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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Language Policy Regimes and the Governance of Russian Language Promotion in Indian and Chinese Universities

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ABSTRACT

Within the framework of the article, the study addresses the question of how different models of language policy and higher education governance influence the way universities in India and China implement and support Russian language promotion programmes. This study deliberately shifts the focus from describing the initiatives themselves and their presentation narratives to a more practical dimension: who exactly manages these programmes, which institutional actors are involved in their implementation, what mechanisms they use, and under what conditions they become a stable part of university life. To achieve this, a comparative study of fourteen initiatives was conducted — seven in each country. The selection of cases allows us to see a wide range of formats: from long-established departments of the Russian language and multi-level language programmes to more professionally oriented and interdisciplinary models, elective courses, joint universities and newly established partner centres. The data sources were national policy documents, university regulations and programme pages, institutional histories, up-to-date information on admissions and recent peer-reviewed studies; the status of the cases was further verified using open sources available in 2026. Each case was analyzed according to several parameters, such as public administration, institutional integration, local responsibility, the human resources potential of teachers, external partnerships, as well as students' educational trajectory and its connection with career prospects. The cases were then compared with each other using a structured comparison of stable models. The results show that it is possible to speak of two paths. In China, a state-oriented institutional embedding is clear: national standards and strategic coordination help to scale up programmes, but universities still play a decisive role in matters of staffing, curriculum implementation and specialisation. In India, by contrast, a polycentric institutional ownership is observed: national regulation creates a favourable overall framework, but the sustainability of programmes largely depends on the commitment of the university itself, the availability of local teaching staff, stable demand and network partnerships. In both systems, the most viable initiatives are those that combine a formal status in the curriculum, stable teaching capacity, and clear trajectories for students' further education or professional development. Individual cultural events or newly opened centres feel less confident if they are not integrated into the daily routines of the host university. In other words, central coordination and institutional autonomy do not contradict each other but complement each other. Therefore, when transferring successful solutions from one country to another, it is more important to focus on the functions — integration, human resource development, educational pathways, and partnerships.

INTRODUCTION

Foreign language promotion is often discussed as cultural diplomacy or soft power, but its institutional survival depends on ordinary governance: who authorizes programmes, pays staff, controls curricula, trains teachers, and connects study to credible academic or career pathways. A

promotion initiative can generate visibility without becoming part of a university. This distinction between visibility and institutionalisation is central to the present comparison.

Language-policy scholarship likewise treats policy as a political and social process rather than a neutral technical instrument. Policy goals are interpreted through institutions, professional communities, and local implementation. As Hashmi et al. (2025, p. 998) state, "language policy is not a technical or even neutral procedure but is a highly political and ideological process." For foreign-language promotion, this means that formal national support matters, but so do university incentives, staffing rules, disciplinary traditions, and student demand (Johnson, 2013; LaDousa, Davis, Choksi, 2002).

Russian-language promotion in Asia is a useful setting for examining these mechanisms. In both India and China, Russian has a long university history, yet contemporary provision operates under different governance conditions (Ostrom, 2010). The recent PJLSS study by Klimova et al. (2026) compared promotional discourse in India and China and found more centralized coordination in China and a more fragmented, market-influenced pattern in India. The present study shifts the unit of analysis from discourse to governance: institutional actors, programme forms, implementation mechanisms, and the conditions under which provision becomes durable.

China combines strong national steering with substantial institutional implementation capacity. The Ministry of Education sets national standards for foreign-language majors and has encouraged universities to develop Russian programmes; by 2018, 166 universities reportedly offered Russian majors (Ministry of Education of the PRC, 2018). Yet implementation is not mechanically uniform. Research on Chinese higher education describes continued state authority alongside delegated institutional responsibility (Han, Xu, 2019; Mok, Han, 2017). Tao (2022) similarly shows that national standards provide a macro framework while university-level arrangements strongly shape Russian teachers' professional practice. China is therefore treated here as coordinated rather than simply centralized.

