English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education

Edited Book

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Language and Social Processes

Editor by
David Britain and Crispin Thurlow

Volume 12

English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education

English in Europe, Volume 3

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DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

ISBN 978-1-61451-735-1
e-ISBN (PDF) 978-1-61451-527-2
e-ISBN (EPUB) 978-1-5015-0096-1
ISSN 2192-2128

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data
A CIP catalog record for this book has been applied for at the Library of Congress.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available on the Internet at http://dnb.dnb.de.

Typesetting: RoyalStandard, Hong Kong
Printing and binding: CPI books GmbH, Leck
♾ Printed on acid-free paper
Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

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Series preface

The biggest language challenge in the world today is English. School children are expected to learn it, and the need to succeed in English is often fired by parental ambition and the requirements for entry into higher education, no matter what the proposed course of study. Once at university or college, students across the globe are increasingly finding that their teaching is being delivered through the medium of English, making the learning process more onerous. Universities unquestioningly strive for a greater level of internationalization in teaching and in research, and this is in turn equated with greater use of English by non-native speakers. The need to use English to succeed in business is as much an issue for multinational corporations as it is for small traders in tourist destinations, and meanwhile other languages are used and studied less and less. On the other hand, academic publishers get rich on the monolingual norm of the industry, and private language teaching is itself big business. In the market of English there are winners and there are losers.

The picture, however, is more complicated than one simply of winners and losers. What varieties of English are we talking about here, and who are their 'native speakers'? Is there something distinct we can identify as English, or is it merely part of a repertoire of language forms to be called upon as necessary? Is the looming presence of English an idea or a reality, and in any case is it really such a problem, and is it really killing off other languages as some commentators fear? Is the status and role of English the same in all parts of the world, or does it serve different purposes in different contexts? What forms of practical support do those trying to compete in this marketplace need in order to be amongst the winners?

These are all questions addressed by the *English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat?* project, which ran from January 2012 to October 2014. This international research network received generous funding from the Leverhulme Trust in the UK and was a partnership between the universities of Sheffield (UK), Copenhagen (Denmark) and Zaragoza (Spain), Charles University in Prague (Czech Republic) and the South-East Europe Research Centre in Thessaloniki (Greece). Each of the partners hosted a conference on a different topic and with a particular focus on English in their own region of Europe. During the course of the project 120 papers were presented, reporting on research projects from across Europe and beyond, providing for the first time a properly informed and nuanced picture of the reality of living with and through the medium of English.

The *English in Europe* book series takes the research presented in these conferences as its starting point. In each case, however, papers have been rewritten, and many of the papers have been specially commissioned to provide a series of coherent and balanced collections, giving a thorough and authoritative picture of the challenges posed by teaching, studying and using English in Europe today.

Professor Andrew Linn
Director, *English in Europe* project

Anna Kristina Hultgren, Christian Jensen and Slobodanka Dimova

English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education: From the North to the South[1]

1 Introduction

European universities have for some time been undergoing dramatic transformative processes centred on internationalization, marketization, competition and standardization (Gürüz 2008; Borghans, Cörvers and National Bureau of Economic Research 2009; Hazelkorn 2011). In non-English dominant contexts, this tends to equate with "Englishization", i.e. an increased use of English (Piller and Cho 2013; Saarinen and Nikula 2012; Phillipson 2009). Englishization affects all or most communicative activities associated with universities: research dissemination, preparation of funding bids, teaching and supervision, internal and external communication (Lillis and Curry 2010; Haberland, Lønsmann, and Preisler 2013; Grenall 2012; Llurda, Cots and Armengol 2014; Ljosland 2014). This volume focuses specifically on the issues, tensions and debates surrounding the use of English as a medium of instruction, or, as we shall also refer to it, EMI. In the context of higher education, scholars have explored EMI under different labels and with different objectives, such as Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) (Wilkinson and Zeger 2007; Smit and Dafouz 2012; Dalton-Putter 2011) or English as a Lingua Franca in Academia (ELFA) (Mauranen 2014; Jenkins 2014; Seidlhofer 2011).

The purpose of this volume is to give an account of the status of English as a medium of instruction in various political, geographical and ideological contexts: Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central Europe, regions which are at different stages of EMI implementation (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013).

1 This volume is one of several outcomes of the Leverhulme Trust-funded research network "English in Europe: Opportunity or Threat", directed by Professor Andrew Linn, at the University of Sheffield, UK. The editors wish to thank all network participants as well as contributors to this volume. Jacob Thøgersen and Inger Mees are thanked for their comments on earlier drafts of this chapter.

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This is a project worth undertaking since preliminary evidence suggests that EMI has prompted different reactions in different contexts. In some corners of Europe, it has been met with fierce resistance, such as when a group of lecturers and researchers at the Politecnico di Milano, Italy, sued their university for implementing EMI on the grounds that it violated their "freedom in teaching" (Santulli this volume; Pulcini and Campagna this volume). Similar resistance has been reported in France, where EMI is viewed by some, not least the Académie française, as a threat to the national language and an authentic French identity (Gallix 2013). In other corners of Europe, EMI seems to have been implemented with less overt resistance, for instance in Croatia and Germany (Drljača Margić and Vodopija-Krstanović this volume; Gürtler and Kronewald this volume). While EMI seems to have been implemented in the Nordic countries without much resistance from staff and students, a great deal of concern has been expressed by the national language councils and members of the cultural elite (Jensen and Thøgersen 2011; Bolton and Kuteeva 2012; Hultgren, Gregersen and Thøgersen 2014). Other contexts are interesting because they face additional complexities of managing minority languages alongside English as well as a majority language, such as Catalan or Basque in Spain and Swedish in Finland (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2014; Lindström and Sylvin 2014; Garrett and Balsà 2014). Finally, there are contexts about which very little is known, such as Turkey, Croatia and Estonia. In sum, attitudes to EMI appear far from homogenous.

Whilst researchers have for some time now been following the permutations of opinions about the presence of English in European higher education, this volume is intended to provide a focused overview of Europe. All countries included in this volume have at various points since 1999 ratified the Council of Europe's Bologna Declaration. The Bologna Declaration proposed a European Higher Education Area in which students could move freely between countries, using prior qualifications in one country as acceptable entry requirements for further study in another. It was agreed to adopt similar and comparable degree structures consisting of two main cycles: undergraduate (lasting a minimum of three years) and graduate (consisting of MA and PhD levels). The aim has been to increase mobility within the European Higher Education Area and, ultimately, to increase competitiveness vis-à-vis other educational strongholds in the world such as the US and, increasingly, China. Whilst the aims of the Bologna Declaration are shared across the national contexts reported on in this volume, the effects are, as already hinted at, likely to vary according to their political, socio-cultural, economic and historical contexts. Hopefully, this will pave the way for an interesting and focused comparison of the implementation, ideolo-

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gies, policies and practices of EMI in Europe (for volumes with a wider geographical remit, see, e.g., van der Walt 2013; Preisler, Klitgård, and Fabricius 2011; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2012; Haberland, Lønsmann, and Preisler 2013).

2 English-medium instruction in Europe: A north-south divide

Although it is difficult to obtain comparable and up-to-date numbers on English-medium programmes at universities in non-English dominant countries in Europe, most sources appear to document an unequivocal rise in the provision of English-medium instruction. An increase of 38 per cent has been noted at master's level in just one and a half years from the end of 2011 to June 2013 (Brenn-White and van Rest 2012; Brenn-White and Faethe 2013). Interpretive caution is warranted, however, since the offering of master's programmes as a whole (i.e. including those taught in a national language) has also increased, albeit not to the same extent (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013). In 2008, Wächter and Maiworm found a doubling in the offering of MA programmes in English since 2003 (Wächter and Maiworm 2008). Table 1 shows the number of master's programmes taught entirely or partly in English in each of the national contexts reported on in this volume, based on our own calculations. Unlike most available figures, the figures have been corrected for population size, and, as can be seen, there is a rather striking north-south divide with the Nordic and Baltic states having a higher proportion of English-medium master's programmes per 100,000 inhabitants than Southern Europe. For instance, Iceland, Sweden, Denmark, Finland, Norway and Estonia offer between 9 and 3.7 MA programmes in English per 100,000 inhabitants. This may be symptomatic of smaller sized-populations, for whom it is more important and attractive to recruit staff and students from overseas.

Notwithstanding such apparent growth and national variation, numbers often obscure considerable variation across institutions and disciplines. Institutionally, the provision of EMI has been found to vary (Hultgren 2014a), partly in accordance with the aims and identity of the institution as illustrated by the contrast between the internationally-oriented Roskilde University in Denmark and the nationally-oriented universities of the Faroe Islands and the Sami University College in Norway (Mortensen and Haberland 2012; Bull 2012). With respect to EMI subjects, the greatest proportion of master's programmes is in business and economics (28 percent) and engineering and technology (21 per

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Table 1: Master's programmes taught entirely or partly in English[2]

Country	MA programmes in English	Population	MA programmes in English per 100,000 inhabitants
Iceland	29	321,857	9
Sweden	764	9,644,864	7.9
Denmark	363	5,627,235	6.5
Finland	296	5,454,444	5.4
Norway	206	5,136,700	4.0
Estonia	49	1,311,870	3.7
Germany	763	80,585,700	0.9
Spain	378	46,704,314	0.8
Italy	335	59,943,933	0.6
Turkey[3]	164	76,667,864	0.2
Croatia	5	4,284,889	0.1

cent), followed by the social sciences (14 per cent), the natural sciences (9 per cent), and the humanities and arts (8 percent) (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013).[4] Such disciplinary differences, stemming from different "knowledge-making practices and educational goals" have prompted calls for tailoring language educational policies to specific disciplines (Kuteeva and Airey 2014: 533).

