲁尔大学、马堡大学、不来梅大学、科隆大学、康斯坦茨大学、诺汉威大学、波恩大学、杜伊斯堡-艾森大学、齐根大学、达姆斯塔特工业大学、斯图加特大学、柏林工业大学等德国高校建立了良好的合作交流关系，拥有学院直管的众多国际交流项目，德语系学生本科在读期间出国率达100%。

U13(NJU), Jiangsu

Excerpt 1: 全院现有在职教职员工128人，其中专任教师104人，国际教师14人，拥有博士学位比例62%。博士生导师21人，教授、副教授61人。其中有教育部“长江学者奖励计划”特聘、讲座教授各1人，国家级教学名师1人，江苏省教学名师1人，拥有“马工程”首席专家1人，国家“新世纪优秀人才支持计划”入选者1人，江苏省“333高层次人才培养工程”入选者1人。

Excerpt 2: 学院每年有30%的毕业生被免试保送或考取研究生。2011年起，我院还与澳大利亚墨尔本大学开展联合培养应用语言学与翻译硕士学位的双学位研究生。

U15(NKU), Tianjin

Excerpt 1: 学院每年有30%的毕业生被免试保送或考取研究生。

Excerpt 2: 此外，学院每年还聘请20多名外籍专家学者来学院任教。学院积极开展对外学术交流与合作，邀请国际知名学者来院讲学，派遣教师出国参加国际学术会议、进修和讲学。

Excerpt 3: 学院拥有一支阵容整齐，实力雄厚、朝气蓬勃的师资队伍和管理干部队伍。现有专职教师136名，其中博士生导师12名，教授27名，副教授48名。学院有5人当选教育部高校外语教学指导委员会委员，2人入选教育部“新世纪优秀人才支持计划”，5位教授荣获“中国资深翻译家”称号。

U17(ZJU), Zhejiang


Excerpt 2: 浙江大学与大部分日本顶尖大学有着长期的友好往来和交流协议，因此人数不多的日语专业学生也能够在比较小的竞争压力下参与到日本名校的交换留学，专业内海外交流项目可以算得上是量多且质优。
交流生涯里难忘的美好回忆。在学校里我加入了阪大“合气道”社团，强身健体的同时感受日本校园活动的热血，活动交际中认识了不少阪大的良师益友。如果你愿意，日本还有不少留学生也能胜任的兼职岗位，用自食其力赚来的零花钱去观光旅行，感受安逸美丽的日本也将是不错的体验。

面对巨大的就业压力，一年期的交流可能会让本科生失去在国内实践和实习的时机，但对海外人才需求巨大的日本正好可以为有志在海外发展的优秀中国学生提供了职业发展契机。我在大阪交流的后半期就得到了大型金融机构的实习机会，在回国前投身到了日本留学生的就职活动中并获得了包括日本最大投资银行和知名美国咨询公司的录取內定，幸运地避开了国内激烈的应届就业竞争。在商业环境良好的日本就职对日后在国内外的发展都将是极具价值的工作经历，而浙大在日本强大的校友网络也能帮助我在日本完成职业的启程。

(https://www.sis.zju.edu.cn/sischinese/2010/0919/c15995a741122/page.htm)

U18(SYSU), Guandong

Excerpt 1: 从农民的儿子到大使 (https://fls.sysu.edu.cn/article/1883)

Excerpt 2: 结合专业特点和优势,成立了多语种的口语协会,组织同学利用课余时间开展口语活动；成立英语演讲辩论社、外语志愿服务队,为残疾人服务的“All Share”社团,开展“外语节”系列行动,并且组织学生参加“亚运会”、“大运会”、“国际友人运动会”、“全球中小企业领袖峰会”和“中国企业走进拉美”论坛等一系列的外事志愿活动，使学生在社会实践中增加见识、增长才干,积累社会经验,提升职业能力。

(https://fls.sysu.edu.cn/about/history)

U19(SCUT), Guandong

Excerpt 1: 近3年来，共计33名毕业生赴哥伦比亚大学、伦敦政治经济学院、宾夕法尼亚大学、纽约大学、昆士兰大学、杜伦大学、香港浸会大学等众多国外、境外知名高校深造，占毕业生总人数的12.6%。

(https://www2.scut.edu.cn/sfl/1330/list.htm)

U23(WHU), Hubei

Excerpt 1: 学生在校外各项外语竞赛中频频获奖，外语水平测试通过率超过90%。

(https://fls.whu.edu.cn/xygk/xyjj.htm)

U24(HUST), Hubei

Excerpt 1: 日语系非常重视国际交流与合作，目前与日本东京大学、大阪大学、京都大学、名古屋大学、广岛大学、九州大学、东北大学、北海道大学、新泻大学、东洋大学等34所日本知名学府建立有交换留校生项目和实习生项目，本科生和研究生在校学习期间100%具有公派出国留学的机会。

(https://sfl.hust.edu.cn/info/1294/8178.htm)

Excerpt 2: 本院一直以来致力于培养“扎根中国，放眼世界，既有家国情怀又有国际视野的外语类复合型人才”，四年精心培育后，学生如何能学以致用，回馈社会，实现跨越式发展是我们院最关注的问题。

(https://sfl.hust.edu.cn/info/1039/10045.htm)

U27(SCU), Sichuan

Excerpt 1: 西班牙文系利用四川大学与西班牙巴塞罗那大学、格拉纳达大学、萨拉曼卡大学、美国亚利桑那州立大学，墨西哥蒙特雷科技大学等高校的校际交流项目，开展包括交换教师和学生、联合办学等多种形式的合作项目，符合条件的优秀本科生在就读期间有机会出国留学。此外每年还有国家留学基金委公派秘鲁、哥伦比亚、墨西哥、哥斯达黎加等拉美高校的留学名额。

(https://flc.scu.edu.cn/xbywx.htm)

Excerpt 3: 四川大学“波兰语”专业是从考取并进入四川大学的2018级及2019级同学中选拔，择优录取。其中，学生高考英语成绩不得低于125分（基于满分150分折算）。选拔对象不分文理科，不分学院专业，不分性别。（除艺术类、体育类特长生、国防生、护理学专业、预科生以外均可报名）。

(https://flc.scu.edu.cn/info/1090/6392.htm)

U31(NWPU), Xi’an

Excerpt 1: 每年有来自美国、德国、英国、瑞典等多个国家的10多位外籍教师在学院兼职任教。
Excerpt 2: 学院已与美国的University of California, Irvine、Michigan State University、Grand Valley State University、Aquinas College、Whitman College、Johnson County Community College，英国的Warwick University、比利时的Vrije University Brussel、瑞典的Karlstad University、德国的Hochschule Fresenius、University of Kassel，巴基斯坦的Air University of Pakistan等多个国家的教育或研究机构在人才培养、教师互访、合作教学、科研协作等方面建立了交流与合作关系。

Excerpt 3: 外语国学院 2019 届硕士毕业生孙玉晴受邀参加纪念五四运动 100 周年大会。
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