India presents a more polycentric environment. The National Education Policy 2020 promotes multilingualism, multidisciplinary higher education, institutional autonomy, and internationalization, but it does not establish a centralized Russian-language promotion system (Government of India, 2020; Hu, Mols, 2019). Provision is distributed across central, state, specialist, and private universities, with programmes depending heavily on local histories and partnerships. Scholarship on Indian language policy also emphasizes the negotiated implementation of multilingual goals across diverse institutions and regions (Groff, 2017; Mahapatra, Anderson, 2023). The analytical expectation is therefore not that India lacks coordination, but that coordination is more networked and institution specific.

The comparison combines four ideas. Language policy and planning identifies language choices as governance decisions with distributive consequences. Policy-implementation theory directs attention to the distance between central goals and organizational practice (Matland, 1995). Higher-education governance highlights the interaction of state steering and university autonomy. Institutional theory adds the distinction between episodic activity and embedded routines. Together these perspectives suggest a multi-level model in which national steering, university ownership, professional capacity, external partnerships, and student progression jointly shape sustainability.

The study tests three expectations. H1 proposes that strong central coordination facilitates scale and policy alignment but does not eliminate the need for local institutional adaptation. H2 proposes that in more decentralized settings, network coordination and local university ownership are stronger predictors of programme continuity than central directives. H3 proposes that initiatives combining institutional embedding, local teacher capacity, and student progression pathways are more sustainable than event-based or weakly curricular initiatives. These expectations are deliberately configurational: no single condition is assumed to be sufficient in every institutional environment (Figure 1).

Accordingly, the study aims to explain how contrasting language-policy and higher-education governance regimes shape the implementation and sustainability of university-based Russian-language promotion in India and China. It addresses three research questions: (1) How do national

and institutional governance arrangements structure Russian-language promotion in Indian and Chinese universities? (2) Which configurations of state coordination, university autonomy, local partnerships, teacher capacity, funding proxies, and career linkage are associated with programme continuity? (3) Which elements appear transferable across the two systems, and which require country-specific adaptation?

MATERIALS AND METHODS

Research design and case selection. The study uses a comparative multiple-case design based on structured document analysis. Fourteen university-based initiatives were purposively selected, seven in India and seven in China, to maximize variation in institutional type and programme form while retaining a common unit of analysis: recurring Russian-language provision located within a university. The Indian cases are Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU), University of Delhi, English and Foreign Languages University (EFLU), Savitribai Phule Pune University (SPPU), University of Kerala, Jamia Millia Islamia (JMI), and SRM Institute of Science and Technology (SRMIST) with Mordovia State University. The Chinese cases are Beijing Foreign Studies University (BFSU), Shanghai International Studies University (SISU), Dalian University of Foreign Languages (DUFL), Shenzhen MSU-BIT University (SMBU), Renmin University of China, China University of Petroleum (Beijing) at Karamay (CUPK), and Tsinghua University. Selection favored cases with sufficiently detailed official documentation and together covers established departments, professionalized pathways, joint centres, and elective/part-time provision (Table 1).

Data sources and period. The dataset comprises official national and university materials available up to September 2026, including policy documents, departmental histories, degree and certificate descriptions, staffing information, partnership announcements, and published programme requirements. Peer-reviewed research was used to interpret the governance setting, not to substitute for case evidence. Historical information was included when necessary to establish continuity. Claims were triangulated across institutional pages and scholarly sources where possible.

Coding framework. Each case was coded on six dimensions: state steering, institutional embedding, local ownership, teacher capacity, external partnership, and progression/career linkage. Institutional embedding distinguished a degree-granting department or required curriculum from an elective, certificate, or event-based format. Local ownership captured whether the host university supplied durable administrative and academic responsibility. Teacher capacity recorded evidence of a stable local faculty base or structured co-staffing. Partnership measured recurring organizational cooperation rather than one-off visits. Progression/career linkage captured routes to higher study, exchange, disciplinary specialization, or employment. Table 2 gives the operational rules.