Moreover, the provision of EMI also varies according to educational level and teaching strategy. It is well-documented that EMI is significantly more widespread at master's level than at undergraduate level, reflecting, partly, a greater degree of commodification at masters' level with European institutions competing to attract non-EU fee-paying students for master's programmes in particular. In Denmark and Iceland, for instance, where comparable data on this is available, EMI-programmes at master's level constitute 26–36%, whereas the proportion at undergraduate level is 6–9% (Hultgren 2013; Kristinsson and Bernharðsson 2013). Obtaining accurate numbers of EMI programmes is also

2 Authors' own calculations based on information from mastersportal.eu.

3 As mastersportal.eu does not make a distinction between Greek and Turkish-speaking parts of Cyprus, Turkey is used as a proxy for North Cyprus which is the focus of Arkin & Osam's chapter in this volume.

4 Brenn-White and Faethe's report does not give any information on which countries were included in this analysis, but the total number of programmes suggests that all master's programmes in Europe were included, except those in the UK and Ireland. Note also that these are absolute numbers and are not corrected for the fact that some disciplines may feature a higher overall number of MA programmes offered in both English and a national language.

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hampered by the fact that although English may be listed as the official medium of instruction in course catalogues, ethnographic research has shown that the national and other languages are also often used as an important teaching and learning resource (Haberland, Lønsmann, and Preisler 2013; Söderlundh 2012; Ljosland 2010). Ljosland (2010), for example, reminds us of the many strategies and resources involved in teaching and learning, each of which may be associated with their own patterns of language choice, such as course literature, computer-aided presentations, note taking, lab work, examinations, assignments, dissertations, e-learning activities, computer software and group discussions (Ljosland 2010; Söderlundh 2012; Thøgersen, et al. 2013).

Thus, while estimates on EMI are useful in their own right, they often conceal a highly complex and linguistically diverse reality at internationalized universities (Haberland, Lønsmann, and Preisler 2013; Preisler, Klitgård, and Fabricius 2011; Cots, Llurda, and Garrett 2014). Partly this diversity is due to increased transnational mobility manifested in terms like “exchange students”, “visiting students” or “free movers”. Data from the Nordic countries indicates that the proportion of non-Nordic students at Nordic universities is around 5–15% (Godenhjelm, Saarinen, and Östman 2013; Hultgren 2013; Kristoffersen, Kristiansen, and Røyneland 2013; Kristinsson and Bernharðsson 2013; Salö and Josephson 2013). In addition to multilingualism as the result of international mobility, the domestic student body may itself be multilingual – an often overlooked observation (Holmen 2012). Linguistic diversity, however, often perpetuates the use of English, as English tends to be used as a lingua franca to enable communication between speakers of different first languages (Gnutzmann, Jakisch, and Rabe forthcoming; Mortensen 2014; Björkman 2013). Thus, the relationship between multilingualism and Englishization is of a mutually perpetuating dynamics, whereby increased multilingualism also leads to increased use of English (see de Swaan 2001 for a similar logic).

3 Drivers of English-medium instruction

Drivers of Englishization may be theorized as being located at different levels from the global to the classroom level. It is important to recognize, however, that there is a complex interrelationship between the different levels, e.g. national policies to internationalize will influence institutional policies to do the same. Table 2 attempts to provide an overview and illustrates each level with an example. At the global level, the General Agreement on Trade in Services has, since 1995, committed member states to consider higher education

Table 2: Drivers of EMI at different levels

Level	**Example**
Global	General Agreement on Trade in Services
European	Bologna Declaration
National	Internationalization strategies
Institutional	Targets to recruit international staff and students
Classroom	Presence of non-local language speakers

as a service to be traded rather than as a common good, and there is pressure to remove barriers to trading (Phillipson this volume). As a consequence, higher education is increasingly viewed as a commodity, which has paved the way for university ranking systems in which universities compete for students from a global pool of candidates (Tilak 2008; Gürüz 2008; Hazelkorn 2011). This inevitably provides an incentive to offer English-medium programmes. Similarly, as already mentioned, the European decision to create a common European higher education area (EHEA) was deliberately designed to promote intra-European mobility and make Europe a competitive player in the global knowledge economy (Phillipson 2009). At the national level, various policy decisions have contributed to EMI, often as a direct result of decisions made at a supra-national level. In Denmark, for instance, government policies have placed considerable emphasis on internationalization as this tends to be equated with excellence. Institutions have often operationalized this as increasing their intake of international staff, which also leads to Englishization (Hultgren 2014b). Institutional policies may also decide to offer EMI as a way to equip their domestic students for a global job market, what some have referred to as "internationalization at home" (e.g., Söderlundh 2010). At classroom level, it is well known that English will often be chosen as a lingua franca if there is at least one person present who does not have the local national language as their first (Gnutzmann, Jakisch, and Rabe forthcoming; Mortensen 2014; Björkman 2013), which has been referred to as the "guest decides principle" (Gregersen 2012). In between these levels, there are intermediate levels at which decisions are made, for instance, faculties and departments may make other decisions than their institution (Kuteeva and Airey 2014) and groups of students may make other decisions than their teacher (Söderlundh 2012; Ljosland 2010).

It is worth noting that drivers of Englishization may or may not be explicitly recognized as such. At one end of the spectrum we find strategic decisions to offer courses and programmes in English to tap into the lucrative non-EU student market (Hultgren 2014b), at the other we find those decisions where

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no-one seems to have contemplated or predicted the vast linguistic implications. It has often been pointed out, for instance, that the Bologna Declaration did not devote a single word to language-related issues, despite the undeniably huge linguistic consequences engendered by promoting mobility within the European higher education area (Phillipson 2006; Ljosland 2005; Saarinen and Nikula 2012). Often, it is the case that drivers of Englishization come in the guise of objectives to excel and being world-class. For instance, the mission statement of the University of Copenhagen contains the following passage:

> Having fostered eight Nobel laureates, being a member of the International Alliance of Research Universities (IARU) and ranked highly in the European university landscape, the University must proudly carry its traditions onward. This will continue to be the basis for everything we do. (University of Copenhagen 2012: 12)

The document then goes on to lists the following four aims:
- We aim to enhance our international research reputation by focusing on our existing top research areas as well as securing a good framework for emerging research.
- We aim to work [in a] focused [way] towards international recruitment of the best students and researchers.
- We aim to improve our PhD area, also in terms of international collaboration.
- We aim to increase the share of our research published in the best academic journals. (University of Copenhagen 2012: 14)

While Englishization is not explicitly mentioned in any of these four aims, it is easy to see how strategies to "enhance international research reputation", "work in a focused way towards international recruitment", "improve . . . international collaboration" and "publish[ed] in the best academic journals" will indirectly foster Englishization, given the need for a shared language in which to undertake these activities. Thus, whether or not Englishization is a strategic priority, there is little doubt that policies based on free-market principles will indirectly engender it (see also Piller and Cho 2013).

4 Structure and outline of the volume

This volume brings together a variety of European perspectives on EMI in higher education. Through a range of methodologies (interviews, questionnaires, stimulated recall and analyses of language policies, university websites, and job advertisements), we hear the voices of teachers, students, administrators, as interpreted through the authors. The volume is divided into three parts: Part 1: Opportunity or Threat, Part 2: Before, During and After EMI, and Part 3: Policy and Ideology.

The first part examines the role of English as an opportunity or a threat in European higher education. Chapter 1 opens the discussion with a strong statement from the threat perspective, while the remaining chapters (2–5) report on the attitudes of key stakeholders in the introduction of EMI in Europe, namely lecturers and/or administrators at higher education institutions, as examined through questionnaires. The studies were conducted in areas where the introduction of EMI is still in its infancy: Croatia, Italy, the Basque Country and finally Germany, where EMI has perhaps a slightly longer history.

In his politically committed opening contribution, Robert Phillipson (Chapter 1) interprets the increasing use of English as a medium of instruction at European universities as an instance of linguistic imperialism, displaying what he regards as an inextricable link between economically, politically and socioculturally powerful nation states such as the US and the UK and the spread of English. Phillipson positions himself in opposition to English as a Lingua Franca scholars and, in particular, the British applied linguist Jim Coleman, one of the pioneers of the field of EMI, whom he sees as detaching Englishization from aspects of power and hegemony. Phillipson advocates language policies based on additive bilingualism on the grounds that English monolingualism leads to inequities as well as to loss of cultural knowledge and linguistic diversity.

In Chapter 2, Branka Margić and Irena Vodopija-Krstanović present the first study of the attitudes of university lecturers towards introducing EMI at a Croatian university – a context in which higher education is still almost exclusively conducted in the local language. They find that the majority of the respondents in their questionnaire survey think that EMI is not only possible but also desirable at their institution, even though only about half of them feel competent to actually teach EMI courses and point to various problems that they foresee in connection with the introduction of EMI.

Virginia Pulcini and Sandra Campagna (Chapter 3) examine the attitudes of 79 lecturers at the University of Turin in the light of the controversial decision, which was later repealed, by the management at the Politecnico di Milano to switch to English only for all courses at graduate level. They discuss the need to balance “local” concerns, such as one’s culture and identity, with “global” concerns of international competition, and warn that imposing EMI without adequate pedagogical justification will be problematic.

Katherine Gürtler and Elke Kronewald report in Chapter 4 on the situation in Germany, where the introduction of EMI is currently taking place at a very fast pace. In their large-scale survey of more than 1,000 lecturers from different higher education institutions they find that those who have a background in foreign-language teaching have chosen to engage in EMI out of interest, while those who had taught only in the local language opposed the introduction of EMI. Among the problems identified in the study are the students' proficiency in English and the lack of incentives for teachers.

In Chapter 5, David Lasagabaster analyses the opinions of the teaching and administrative staff of the bilingual (Basque and Spanish) University of the Basque Country with regard to the implementation of a new Multilingualism Programme. He finds that both teachers and administrators have mostly positive comments about the programme and express little concern that the programme is dominated by English language courses. He concludes that English is a "stumbling block" in the implementation of a multilingual language policy.

English-medium instruction in higher education is affected by the contexts of the countries in which it is implemented, including prior education and job needs, and opportunities after university graduation. For that reason, in Part 2 of this volume, "Before, During, and After EMI", we include chapters focusing on how well students are prepared for participating in EMI programs (Chapter 6), how English-medium programs may directly affect teaching and learning (Chapters 7 and 8) as well as lecturers' perception of this effect (Chapter 9), and the status of English use and needs in the current job market (Chapter 10).

In Chapter 6, Hafdís Ingvasdóttir and Birna Arbjörnsdóttir argue that the growing use of English in Iceland has a strong influence on higher education. The authors claim that compulsory education does not adequately prepare students for the standard needed in English-medium programmes at post-compulsory level, which require high-level reading and writing skills rather than receptive language skills. Therefore, the authors recommend that the national curricula and university language policies are adapted in order to reflect the new linguistic realities.

John Airey (Chapter 7) provides an overview of his research on EMI in Sweden, which can be broadly categorized into three EMI areas: teaching, learning, and attitudes across disciplines. In particular, Airey discusses the challenges faced by lecturers and students in EMI, and provides recommendations on how to overcome these. He concludes that a universal solution for EMI difficulties across disciplines is not realistic because the literacy needs of students vary greatly.

Chapter 8, by Erkan Arkın and Necdet Osam, also revolves around the impact of EMI on disciplinary teaching and learning, in their case at a university in North Cyprus. Using videotaped material from lectures in English and Turkish and semi-structured student interviews, Arkın and Osam analyse the lecturer's discourse characteristics and students' comprehensibility levels. They conclude

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that despite the lecturer's endeavours to accommodate student learning during English-medium lessons, students still experienced learning difficulties.

Rather than dealing with the language and content characteristics of the EMI classroom, Chapter 9 by Joyce Kling focuses on lecturers' perspectives, i.e. their perceptions of the effects of EMI on their personal sense of being teachers. Based on data analysed through a multi-method approach, Kling finds that experienced lecturers are able to maintain their confidence and security despite the usual instructional and linguistic challenges of the EMI setting. Kling finds that the main factors for maintaining their teaching confidence are their teaching experience and pedagogic content knowledge.

In Chapter 10 Glenn Ole Hellekjær and Anne-Inger Hellekjær argue that the development of EMI and English language support programs should be informed by the needs of the job market. Based on a large-scale study investigating the needs and the uses of English of staff in government ministerial jobs and ministerial job advertisements, Hellekjær and Hellekjær conclude that university programs fail to adequately prepare students for their job experiences after graduation.

The final part of the volume, Part 3, "Policy and Ideology", combines perspectives on language policy and ideology in an Estonian, Italian and Finnish higher education context. While the Estonian report (Chapter 11) is structured around analyses of explicit language policies in the form of semi-legal documents, the Finnish contribution (Chapter 12) focuses on what might we referred to as implicit policies, or ideologies, about English as they emerge from the bottom up among university staff and students. The Italian report (Chapter 13) combines a top-down with a bottom-up perspective by first providing an account of legal proceedings and then examining how an Italian university manages the bilingual English-Italian reality on their website.

In Chapter 11, Josep Soler-Carbonell uncovers some tensions in Estonian higher education language policies, notably in relation to how English and Estonian are portrayed. While Estonian is explicitly framed as being in need of preservation in the domain of higher education, the policies interestingly avoid mentioning English explicitly, opting instead for the vaguer label "foreign languages". Soler-Carbonell suggests that by not naming any "foreign language" in particular, the door is left open for several of them (English, Russian and other languages used in Estonia), a tactic of flexibility which has been referred to as "strategic ambiguity" (Angouri 2013). Soler-Carbonell also suggests that not mentioning English or Russian explicitly could be interpreted as a way of invisibilizing those languages that exert a high pressure on Estonian's maintenance and sustainability, a process akin to "erasure" (Irvine and Gal 2000).

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Francesca Santulli, in Chapter 12, reports on an intriguing case in which the decision to adopt English as a medium of instruction on all MA and PhD programmes from 2014 at the Italian university Politecnico di Milano triggered a heated debate and a lawsuit. Santulli then focuses on the university's website with a view to examining how the policy of the institution is practically implemented. Santulli identifies discrepancies in the Italian and English versions of the websites and puts these down not solely to the web designer's lack of English proficiency, but to different linguistic conventions in English and Italian. This prompts Santulli to make a link between language and knowledge (also invoked by Phillipson in his contribution), and between academic English and epistemicide.

Finally, in Chapter 13, Laura McCambridge and Taina Saarinen explore the extent to which ideologies about native-speaker varieties of English may be changing as a result of globalization and, more specifically, by the multilingual reality in Finnish higher education. The authors identify the existence of two contrasting ideologies among Finnish university staff and students: the "not" and the "but" in native/non-native ideologies. The "non-nativeness as 'not' ideology" reproduces the native ideal and considers non-native varieties as deficient in comparison. The "non-nativeness as 'but' ideology", in contrast, challenges the native ideal. The authors conclude by discussing the potential implications of this development for language policies in Finnish higher education.

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I Opportunity or Threat

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Robert Phillipson

1 English as threat or opportunity in European higher education

Abstract: English is analysed as a key constituent of globalisation and the efforts of the USA, abetted by the British, to promote and dominate capitalism worldwide. The expansion of English has been energetically pursued, in a shift from occupying non-European territory, falsely seen as *terra nullius*, to disseminating the values of a *cultura nullius*, and the pernicious myth of English serving all equally well worldwide, a *lingua nullius*. British academic discourse on higher education falsely legitimates an increased use of English, and thereby strengthens linguistic imperialism. Action in the Nordic countries and Germany to ensure that continental European languages are not marginalised by the expansion of English is presented. The goal is to ensure that investment in the linguistic capital of English does not entail the dispossession of national languages or limit their democratic functions. Academic discourse tends to circumvent or downplay notions of linguistic imperialism or hegemony, and as a result fails to relate the expansion of English to the forces behind its increased use. Explicit language policies are needed that can ensure a balance between English and other languages. There is an urgent need to address language policy issues more vigorously at the national and supranational EU levels[1].

Keywords: Americanisation, EU language policies, global English, linguistic capital, *lingua franca*, linguistic hegemony, linguistic imperialism

1 Introduction

> The empires of the future are the empires of the mind (Churchill 1943)[2].
>
> Within a generation from now English could be a world language – that is to say, a universal language in those countries in which it is not already the native or primary tongue (*Report for the British Cabinet* 1956)[3].

1 I am grateful to the editors and two peer reviewers for very thorough and thoughtful suggestions for strengthening this chapter. All translations are mine.

2 When receiving an honorary degree at Harvard University, 6 September 1943. See footnote 12.

3 Cited in Phillipson 1992: 136.

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> The plan is for the United States to rule the world (Armstrong 2002)[4].

> English 'the language of higher education in Europe… it seems inevitable that English, in some form, will definitely become the language of higher education' (Coleman 2006)[5].

> Contrary to the wording affirmed in the Bologna Declaration, the reform of higher education serves the purpose of replacing the linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe by an English linguistic monopoly (Meyer 2011)[6].

> Every time that the question of language surfaces, in one way or another, it means that a series of other problems are coming to the fore (Gramsci 1931)[7].

These vignettes indicate how deeply embedded English is in corporate globalisation, Americanisation, and language policy in Europe. Churchill judiciously anticipates that territorial empires will be succeeded by colonisation of the mind. The British government articulated policies in the 1950s to ensure that the use of English would expand worldwide. This dovetailed with the ambitions of the USA to become a globally dominant power, a policy that has been pursued energetically since 1945. In evaluating higher education language policy in the 21st century, a British scholar, Coleman, foresees that English will replace continental European scholarly languages, and a former Minister of Science and the Arts in Saxony, Germany, Meyer, is convinced that the Europe-wide policies of the Bologna process are implementing this change. He therefore sees English as a real threat to national languages and language diversity. Language and power operate in symbiosis, and, as Gramsci stresses, much more is at stake in language policy than merely language.