The outcome is documented sustainability capacity, not observed retention or financial viability. A case was classified as stronger when public evidence showed recurrent provision plus several durable features: formal curricular status, stable staffing, multi-level progression, institutional responsibility, or enduring partnership mechanisms. This deliberately conservative outcome avoids treating promotional visibility as sustainability and avoids inferring budgets, enrollment trends, or continuation rates that institutions do not report comparably.

Analytical procedure. Each case was first coded with the same questions: who authorizes and owns the programme, where it sits organizationally, who teaches, how students progress, and what partnerships support delivery. A cross-case matrix was then used for pattern matching, followed by comparison within and between countries. Configurations were interpreted conjuncturally: no single condition was assumed to be necessary or sufficient. A formal fsQCA was not performed because comparable case-level data on budgets, staffing intensity, enrollment, retention, and outcomes were unavailable. Calibrating fuzzy-set scores from uneven public descriptions would create false precision. The present matrix therefore serves as a transparent configurational analysis and a basis for later fsQCA once standardized data and interviews are collected.

Reliability, scope, and ethics. Coding definitions were fixed before the comparative synthesis, ambiguous cases were assigned the lower level of institutionalisation, and claims based only on

partner publicity were cross-checked where possible against host-university information. The analysis concerns institutional arrangements rather than learner attitudes and uses only public documents; no human participants or personal data were involved. The study does not claim that the selected universities exhaust Russian-language provision in either country. Rather, they are information-rich cases that permit a governance comparison across contrasting institutional forms.

Table 1: Case-selection criteria and institutional characteristics

Country	Institution	Governance form	Documented programme features	Primary institutional source
India	Jawaharlal Nehru University	Embedded Russian studies centre	BA/MA and research functions; dedicated centre; long institutional history; translation/interpreting orientation	JNU Centre of Russian Studies (Jawaharlal Nehru University, 2026)
India	University of Delhi	Embedded disciplinary department	Russian taught within Slavonic and Finno-Ugrian Studies; full-time and part-time ladders; advanced study and research	University of Delhi / SFUS (University of Delhi, 2026)
India	English and Foreign Languages University	Embedded Russian department	BA/MA/PhD plus certificate and diploma provision; dedicated Russian studies unit	EFLU Department of Russian Studies (English and Foreign Languages University, 2026)
India	Savitribai Phule Pune University	Multi-level foreign-language department	Russian from elementary to postgraduate levels; part-time ladder and full-time postgraduate study	SPPU Department of Foreign Languages (Savitribai Phule Pune University, 2026)
India	University of Kerala	Departmental certificate/diploma pathway	Long-standing Department of Russian; active 2026 certificate and integrated diploma admissions	University of Kerala (2026)
India	Jamia Millia Islamia	Modular part-time pathway	Certificate, diploma, and advanced diploma in Russian inside Department of Foreign Languages	JMI Department of Foreign Languages (Jamia Millia Islamia, 2026)
India	SRM Institute of Science and Technology	Recent bilateral partnership centre	Russian Language and Culture Centre opened with Mordovia State University; subsequent partnership activity and Russian teaching presence	Mordovia State University; SRMIST sources (Mordovia State University, 2024)
China	Beijing Foreign Studies University	Embedded elite disciplinary school	School of Russian with undergraduate, master's, doctoral and research infrastructure; nationally recognized discipline	BFSU School of Russian (Beijing Foreign Studies University, 2026)
China	Shanghai International Studies University	Embedded disciplinary school + centre	Russian major and postgraduate study inside School of Russian and Eurasian Studies; Russian studies research infrastructure	SISU (Shanghai International Studies University, 2026)
China	Dalian University of Foreign Languages	Embedded disciplinary school + Russian centre	Large Russian school; national/provincial disciplinary recognition; Russian Centre and sustained Russian-facing activities	DUFL (Dalian University of Foreign Languages, 2026)
China	Shenzhen MSU-BIT University	Joint-university intensive centre	Russian compulsory for Chinese students; large mixed Russian-Chinese teaching team; testing and specialist-study pathway	SMBU Russian Language Centre (Shenzhen MSU-BIT University, 2021)
China	Renmin University of China	Embedded disciplinary department	Russian undergraduate and master's programmes; dedicated faculty; extensive exchange participation with Russian partners	Renmin University School of Foreign Languages (Renmin University of China, 2026)
China	China University of Petroleum-Beijing, Karamay	Professionally integrated Russian major	Russian + petroleum/energy/geology; international joint cultivation; explicit postgraduate and employment progression	CUPK Department of Language and Art (China University of Petroleum-Beijing Karamay Campus, 2024)
China	Tsinghua University	Sequenced second-foreign-language elective	Three-level Russian sequence embedded in undergraduate public foreign-language curriculum	Tsinghua Language Centre (Tsinghua University, 2026)