English is increasingly projected as a language that is universally needed, an opportunity to be grasped. Perceptions of English as a threat to the continued vitality of a national language have resulted in language policy activity in many countries, and efforts to neutralise the threat. Threats and opportunities are alternatives that do not exclude each other and may co-occur. English as opportunity is buttressed by market forces that have influenced decisions affecting all levels of education in many countries worldwide, including Europe. English has been riding on a wave that is captured in Margaret Thatcher's Churchillian endorsement of global Americanisation, "There Is No Alternative"[8]. Her "Center for Freedom" in Washington DC has as its main goal to ensure that

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4 In *Harper's Magazine* 305, cited in Harvey 2005: 80.

5 In a survey article on English-medium teaching in European higher education, 2006: 11.

6 "Entgegen dem Wortlaut der Bologna-Erklärung dient also die Studienreform dem Ziel, die dort beschworene sprachliche und kulturelle Vielfalt Europas durch ein englisches Sprachmonopol zu ersetzen" (2011: 61).

7 Gramsci 1985, 183, written between 1931 and 1935.

8 See McMurtry 2002, 8.

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"the US and UK can lead and change the world"[9]. Her successors as British Prime Ministers have championed an expansion of English in the same spirit. Imperialist politicians are abetted in British scholarly discourse, such as in Coleman's questionable prediction of an English monopoly of higher education in Europe.

The article explores the issue of whether the increase in the use of English in higher education in continental Europe constitutes a threat or an opportunity by analysing the global context, and how an expansion of English is articulated in relevant discourses on change in higher education. It challenges the notion that English is universally relevant, and assesses whether the expansion of English should be seen as constituting English linguistic imperialism. It concludes with a consideration of what language policies are needed so as to maintain the vitality of all the scholarly languages of Europe.

Initially I need to stress three points. Firstly, I have nothing against English *per se*. Any language can be used for good or evil purposes. English also happens to be my mother tongue, though I also use four other languages regularly. What I am against is some of the purposes to which English, like other imperial languages, has been put in the past and present. While English clearly opens doors for some (opportunity), it closes them for the many in many countries (threat). Secondly, my understanding of the complexity of multilingualism, its joys and agonies, has been strongly influenced by having lived outside the UK for most of my adult life, and the existential experience of living as an immigrant. In this way I differ radically from many experts on language learning and "global" English who lead monolingual lives in an "English-speaking" country (itself a misleading concept since the relevant countries have always been multilingual). Thirdly, I believe language policy analysis is necessarily multidisciplinary, drawing on a range of social science and humanities disciplines, and should be historically based. We need therefore to begin by relating developments in language policy in higher education to causal factors of historical, political, and economic significance.

2 The global context

English as threat relates to its connection to the legacy of the British Empire and to the current dominance of the USA. A discourse of English expanding worldwide has existed in political rhetoric since the 1780s on both sides of the

9 www.margaretthatcher.org.

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Atlantic. Military force has served as a trigger for economic, financial, political and cultural dominance.

Military force is still of paramount importance: NATO has been globalised (Nazemroaya 2012), the USA has 'Special Operations' forces in action in over 90 countries[10], the "war on terror" has led to US armed force activity "in 49 out of 54 African states, along with the former colonial powers of France and Britain, in what's becoming a new carve-up of the continent" (Milne 2014: 20). The EU is solidly active and complicit in such coalitions "of the willing".

Christian missionaries also played a decisive role in global colonisation by Europeans and Americans (Islam expanded in a comparable trajectory), but faith-based cultural imperialism has progressively given way to a more secular opiate of the people, consumerism[11].

Asymmetrical relationships between countries and between social classes are underwritten by ideologies of dominance that attempt to rationalise inequality. Language policy plays a crucial role in the societal structures and practices that consolidate dominance and subordination.

The first conferences on English as a "world" language, as a means of strengthening British and US influence, were held in the 1930s on both sides of the Atlantic (Phillipson 2009a: 112–118). Churchill's speech at Harvard in 1943, cited earlier, articulates a plan for the British and Americans to establish English worldwide. The key themes in his speech are UK/US unity, military collaboration, global peace-keeping under US/UK control, and global English. The expansion of English is projected as an opportunity for the US and UK, a global calling, a right: "Such plans offer far better prizes than taking away other people's provinces or lands or grinding them down in exploitation. . . . I do not see why we should not try to spread our common language even more widely throughout the globe and, without seeking selfish advantage over any, possess ourselves of this invaluable amenity and birthright"[12].

English is now of global significance. Education, examination boards, "international" publishers, the media, and the creative industries impact worldwide. There is a massive expansion of English-medium "international" schools for the offspring of elites worldwide. English in higher education has become a

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10 Reported in the *International Herald Tribune*, May 3, 2013.

11 Christian missionaries are however active within the global English teaching business, which raises major ethical issues, see Wong and Canagarajah (eds.) 2009.

12 The speech is on www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/in-the-media/newsreels. The written version differs slightly: www.winstonchurchill.org/learn/speeches-of-winston-churchill/118-the-price-of-greatness.

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global commodity, which inevitably affects the nature and goals of universities. The expansion of monolingual English-medium universities in many countries is one symptom of global Americanisation (Phillipson 2009a, 2009b, 2011). It is commercially driven, and based on the questionable assumption that both the content of studies and English as the sole medium of instruction are universally relevant.

In parallel, British universities have become increasingly dependent on income generated by fee-paying foreign students. In January 2013 the British government established a new agency aiming to increase the intake of students from regions such as the Indian subcontinent and the Middle East; the goal is to increase "educational exports", currently worth more than £14 billion a year, potentially rising to £21.5 billion by 2020, and to £27 billion by 2025[13].

The changing nature of how English is conceptualised, interpreted, and marketed is integral to global Americanisation. Land in what became named the Americas was considered *terra nullius*, land belonging to no-one, to which its benighted inhabitants had no claim or rights[14]. The same trope was used in Australasia and Africa. The dissemination of Hollywood popular culture worldwide entails the promotion of the values of the USA as a *cultura nullius* (Kayman 2009). Those who argue that English is now detached from its ancestral roots, and is "owned" by all who use it, that English is free of its origins and disconnected from the economic, political and military system that supports it, can be considered as seeing English as a *lingua nullius*, a free-floating language whose expansion should be considered advantageous for all (Phillipson 2011, 2014, forthcoming a). Seeing a language as purely instrumental, or seeing language teaching as ideologically neutral, as an apolitical, purely technocratic mission, entails closing one's eyes and mind to how social structure operates nationally and internationally, and is in conflict with principles of social justice and a balanced sustainable language ecology.

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13 Details on http://www.universityworldnews.com/article.php?story=2013012418460773, 27 January 2013.

14 The influential British philosopher, John Locke articulated a rationale for this in the chapter on Property in *Two treatises of government*, 1698. He argues that God commanded people to labour, as a result of which they can increase their possessions: "God, by commanding to subdue, gave Authority so far to *appropriate*" (1988: 292). Since the indigenous peoples of America have failed to labour, "they are rich in Land, and poor in all the Comforts of Life". Locke draws the conclusion that "In the beginning, all the World was *America*, and more so than that is now; for no such thing as *Money* was any where known" (1988: 301). The fruits of labour can be converted into gold, silver, or money, which can then be used as a way of legitimating "disproportionate and unequal Possession of the Earth", this inequality being, in Locke's claim, "tacitly but voluntarily" agreed on by society (1988: 302).

The crises of capitalism are nothing new: “The central issue of our time remains the fact that the rich are getting richer and the poor, poorer” (Illich 1973: 148). Illich was shocked by the irrelevance of Western educational professionalism in relation to the needs of the poor and

> the destructiveness of imperialism on three levels: the pernicious spread of one nation beyond its boundaries; the omnipresent influence of multinational corporations; and the mushrooming of professional monopolies over production. Politics for convivial reconstruction of society must especially face imperialism on this third level, where it takes the form of professionalism (...) The knowledge-capitalism of professional imperialism subjugates people more imperceptibly than and as effectively as international finance or weaponry (Illich 1975: 56, 57).

He sees socialisation into academic specialisation as self-perpetuating and self-deluding. Applied linguistics and the global English teaching business are typical instances of professional imperialism, with its preferred paradigms, conferences, journals et al.

Dysfunctional policies are in place in Western countries (Judt 2010), with crises aggravated by the war on “terror” (Roy 2013), by inadequate responses to financial and economic collapse (Harvey 2011), the increasing enrichment of the global 1% and impoverisation of the 99%, and the unemployment and socio-economic crises in southern European countries. The massive disaffection with the EU revealed in European Parliament elections in 2014 is symptomatic of societal disintegration. These global developments are extremely influential. We need to attempt to relate them to our own professional expertise, to our understanding of the increased use of English and the purposes it serves. Our professionalism should not be detached from how our world is being shaped.

3 Discourses on change in higher education

The EU generates a considerable amount of rhetoric on the advantages of multilingualism. There is also substantial evidence that individual bi- or multilingualism brings considerable benefits for cognition and intercultural sensitivity. However the language policies of most European countries in recent centuries have largely aimed at national monolingualism and monoculturalism, with a modest amount of foreign language competence for certain functions, either cultural or professional, for instance academics needing reading proficiency in several languages. The world’s largest translation and interpretation services that the EU operates represent an upgrading to the supranational level of a principle of

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national and individual monolingualism. While the demographically small European countries have needed to develop multilingual competence for commercial and cultural purposes, this was less the case in larger countries. The many changes that increased internationalisation and europeanisation have triggered mean that the language mosaic is now much more diverse, but the reality is that a monolingual mindset is still overwhelmingly present throughout Europe. One can generalise somewhat crudely by stating that most academics in the UK can remain blissfully monolingual, whereas their continental colleagues are becoming actively bi- or multilingual. This dichotomy has serious consequences for professional identity and international collaboration in all scholarly fields, and for language policies in higher education. The language challenges are more likely to be addressed in continental Europe than in the UK.

There is a tendency for the move into English in higher education in continental Europe to be misrepresented. Data from Germany, as reported by Sabine Kunst, Minister of Science, Research and Culture in Brandenburg, and President of the Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst, show that the number of English-medium degrees in Germany tends to be grossly inflated: "The actual number of English-medium degrees represents no more that 4% of the totality of 15,134 degrees currently offered in higher education – at the Bachelor level we are even down to just under 1%" (Kunst 2012: 73). Proficiency in English is increasingly needed in many scholarly fields in Germany, but that is a different issue.

Articles and book-length studies of general trends in language policy in higher education in Europe are beginning to appear. Coleman, a British professor at the Open University, wrote a survey article on this topic in 2006, cited earlier. It is a thorough, sober synthesis of a great deal of information about current trends in European higher education. He correctly notes the paucity of research studies, and identifies many "drivers of Englishisation". There is however no evidence for Coleman's claim that there is a consensus about the likelihood of global diglossia with English as the exclusive language of science, that English will replace all other languages in higher education.

This belief was re-stated in an introduction to a recent anthology in even more bombastic terms:

> (…) today *the* language of higher education is English (…) the inexorable global dominance of English across a majority of linguistic domains makes it *the inevitable* preference in the specific and influential domain of academe (…) as English strengthens its hegemony over knowledge production and dissemination, local and national languages will become restricted to less prestigious contexts of use, and their very existence may be threatened (Coleman 2013: xiii, xiv, emphasis mine).

There is no justification for his categorical statements. English is not the only language of higher education, nor is it used "globally". English is not "inevitably" preferred throughout continental European academia. His conclusion builds on speculations by several scholars who are anglophile and regard the expansion of English as unproblematical (for instance de Swaan, see Phillipson 2009a: 251–257). Coleman cites Wright as propounding that "One language in the lecture hall precludes another". Not at all: in northern Europe it is common for course readings to be in English with the local language as the medium of instruction and examination, a powerful integration of content and language learning. A doctoral study in Sweden demonstrates that courses that are nominally "English-medium" actually involve the use of Swedish for a range of purposes, with rather more in engineering courses than in business studies. Practices vary depending on task and pedagogical organisation, and Swedish is used sensitively so that foreign students do not experience discrimination (Söderlundh 2010).

There are comparable bilingual realities at universities in The Netherlands (van Oostendorp 2012). A productive balance between Danish and English is maintained at both the University of Copenhagen in chemistry, mathematics, and life sciences (Harder 2009: 129–135), and the University of Århus (Madsen 2008).

Coleman's portrayal of a massive switch to English and monolingualism is contradicted by most higher education in continental Europe, except in specialised departments of business studies or development studies. Coleman (2006: 11) also predicts that in future people will use "native languages for local and cultural communication where their personal identity is engaged, and another for international, formal, practical communication", meaning English. This is a groundless prediction. The idea that "identity" is switched on in one case and off in the other is flawed. Scholarly communication does not disconnect identity (Ives 2010)[15], nor is a language of wider communication "neutral" when its use consolidates a hegemonic language internationally and nationally (Dua 1974).

Other British academics, e.g. Fulcher (2009: 130, 131[16]) also misrepresent current realities: "English is becoming the language of instruction in HE across the European Union at a startling rate (Coleman, 2006) (...) Coleman (2006:

15 Peter Ives recommends a Gramscian approach to overcome "the usual bifurcation of language into a 'symbolic' and a 'communicative' dimension rooted to a degree in differing traditions with Anglo-European philosophy between Locke and German Romanticism" (2010: 532).

16 I have written a detailed critique of the ethnocentricity of many of the contributions to the volume that Fulcher's article appeared in (Phillipson 2010).

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3–5) notes: 'National self-interest in attracting fee-paying international students seems likely (...) to overtake any altruistic implementation of the Bologna Process, leaving the way free for market forces'". This seems to mean that any European higher education institution that seeks to ensure that a national language maintains its vitality as a medium of instruction and for scholarly publications is "altruistic". The Bologna objectives that were formulated in 1999 were: "within the framework of our institutional competences and taking full respect of the diversity of cultures, languages, national education systems and of University autonomy – to consolidate a European Higher Education Area at the latest by 2010". The process is a Council of Europe initiative, though currently it is the European Commission that is the principal driving force behind it, with universities and national ministries of higher education more or less committed to it. It is noteworthy that not once in the lengthy communiqués from the biennial ministerial meetings is there any reference to languages. There is nothing on bilingual degrees or multilingualism. There is no connection to EU policies that aim at promoting all the languages of Europe. The language of virtually all documents and deliberations at the meetings is English. This can perhaps be justified for practical reasons at a conference – though this does not guarantee equality in communication – however the Bologna process has *de facto* largely been subordinated to the market forces that strengthen English, in conflict with the initial mandate for the process. "Internationalisation" means "English-medium higher education" (Phillipson 2006; Meyer 2011). The European higher education "area" is in effect a market[17].

This is not surprising because this European process is a direct result of education being increasingly considered a service that can be traded, under the aegis of the World Trade Organisation, and more specifically of the General Agreement on Trade in Services. Member states have been legally committed to this "liberalization" process since 1995, but there is a fundamental unresolved tension between education as a human right, a public good, and trading in educational services. The pressures to reduce what are seen as national trading barriers are intense. Higher education is more vulnerable to international commercialisation than is basic education, though this is also increasingly seen as a market rather than a public service.

Coleman does not relate his conclusions to these underlying causal factors. He fails to observe that any continental European country or university, big or small, that is replacing a well-established national language by English – i.e. when English expands in subtractive rather than additive ways – is in conflict

17 The focus has recently shifted from creating a single European area of *teaching* to the integration of *research* in the 47 countries which are committed to the process.

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with the multilingual ethos of Bologna as originally conceived. Whether English constitutes a real threat to an institution or country is an empirical question. This needs thorough investigation Europe-wide, a process that is well under way in the Nordic countries.

Coleman's two articles serve to strengthen the dominance of English. They make factually incorrect statements within what is in effect a discourse of linguistic neoimperialism (Phillipson 2009a: 130–138). By writing that "English strengthens its hegemony" (see above), and thereby falsely attributing agency to the language itself, the human forces behind the expansion of English are concealed[18]. His discourse provides apparent scholarly legitimation for a process and a structure that serve the interests of those keen for English to take over territory that earlier was occupied by users of other languages. His discourse therefore endorses linguistic capital accumulation in English and the dispossession of the linguistic capital invested in other languages. It serves to strengthen the linguistic hegemony of English.

This is a more satisfactory way of conceptualising what is at stake than talk of "domain loss", a term that has figured widely in discussion of the threat from English in Denmark and Sweden. "Domain" can be understood very broadly (e.g. the natural sciences, or scholarly publications) or narrowly (e.g. terminology in biology), and is often used without specification. "Loss" obscures agency, whereas it is in fact possible to identify agents, national and international, who articulate or implement language policies. One example is the way some institutions rank publication in English as intrinsically better than publication in a national language. Such a policy has implications for professional promotion for the individual and for the relative status of languages.

Influential authors like David Crystal endorse the expansion of English in similar ways: "English has become *the normal* medium of instruction in higher education for many countries – including several where the language has no official status" (2004: 37, emphasis mine). Crystal's "normalising" generalisation is only valid for universities in most former British and American colonies and some countries in the Middle East. He cites as examples The Netherlands (advanced courses), and Africa, where he states that no indigenous languages are used in higher education (2004: 37). The reality is much more complex, ranging from Arabic in North Africa to Zulu and Sotho in South Africa, and many others for a variety of academic functions. Crystal's discourse is triumphalist and incorrect[19], even though there is evidence of World Bank policies failing to strengthen African and Asian languages in general education and higher education.

18 This is a slip that all of us easily slip into.

19 For a critical review of Crystal's *English as a global language*, see Phillipson 1999.

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Could it be that little has changed since Gandhi's diagnosis of imperialists (2008, 320): "Perhaps, there is no nation on earth equal to the British in the capacity for self-deception"?

Coleman's recent generalisations about Europe are made in a Foreword to an anthology on English-medium instruction (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013), but one cannot find much substance for Coleman's conclusions in the many articles in the book. By contrast the book's editors refer to many factors influencing current policies. However, their discourse is somewhat inconsistent: they echo the rhetoric of English as "*the* current lingua franca ... *the* language of academia" (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013: 214, emphasis mine) while warning against an uncritical use of English-medium education and a misplaced monolingual mindset (218). They advocate locally appropriate solutions that have been properly researched, as in the Nordic countries.

4 Why English is not universally relevant

Locally appropriate solutions – English as opportunity rather than threat – can ensure that the increased use of English in new territories, such as continental Europe, is additive rather than subtractive. English then expands the linguistic repertoire of students and researchers in higher education so as to meet both national and international needs. This is what the governments of the Nordic countries are formally committed to ensuring by signing the Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy 2006 (Nordisk Ministerråd 2007). The declaration endorses active policies to maintain the vitality of national languages, not least at universities, as well as articulating a wide range of language policy measures that should be acted on. The need is great at a time when there are strong forces pushing in the direction of English dominance, however it is defined or understood. There is unfortunately often a significant gap between a declaration of this kind, which formulates principles of language policy at the governmental level, and the realities of implementation, or often its absence, nationally and locally.