Table 2: Governance dimensions and coding scheme

Dimension	Definition	Coding rule / observable evidence
State steering	National standards, strategic directives, regulator guidance, or discipline recognition that directly frames the programme	High when Russian-specific national/disciplinary steering is visible; lower when only general HE rules apply
Institutional embedding	Formal organizational and curricular location inside the host university	Department/degree/credit sequence > recurring non-degree course > event or stand-alone outreach
Local ownership	Host-university responsibility for continuation	Evidence of local admissions, curriculum, staffing, assessment, or budgetary/administrative responsibility

Teacher capacity	Stable capacity to deliver instruction	Dedicated local faculty or documented stable team; external visitors alone do not satisfy this condition
External partnership	Sustained Russian-side institutional involvement	Joint university, bilateral centre, Russian university partner, cultural body, or organized exchange
Progression/career linkage	Visible destination beyond initial study	Advanced qualifications, testing, exchange, translation/interpreting, specialist field, or employment pathway
Sustainability capacity (outcome)	Documented ability to reproduce provision over time	Durable institutionalised / established narrower / emerging; not treated as retention or financial performance

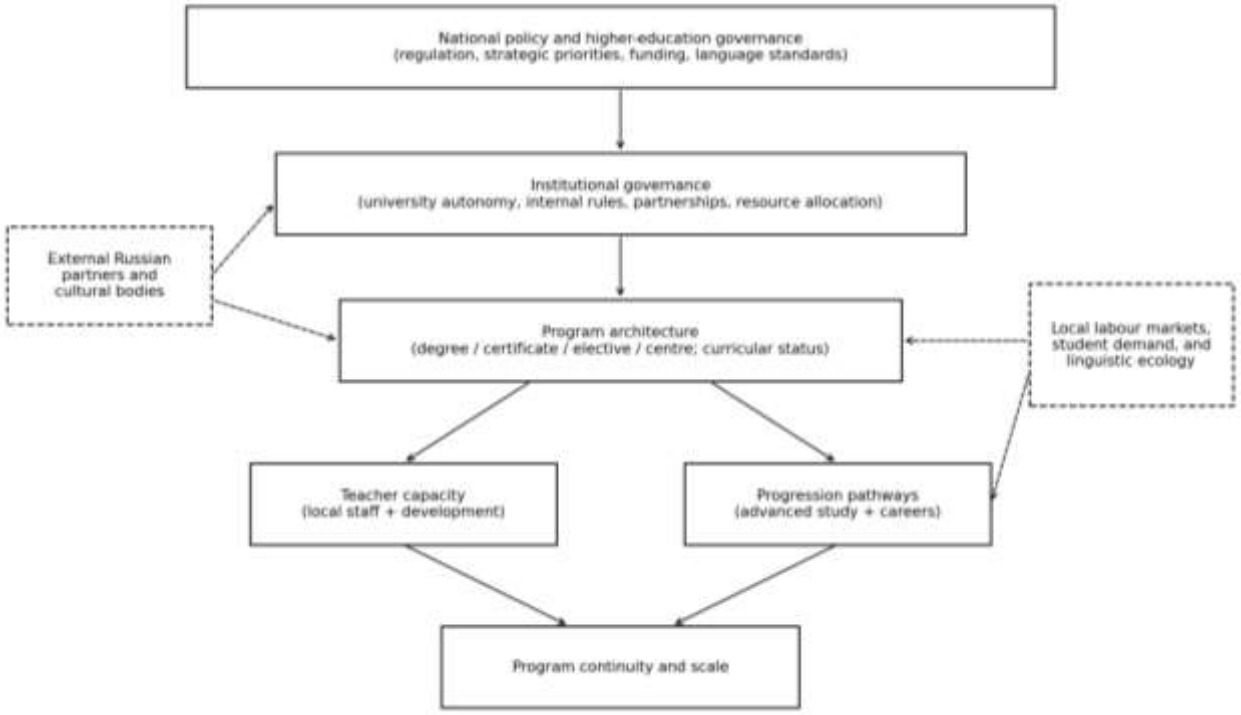


Figure 1: Multi-level governance framework for university-based foreign-language promotion

RESULTS

National governance regimes. The comparison confirms a major difference in policy environment, but it also shows that centralization does not automatically mean uniform implementation. In China, national standards and state-supported internationalization create a shared policy infrastructure for Russian. Official policy has encouraged Russian majors, while leading language universities maintain mature disciplinary structures. Yet even within this coordinated ecology, cases vary sharply: BFSU, SISU, and DUFL run full disciplinary schools or departments; SMBU integrates Russian into a joint university model; CUPK links Russian to energy and geology; and Tsinghua offers Russian mainly as an elective second foreign language. Central steering therefore expands legitimacy and scale, but the university itself still determines how deep the organizational commitment becomes.