The need in Germany for a thorough analysis of the relationship between German as a scholarly language and English led to a conference in 2011, with participation by leading politicians and eminent academics from each branch of science in the country, and with good journalistic presence and coverage. It was funded by the Volkswagen Foundation, which has a strong commitment to promoting creativity in research and to the maintenance of German as a scientific language, while using English for international purposes. The book resulting from the conference, (Oberreuter et al. 2012), is a sophisticated analysis by

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over 30 contributors of the rationale for promoting multilingualism in scholarship while maintaining the position of German. It includes a resolution with a set of proposals for action at both the national and EU level.

The German Rectors' Conference passed a resolution on *Language policy at German universities* at its 11th General Meeting of 22 November 2011. This diagnoses challenges and makes recommendations for promoting "multilingualism and ensuring that German remains a language of science and scholarship"[20].

One of the many relevant issues is evidence that intellectual creativity is greatest when conceptualised and formulated in the mother tongue[21], in the central "culture" language (*Kultursprache*) of the relevant country (Trabant 2012: 107). Another the principle that scholarly work should not be secluded in an ivory tower but communicated widely. Albert Einstein provided a rationale for this: "... it is of major importance that the general public is given the opportunity to be made aware of the concerns and achievements of scientific research, to fully understand and experience them. It is not enough for any innovative finding to be taken up, worked on and applied by a few specialists. Limiting discoveries to a narrow circle kills the philosophical genius of a people and leads to intellectual impoverishment" (1948, cited by Krull 2012: 16). In other words, democracy benefits when civil society is well-informed. This will generally be in a national language, in encyclopedias, popularisation channels, and through general education. In some northern European countries, academics have a duty to disseminate their research locally.

The difficulty of producing a valid translation into English of German text exemplifies the fact that the semantic universe of any two languages is never isomorphic: concepts such as *scientific*, *finding, philosophical*, a *people*, *intellectual* (the original reads *den philosophischen Geist in einem Volke und führt zur geistigen Verarmung*) have different roots, referents, connotations, and resonance which cannot have the same cognitive, cultural and pragmatic value in a different language.

While it is true that most creative research is conceptualised and articulated in one's mother tongue, for people who emigrate to a different country, such as France or the USA, and if the local language becomes the primary language of scholarship, there is likely to be a partial or even total transition to dominance in the new language. This entails a high degree of cultural and linguistic assimilation. Many types of linguistic hybridity are also a possible outcome. For continental Europeans who remain resident in their country of origin, total cultural

20 This document has been translated into English, www.hrk.de.

21 The important issue of minority languages and their rights was not considered in this context.

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and linguistic assimilation to English or any other language is highly improbable, even if they may be proficient in a particular scientific register in English. To cite Bourdieu, since English has acquired such major symbolic capital, it is important to evolve strategies to resist linguistic hegemony and symbolic imperialism: what has to be done is to become proficient in English without being brainwashed. This is a challenge because of the massive borrowing of concepts from English (Bourdieu et al. 2001: 47–48)[22].

The importance of differences between conceptual universes in different languages has been noted in research in Sweden contrasting the learning of physics when students were instructed in English or in Swedish: "university lecturers are, in fact, teachers of a disciplinary language ... each degree course should be analyzed in terms of the *desired combination of language specific disciplinary skills that we would like to be attained within that course* (...) I have suggested that the concept of *bilingual disciplinary literacy* might be helpful" (Airey 2011: 14, 15). Only in this way can students learn optimally to function in the specific disciplinary discourses that are integral to texts in each language and to the use of both languages as a medium of teaching and learning.

A further point made in Germany is that the language involved in all scientific activity is complex, whereas a *lingua franca* in the original sense of the term is limited, shrunken, incomplete language. By contrast "the English used as an international scientific language is not a lingua franca, a non-language. English is a completely normal language with its specific monolingual semantics, like all other languages. [...] It is the bearer, like all other natural languages, of a particular vision of the world. As such it is not universal and purely objective, which is what real lingua francas were" (Trabant 2012: 108). Trabant stresses that the term *lingua franca* may be valid for business English, but that scientific activity is quite different. It does not merely refer to objectively verifiable objects. Scholars from the "English-speaking world" draw on all registers, the entire English-using conceptual universe, in order to participate fully in scientific activity. English therefore cannot be universally valid or correspond to general human traits. Its expansion is imperialist:

> In as much as these monolingual, specific textual worlds are replacing and suppressing other scientific languages, a particular semantic world is being expanded to the entire world. They are therefore not universal but imperial and colonial, in the same way as political empires destroy and degrade other particular (scholarly) cultures. A gigantic destruction of knowledge has taken hold (2012: 108).

22 "Comment lutter contre ces abus de pouvoir linguistiques qu'autorise l'hégémonie linguistique et contre l'impérialisme symbolique ?... Et il faut réfléchir sur ce modèle pour voir si et comment il est possible d'accepter l'usage de l'anglais sans s'exposer à être anglicisé dans ses structures mentales, sans avoir le cerveau lavé par les routines linguistiques."

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This analysis connects the wider use of English to general societal developments, the interlocking of language policy with political, economic, military and cultural trends that trigger the multiple flows that make use of English. New discourses and technologies are adopted and creatively adapted, but in an unfree global and local market. Thus it is false to project English as though it is "neutral", English as a mere tool that serves all equally well, in whatever society they live.

Much of the celebratory literature on "global" English analyses it exclusively in instrumental terms. However, as work on the semantics and culture embedded in the grammar and words of English by an eminent Polish-Australian linguist stresses, publications on "global English", "international English", "world English", "standard English" and "English as a lingua franca" neglect the distinctive heritage embedded in the language, in its core semantic and grammatical structures, since ultimately "in the present-day world it is Anglo English that remains the touchstone and guarantor of English-based global communication" (Wierzbicka 2006: 1314). This insight corroborates Trabant's analysis of the misleading use of the term *lingua franca*. Wierzbicka also refers to the ethnocentricity of many theorists from the Anglo-American world who mistakenly take Anglo English – the English of the UK and the USA – for the human norm (2006: 12). I would add that they are insensitive to the way the structural favouring of English in academia operates inequitably and reinforces English linguistic imperialism.

A related issue is explored in Wierzbicka's *Imprisoned in English. The hazards of English as a default language* (2014). It analyses the complexity of the translation task, the cultural and linguistic uniqueness of specific languages, and the existence of a restricted Natural Semantic Metalanguage that underlies all languages. She relates these themes to the implications of the widespread dominance of English as a default or scientific language, and the error of assuming that it can express everything that is formulated in other languages.

Scientific communication in English is not neutral, not a *lingua franca*, when native speakers of English act as gatekeepers in the field of publications, since stylistic quality differs in German, Chinese, Polish etc. (Fiedler 2011). The development of scholarly registers is important in the evolution of a national language, and, as Einstein stressed, the general public must have access to scientific knowledge. Scientific productivity benefits from different models of thinking in different languages (ibid: 5–6). It is common for the French to argue on similar lines, rejecting "la pensée unique" (Hagège 2012), when insisting that English should not replace other languages.

Unfortunately conceptual clarity has not been furthered by the currently fashionable research into English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), for instance as

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summarised in Seidlhofer 2011. Its primary focus is on English as used in the diversity of speech of non-natives, which is seen as significantly different from native speaker norms. Its protagonists claim that they do not aim at codifying ELF, or that any results – which are hitherto banal and unrevealing – are of immediate pedagogical relevance. There are strong criticisms of ELF (Mackenzie 2012; Ferguson 2009; Gazzola and Grin 2013). It is difficult to see any relevance for higher education, where accuracy of lexis, syntax, and discourse in both speech and writing, and international intelligibility, are of paramount importance.

5 Invisibilising English linguistic imperialism

Mainstream applied linguists tend to avoid addressing issues like linguistic imperialism, its relevance as an analytical tool, or even the existence of the phenomena that constitute linguistic imperialism. This can be seen in Coleman's writings:

> English is not the kind of imperialist global movement which the more extreme conspiracy theorists suggest. The societal changes instead reflect the cumulative impact of myriad local discussions at departmental or faculty level, comprising false starts and experiential adaptation, and whose prime movers are motivated above all by local contexts and domestic concerns (2013: xv).

He excludes external constraints and pressures. Internationalisation is a local, domestic affair. One cannot know which *conspiracy theorists* Coleman is alluding to, but reference to a conspiracy is "the standard invalidating predicate to block tracking of strategic decisions" (McMurtry 2002: 17), and if a reference to in my work is intended, a false aspersion (Phillipson 2007). An accusation of *extremism* typically represents a failure to actually engage with what the "extremist" is actually saying (Poole 2006: 221), and does not belong in serious scholarship. In fact he British and US governments have been open about their aim to promote English globally and implemented policies to achieve this. My research draws on policy statements that were in the public sphere as well as some more confidential ones. The imperialism theory that I elaborated tries to avoid reductionism by recognising that what happens in the Periphery (subordinate countries) is not irrevocably determined by the Centre (imperial powers). The efforts of the Centre do not mesh in precisely with what the Periphery's needs are understood to be. Nor are the Periphery representatives passive spectators. They have a variety of motives, at the state and the personal level, as do the Centre inter-state actors. There are many push and pull factors (see Phillipson

2012a). I state (Phillipson 1992: 63): "A conspiracy theory is therefore inadequate as a means of grasping the role of the key actors in Centre or Periphery. The conspiracy explanation tends to be too vague and undifferentiated to merit being called a theory. It also ignores the structure within which the actors operate".

A recent volume on trends in European higher education, *Language and the international university,* edited by Haberland and Mortensen (2012), brushes linguistic imperialism aside as the "mere machinations" of two unidentified "nation-states", without the concept being presented for analytical purposes, or reference being made to the many variables involved. They write as though English just happened to be there; it expanded purely as a result of demand. No causes of internationalisation or "globalism" are explored. One article in the volume, by Tove Bull, refers to the reality of neoliberalism and neocolonialism impacting on the contemporary European university, however her text fails to explore how these pressures actually function.

Haberland and Mortensen, in their concluding remarks, do refer to market forces and hegemony but fail to identify whose interests this hegemony serves, nor do the contributions to the volume substantially clarify how or whether alternatives to the dominance of English are being established. The two editors retreat to a consideration of native and non-native competence, an issue that is only one facet of the overall issue of why and how English (whoever it is used by) has acquired the prominence it has. By ignoring the activities of the governments and corporate interests of "two nation-states" in Europe – massive investments by US foundations in academia since 1919 (Phillipson 1992: 160, 226–237), the Marshall plan, and influence on the formation of the European Union (Winand 1993), the editors implicitly accept market forces. These are visible in many other ways in European academia: EU research funding privileges English, as do the Bologna process, the gate-keeping of journal editors, and many related factors. By ignoring these structural and ideological influences, the editors acquiesce in English linguistic hegemony, without questioning or exploring it. They exemplify how hegemonic discourses and practices are internalised through a combination of coercion and consent. These permeate

> the whole substance of lived identities and relationships, to such a depth that the pressures and limits of what can ultimately be seen as a specific economic, political, and cultural system seem to most of us the pressures and limits of simple experience and common sense. Hegemony is then not only the articulate level of 'ideology', nor are its forms of control only those ordinarily seen as 'manipulation' or 'indoctrination' (Williams 1997: 110).

Bourdieu sees globalisation as functioning in exactly this way, through the acceptance of a particular economic system masquerading as though it serves

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the interests of all equally well (2001). Accepting English as a *lingua nullius* strengthens the myth of its universal relevance irrespective of the inequalities and special interests that its expansion serves. I have argued elsewhere that loose use of the *lingua franca* concept serves similar purposes, and that it would be important to distinguish the use of English for specific purposes, as a *lingua academica, lingua economica, lingua bellica,* etc., all based on Anglo norms (Phillipson 2009a, 147–194).

One variable in the acceptance of hegemonic language relates to the extent to which there are positive attitudes to the English language and US culture, and a concomitant negative attitude to the national language. Meyer (2012) argues strongly that this is the case in Germany, drawing on historical evidence and the different trajectories of Western Germany and the German Democratic Republic. One consequence is uninformed national language policies. He also shows the fundamental inconsistency between the effort to enforce the integration of migrants through an exclusive focus on the learning of German, and the neglect of German in higher education, which functions as though internationalisation means "the Englishisation and Americanisation of German higher education and research" as though the use of English is intrinsically superior in quality to what is or can be done in German (Meyer 2012: 47).

I have drawn similar conclusions on the basis of the evidence in the Nordic countries (Phillipson 2009b), and likewise advocated bi- or multilingual policies as a counterweight to this thrust. It is false to assume that alignment with globalisation and its European variant, European integration, requires the replacement of national languages by English. In Denmark the situation has many similarities to Germany, in the business and academic worlds and in popular culture. Concern about whether the expansion of English represents a threat to Danish led to two national surveys of how to strengthen Danish (Kulturministeriet 2003, 2008). Both studies had a narrow mandate, limited sociolinguistic and educational expertise among its authors, and virtually no dissemination or impact. Market forces therefore remain virtually unchecked. Much scholarship that focuses on discourses runs the risk of ignoring structural inequalities and thereby strengthening processes of social injustice that are embedded in hegemonic forces. Some books that are currently influential or can be considered a benchmark on multilingualism suffer from similar weaknesses, theoretical, methodological and political, for instance the *Routledge Handbook of Multilingualism* (ed. Martin-Jones, Blackledge and Creese 2012), on which see the review by Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas 2013, and Blommaert's *The sociolinguistics of globalization,* 2010 (reviewed in Phillipson 2012b).

Illich denounced Western professionalism for related reasons in the 1970s, as have many scholars from former colonies. If the English opportunity factor

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occludes the threat dimension, its connection to an imperial world order, the result is a divided society, a polarisation that intensifies inequality. This is the logic of capitalism, with symptoms of social distress and malfunctioning greatest in countries in which there are extremes of inequality (Wilkinson and Pickett 2010).

6 Conclusions

The article began with an analysis of global Americanisation. The USA is ruthless in its pursuit of "dominance over friends and enemies alike" (Harvey 2005: 80), a subordination that many European political leaders have uncritically embraced for decades. One of the significant social effects of the phase of neoliberal globalisation is that the economy has been seen as more important than active political cultures or the pursuit of equity and social justice. A radical change in how societies are run is therefore needed, a challenge that the younger generation must act on, since *Ill fares the land* (Judt 2011). Another negative result of ignorant political leadership has been blinkered language in education policies, and more specifically the naïve belief that English is the only language that really matters. This is precisely how hegemonic structures and ideologies function, through a coalescence of coercion and consent, the push and pull element of linguistic imperialism.

I then pointed out how some of the discourse of applied linguists from the UK, however well-intentioned and well informed, draws false conclusions in endorsing the replacement of continental European languages by English in higher education. There is a clear need for language policy-makers and scholars to scrutinise whether the promotion of "global" English reinforces English linguistic hegemony. Scholars who relate their expertise to ongoing language competition and threats can, in the best traditions of academic freedom, demonstrate how linguistic diversity should and can be maintained. We need to unmask any academic rhetoric that claims that English is detached from its origins and the forces behind its expansion, as though it serves all equally well. Such argumentation is an extension of the false doctrine of *terra nullius* to English as a *lingua nullius*.

The conceptual universe, semantics and grammar of different languages means that students in Europe need to develop academic disciplinary competence in their first language and a second language. Both need conscious attention. The monolingualism of British higher education is a limitation that cannot be justifiably exported to satellite campuses worldwide. If British universities are

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to function in greater harmony with their European partners, there needs to be a break with a monolingual mindset. Ironically the privileged class in earlier generations was taught fluency in Latin and Greek, a principle advocated by Milton in 1664 (Loewenstein 2013).

If the national languages of continental European countries are to retain their vitality as languages of higher education and publication, it is imperative that their users do not blindly buy into internationalisation and an uncritical use of English. English can threaten local creativity and national unity if policies that allow English to expand entail the dispossession of the linguistic capital of their national languages. There is a need not only for policies that ensure competence in both a national language and in international languages. There should be some with proficiency in a variety of languages, including immigrant and minority languages, and not only in English.

There is also a need for procedures to ensure that language policies and plans cover implementation and stipulate procedures for accountability. An increasing number of universities in Nordic countries have explicit language policies that articulate goals, but few specify responsibility for implementation at a variety of levels. Quality improvement also requires adequate funding as well as decent working conditions. The technical faculty of the University of Lund policy specifies duty-holders. The language policy of the University of Helsinki elaborates a sophisticated rationale for multilingualism but has no implementation strategy.

Several of the conclusions drawn in the book on the German scene are in a set of recommendations (Oberreueter et al. 2012: 271–277) that relate to needs at the level of the European Commission, for policy formation, citation indexes, and a focus on linguistic diversity promotion in existing funding schemes. The overall purpose would be to ensure that appropriate principles for maintaining the diversity that the EU is explicitly committed to are in force throughout the 28 member states. By implication this would mean that any threat to the viability of other languages from the expansion of English is held in check.

Since I have several years of experience of functioning as an expert in the Directorate-General for Research, evaluating applications and assessing the progress of language policy projects, I have no hesitation in stating that much of what is being done currently strengthens the position and use of English and only English. In the administration of the Framework Programmes, the privileging of English, building on the false assumption that English is the only "international" language of science, definitely represents a threat to all of the EU's 23 other official languages. The procedures in force discriminate against researchers for whom the primary language of research is a language other than English. The same inequality applies in the processing of applications by

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teams of experts with great variation in their competence in spoken and written English. This affects the process of just and efficient administration. Thought needs to be given to how a more balanced ecology of languages of research can be promoted. It is not easy to organise this practically when individual experts may be multilingual but the wide range of relevant languages (Baltic, Finno-Ugric, Germanic, Greek, Romance, Slavonic) and scripts – all of which are official in the EU system, and in theory can be used in research applications – complicates matters. If the rhetoric of maintaining linguistic diversity is to be a reality, solutions have to be found.