In India, national policy provides an enabling framework rather than one specifically focused on Russian. NEP 2020 supports multilingualism, institutional autonomy, and internationalization, leaving universities considerable discretion over their foreign-language portfolios. This produces heterogeneous but sometimes deeply institutionalised provision. JNU, Delhi, EFLU, SPPU, and Kerala maintain long-standing structures built through local academic ownership. JMI sustains a part-time certificate ladder, while the SRMIST–Mordovia initiative represents a newer partnership-led model. The system is less centrally synchronized, yet durable local institutionalisation is clearly possible.

Four recurring models emerge from the fourteen cases. The first is the embedded disciplinary department. This model includes JNU, the University of Delhi, EFLU, BFSU, SISU, DUFL, and Renmin

University. Russian is attached to a stable academic unit, formal qualifications, specialist faculty, and research or postgraduate activity. These cases have the strongest documentary evidence of continuity because their existence is reproduced through ordinary university processes - admissions, staffing, examinations, progression, and departmental planning. Their external partnerships add value, but the host institution itself can sustain the programme.

The second model is the professionally integrated or interdisciplinary pathway. CUPK is the clearest example: its Russian major is explicitly connected to petroleum, energy, geology, Central Asian studies, and international joint training. This configuration addresses a recurrent problem identified in recent Chinese research - the limited career value of language-only specialization—by connecting proficiency to a sectoral competence (Tsvyk, Tsvyk, 2025). SPPU also demonstrates a weaker version of integration through translation-oriented and applied language trajectories, while classical departments like JNU and EFLU also connect Russian to translation, interpretation, culture, and research within their core curricula. The key feature is not interdisciplinarity as an abstract principle, but a visible next step for students after language acquisition.

The third model is the bilateral or joint institutional centre. SMBU is the deepest version: its Russian Language Centre is built into a Sino-Russian university and provides intensive teaching with mixed Chinese and Russian staffing. SRMIST–Mordovia is a newer Indian example, established through an international partnership and supported by a Russian-language professor and continuing cooperation. Such centres can mobilize external expertise quickly, but their sustainability depends on whether partnership resources become embedded in host-university staffing, curriculum, and progression rather than remaining externally driven.

The fourth model is recurring but comparatively shallow curricular provision. JMI's part-time Russian ladder and Tsinghua's Russian second-foreign-language sequence are both institutionally legitimate and repeatable, but they do not function as comprehensive Russian studies departments. Their sustainability rests on a different logic: modular demand, manageable staffing, and fit with broader student programmes. Such provision can be durable even without a full major if it is built into formal course rules. This is important because it distinguishes a small but institutionalised programme from an event-based initiative. Scale and depth should not be conflated with continuity.

H1 is supported with qualification. China's coordinated policy ecology makes Russian provision easier to align with national standards and creates a recognizable institutional field, but it does not produce a single model. The contrast between disciplinary schools, a joint university centre, a sector-linked programme, and elective provision shows that local adaptation remains decisive. Central coordination supplies legitimacy and infrastructure; institutional design determines depth and function.

H2 is supported. The durable Indian cases are sustained primarily through university-level ownership, accumulated faculty capacity, and locally maintained curricula rather than a central Russian-specific directive. JNU, Delhi, EFLU, SPPU, and Kerala illustrate different institutional histories but share internal responsibility for recurrent teaching. Partnership-led expansion can add resources, as at SRMIST, yet the comparison suggests that continuity will depend on converting external cooperation into host-university routines.

H3 receives the strongest support. Cases with the clearest sustainability capacity combine formal curricular status, a stable teaching base, and visible progression. BFSU, SISU, DUFL, JNU, Delhi, EFLU, and SPPU fit this pattern through degree or advanced study structures; CUPK strengthens it by linking Russian to a professional field; SMBU combines intensive language study with a joint institutional environment. By contrast, elective or partnership-dependent provision offers access but fewer institutional safeguards. The recurring configuration is thus not promotion alone, but promotion plus organizational embedding plus professional capacity plus a reason for students to continue.

In China, the problem is less the absence of a policy field than differentiation within it. Tsvyk and Tsvyk (2025) note challenges including teaching methods, materials, and the need to connect language with specialist knowledge. Cases such as CUPK show one response through disciplinary integration. In India, the central bottleneck is coordination across dispersed institutional

initiatives: strong departments coexist with part-time ladders and newer partnership centres, but no single national mechanism links recruitment, teacher development, exchange, and employment. In both countries, weak progression can turn promotion into episodic visibility.

The most transferable elements are functional rather than organizational. Both systems benefit from stable local teachers, recognized curricular status, progression routes, and partnerships linked to routine university functions. What is less transferable is the governance form through which those functions are produced. A Chinese-style national disciplinary architecture cannot simply be transplanted into India's federal, multilingual, autonomy-oriented system. Conversely, a highly decentralized network of certificates and local initiatives would underuse the coordination capacity already present in China. Figure 2 summarizes these distinct institutional pathways.

Table 3: Cross-Case Configurations Associated With Documented Sustainability Capacity

Configuration	State steering	Institutional conditions	Progression	Illustrative cases
China: embedded disciplinary programmes	High	High embedding, local ownership, and teacher capacity; partnership usually high	High	BFSU; SISU; DUFL; Renmin
China: specialized / joint models	High	High embedding, ownership, teacher capacity, and external partnership	High	SMBU; CUPK
China: sequenced elective	Medium	High embedding and ownership; moderate teacher capacity; partnership low/variable	Moderate	Tsinghua
India: legacy Russian departments	Low Russian-specific central steering	High embedding, ownership, and teacher capacity; partnership variable	High	JNU; Delhi; EFLU; SPPU; Kerala
India: modular foreign-language pathway	Low Russian-specific central steering	Medium–high embedding; high ownership; moderate teacher capacity; partnership variable	Moderate	JMI
India: recent bilateral centre	Low Russian-specific central steering	Emerging embedding; shared ownership; external plus developing local capacity; high partnership	Emerging	SRMIST–Mordovia

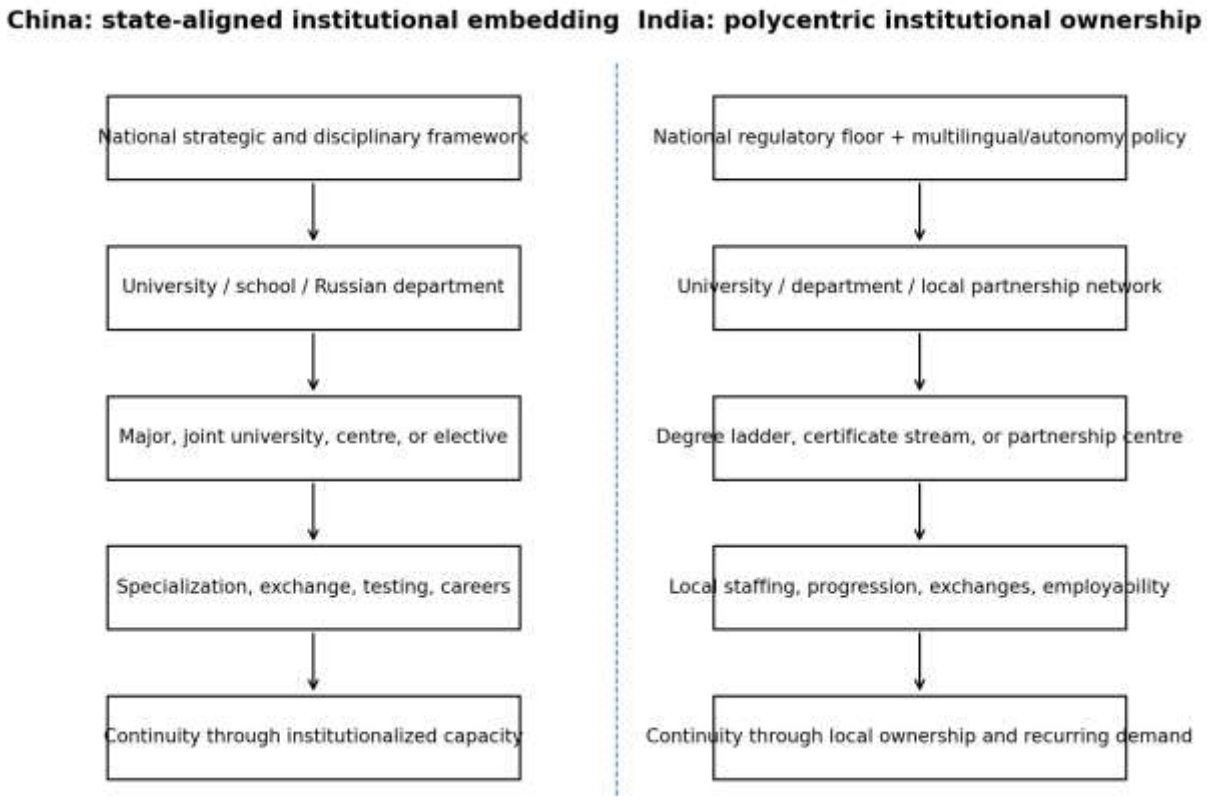


Figure 2: Institutional pathways for Russian-language promotion in China and India

CONCLUSION

The findings suggest that foreign language promotion is, at its core, a problem of institutional conversion: turning political attention, cultural diplomacy, or partnership activity into recurrent university routines. A launch event or a cultural centre can create access, but sustainability requires that authority, staff, curriculum, progression, and resources be anchored somewhere within the host institution. This distinction helps explain why programmes operating under very different national regimes can nonetheless converge on similar organizational needs.

This interpretation extends the political understanding of language policy. Hashmi et al. (2025) stress that language policy is ideological and political because it distributes recognition and power among languages. In the cases examined here, the relevant distribution concerns institutional opportunity: which foreign language receives a department, a degree, a credit-bearing sequence, a staff line, or a place in internationalization strategy. Russian language promotion succeeds not simply when positive meanings are communicated, but when organizations allocate durable educational space to those meanings. The comparison therefore moves beyond discourse without denying its importance. Narratives can generate demand and legitimacy; governance determines whether those resources are converted into programmes.

The study also refines the centralized versus decentralized contrast. China is not a system in which central authorities determine every institutional detail. National standards and state priorities set a strong frame, but universities translate that frame into different organizational forms. This is consistent with Chinese higher education research showing indirect state steering alongside institutional discretion (Han, Xu, 2019; Mok, Han, 2017), and with Tao's (2022) finding that the university level strongly conditions Russian teachers' agency. India reverses the balance: central policy provides broad multilingual and autonomy principles, while university histories and networks carry more of the implementation burden (Singh, 2025). The difference is therefore one of coordination architecture, not a binary presence or absence of governance.

This matters for policy transfer. H1 and H2 together imply that central steering and local ownership are complements rather than substitutes. China's advantages in scale cannot simply be exported to India, where institutional diversity makes network coordination more plausible. Conversely, India's locally rooted departments demonstrate that autonomy can support durability when universities possess faculty capacity and curricular ownership. Transfer should therefore focus on functions such as teacher development, recognized progression, joint curriculum design, shared materials, and career links, rather than copying organizational charts.

Teacher capacity is the clearest cross-system bridge. Programmes dependent on short-term external teachers can be launched rapidly but remain vulnerable to partnership cycles and personnel turnover. Stable local faculty, co teaching, postgraduate preparation, and repeatable recruitment convert external support into institutional knowledge. This principle applies to established departments and to newer centres alike: the relevant question is not whether Russian partners are present, but whether collaboration increases the host institution's ability to continue teaching.

Progression is the second cross-system bridge. The strongest cases make Russian lead somewhere: to advanced degrees, exchange, translation, and interpreting, area studies, specialist professional fields, language testing, or employment. This finding supports H3 and also connects language policy to higher education internationalization. Wei and Sumettikoon (2024) underline the role of "academic and humanities exchanges and international exchange programmes" in shaping university internationalization. In the present study, exchange is most consequential when it is integrated with a learner pathway rather than treated as an isolated event. A student is more likely to invest in a less commonly taught language when intermediate milestones and future uses are visible.

For China, the practical implication is differentiation within coordination. The national ecology already provides legitimacy and scale; additional gains are likely to come from stronger "Russian plus profession" pathways, updated pedagogy, and locally responsive curricula. For India, the priority is connective capacity: networks among established departments, newer partnership centres, Russian institutions, and employers could support teacher development, student mobility,

shared materials, and clearer progression without requiring a centralized command model. These implications also align with Wei and Sumettikoon's (2024) emphasis on academic, humanities, and international exchange in university internationalization.

Direct transplantation remains limited because organizational forms are path dependent. China's centrally framed standards, specialist foreign language universities, and joint university infrastructure are not readily reproduced in India. India's dispersed ecology likewise cannot be reduced to a Chinese-style hierarchy without changing incentives and authority. The transferable unit is therefore a governance function, not a national template: reliable staffing, recognized curricular status, local ownership, progression, and repeated partnership routines.

Several limitations qualify the conclusions. Public documents reveal formal structures better than informal practice and rarely provide comparable budgets, enrollment, retention, or graduate outcomes. Evidence is also uneven across institutions and languages. The study therefore identifies documented sustainability capacity rather than proving long-term causal effects. A second phase should collect standardized annual data and 30 to 40 semi-structured interviews with administrators, teachers, and international office staff; those data would permit process tracing and calibrated fsQCA. Finally, the purposive sample is analytically varied but not statistically representative of all Russian teaching in either country. These constraints make the present findings propositions about governance mechanisms rather than national prevalence estimates.

Within these limits, the comparison supports all three hypotheses while rejecting a hierarchy in which one national model is inherently superior. Central coordination is effective when it provides legitimacy, standards, and scale but leaves room for institutional adaptation. Polycentric governance is effective when local ownership is reinforced by networks that share scarce expertise. Across both systems, the durable core is institutional embedding plus professional capacity plus learner progression. Russian language promotion in Asian universities is therefore best governed not as a sequence of cultural events, but as a long-term institutional relationship in which external promotion becomes locally owned educational infrastructure.

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