In the Nordic countries the need to act on English as opportunity has been apparent in higher education for two decades. The question of whether English is a threat or not has been aired in the public sphere frequently, but most policy has been left to market forces and improvisation. The results of a diverse range of types of experience have been analysed in two surveys commissioned by the Nordic Council of Ministers. A project funded by the Nordic Council aims at bringing together scholars in Denmark, Finland (for Finnish and Swedish), Iceland, Norway and Sweden to coordinate efforts to clarify two principal topics, language policy at Nordic universities, and English as a medium of instruction. The resulting reports will, not surprisingly, be written in a Scandinavian language, the assumption being that decision-makers and scholars from these countries are proficient in the language. These studies, reported on elsewhere in this volume (Hultgren, Jensen, and Dimova this volume) analyse English as both opportunity and threat and endorse the need for university language policies to handle both so that the vitality of national scholarly languages is maintained and the promotion of academic competence in English ensured.

Language policy must necessarily be concerned with both teaching and research activities. Language in university research policy would require analysis in its own right, but a short survey by the President of the European Research Council stresses "the importance of research autonomy, small group size, international recruitment and a leadership that facilitates, as well as informal communication across research fields, adequate instrumentation and reasonable long-term funding" (Novotny 2012: 42). This presupposes a democratic language policy which ensures the use of whichever languages are most appropriate for those concerned. This will often mean a multilingual policy, one that can function in a variety of ways. In continental Europe, the research environment will often be bilingual or multilingual.

The entire higher education community, teaching staff and students, needs to become actively aware of the language policy challenges and committed to their achievement. Scholars such as Gramsci (Ives 2004) and Harvey (2011)

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stress that change must be driven bottom-up and cannot be achieved top-down. Universities need to be committed to articulating policies that can achieve greater social justice, for instance ensuring that any threat from English is converted into an opportunity that does not impact negatively on the vitality of other languages. At the grassroots level of language policies in our higher education institutions, and in our publications, we need to counteract English linguistic hegemony so as to ensure a balanced language ecology[23]. For instance, there could be incentives to reward publication in a local, national language alongside international publication. This would be a concrete way of activating Bourdieu's insistence on the role of the academic in influencing political developments and counteracting inequality. In Foucault's terms (Rabinow 1984: 74), this means that our role as intellectuals is to relate our scholarly knowledge to 'the political, economic, institutional regime of the production of truth'. This is a big challenge at the institutional level of university policy that all of us are engaged in, explicitly or implicitly, in an age when academic freedom is at risk. This includes commitment to active language policies for maintaining diversity.

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Branka Drljača Margić and Irena Vodopija-Krstanović

2 Introducing EMI at a Croatian university: Can we bridge the gap between global emerging trends and local challenges?

Abstract: Despite the increasing internationalisation of higher education and the spread of English-taught programmes, rather little attention has been directed to English-medium instruction (EMI) in Croatia, and higher education there is almost exclusively conducted in Croatian. The authors therefore carried out the first Croatian study into the attitudes of teachers towards EMI implementation, canvassing the opinions of teaching staff at Rijeka University.

The findings suggest that although half of the participants feel competent to undertake EMI, the vast majority think that it could and should be introduced. While acknowledging its strengths such as international collaboration and improved communication skills, the participants also anticipate three key challenges, which could have an adverse effect on the quality of education: a) lack of resources, b) increased preparation time, and c) inadequate level of language proficiency. In addition, the participants express concern that EMI might jeopardise the development of Croatian. In order to meet the challenges presented, preconditions such as financial support, workload modification, and language assistance should be fulfilled. The focus on preconditions is not surprising given that in this particular context educational reforms (e.g. the Bologna Process) tend to be introduced rapidly and without adequate preparation.

Keywords: higher education, English-medium instruction, Rijeka University, Bologna Process, attitudes

1 Introduction

In Europe, the integration of higher education and more than two decades of “actively pursued academic internationalisation” (Altbach and Knight 2007: 293) have substantially changed the landscape of academia. The creation of a “borderless European space” (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2011: 347) is closely

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associated with two phenomena, the Bologna Process (Bologna) and the advancement of English (Phillipson 2006).

Bologna, which harmonised the European Higher Education Area by establishing comparable degree structures and transferrable European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System (ECTS) points, significantly fostered mobility and contributed to introducing English as the common language in academia (Mauranen 2010). Given that English is the global lingua franca, and the most widely taught language in the world (Eurydice 2012), its adoption in higher education is inevitable (Coleman 2006). This being so, English-medium instruction (EMI) is "the only way towards accomplishing the Bologna goals" (Ljosland 2007: 339) and responding to the demands of market-orientated higher education (cf. Coleman 2006). As a result, the last twenty years have seen a rapid increase in EMI in Europe. In fact, according to the Institute of International Education, in 2011, as many as 4,664 master's programmes were offered in English, 79% of which were taught entirely in English. This is a remarkable increase from 2008 and 2002 when 1,500 and 560 English-taught master's programmes were offered, respectively (Brenn-White and van Rest 2012).

Although it seems that EMI has become common practice in European higher education (Mauranen 2010), it is unequally spread across the continent, i.e. more concentrated in the north (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2011). Pioneer work in EMI was initiated in the Netherlands (Wilkinson 2013), which stands out as the country with the largest number of master's programmes in English (812), followed by Germany (632) and Sweden (401) (Brenn-White and van Rest 2012). In terms of the average number of English-taught master's programmes per institution, the Netherlands (18) is again at the forefront, followed by Denmark (16) and Sweden (15) (Brenn-White and van Rest 2012).

In Croatia, while effort has been directed to promoting the internationalisation of higher education and student/staff mobility, rather little attention has been directed to EMI, and higher education is almost exclusively conducted in Croatian, which is the national language. Given the discrepancy between EMI in European higher education and our particular context and the fact that its implementation is inevitable due to the pressure of the higher education market, the authors set to enquire into the attitudes of teachers at a Croatian university, namely Rijeka University (UNIRI), towards EMI implementation. The study is a follow-up to the first Croatian study on EMI, which canvassed the attitudes of students towards instruction in English (Drljača Margić and Žeželić forthcoming). Both studies contributed to raising awareness of the situation at UNIRI regarding EMI and addressed UNIRI management's needs to gain an insight into (the attitudes towards) EMI.

The paper is organised as follows: in the next section, we look at some of the strengths and weaknesses of EMI, as identified in the literature. In section 3, the UNIRI context is described with a particular focus on the implementation of Bologna and the current situation regarding EMI. Section 4 presents the study, and section 5 discusses the results. In the last section, some concluding remarks are offered.

2 EMI – insights into strengths and weaknesses

There seems to be a general consensus on the numerous benefits of instruction in English, which revolve around international student/staff recruitment, cultural diversity, language acquisition, and prestige. Specifically, EMI attracts international staff and students, which increases the institution's visibility, enhances its status, and boosts rankings (Altbach and Knight 2007; Hughes 2008; Hu 2009; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2011). A justifiable argument is that universities which do not offer courses in English risk international isolation as they will not be able to attract international students (cf. Healey 2008; Björkman 2010; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2011). Furthermore, since English is an international language, EMI is indispensable for promoting mobility, cultural diversity, and intercultural understanding (Altbach and Knight 2007; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013). Closely related to the international dimension of English is the status associated with the language which promotes the belief that English-medium academic institutions offer degrees which provide access to the workplace (Shohamy 2013: 201). EMI is also hailed for the dual acquisition of content and language, i.e. "two for the price of one", which gives both home and international students a competitive advantage as the learning of English as a foreign language is no longer considered sufficient (Knapp 2011: 53). Similarly, EMI might have personal benefits for teachers as preparation for classes and teaching in English, i.e. using one's language skills, could improve language competences (cf. Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2011).

However, increase in EMI is also raising concern regarding its negative implications on the quality of education (Shohamy 2013; Wilkinson 2013). Given that EMI has been introduced in many contexts without proper consideration, it appears to be "experimenting with instruction in a foreign language" (Simonsen 2005: 262). Closely related to this issue is students' inadequate language proficiency (Cots 2013; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2011, 2013), which may impede the acquisition of academic knowledge, hinder class participation (Knapp 2011),

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and thus have an adverse effect on student anxiety and motivation (Kang 2012; Inbar-Lourie and Donitsa-Schmidt 2013). Teachers' limited language repertoire and lack of proficiency may also have an undesirable impact on the quality of instruction (Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998; Coleman 2006; Ball and Lindsay 2013), e.g. in terms of reduction and simplification of course material (Hu 2009; Kang 2011; Knapp 2011). Specifically, teachers may speak more slowly or may spend more time elaborating or explaining certain points. Furthermore, insufficient language skills may make it difficult for them to explain dense content which has to be abridged. Also, the teacher's inadequate use of pragmatic strategies in English (cf. Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998; Björkman 2010) could impair the delivery of content (Byun et al. 2011), interfere with the clarity of presentations, and thus "reduce student learning" (Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998: 389). Besides, teachers' inappropriate command of the language might negatively influence classroom interaction and classroom dynamics (Shohamy 2013). Lack of competence in English may also have a negative impact on teachers' professional status (cf. Cots 2013). The power associated with English "gives native speakers undue advantages" (Li 2013: 65) and makes it a gatekeeper in academia (Saarinen and Nikula 2013; Shohamy 2013), whereby the role of other languages is minimised (Phillipson 2006), and the status and significance of academic scholarship in languages other than English are diminished (Kirkpatrick 2011). It is also worrying that the dominance of English infringes on the individual's right to choose and receive education in the native language. Instruction in English could create experts who would face difficulties operating in content-specific areas in their native languages, which could eventually reduce their employability in local environments (Wilkinson 2013). Finally, if EMI is largely motivated by prestige, power, and income, it is indeed possible that higher education may become a commodity (Altbach and Knight 2007), which reduces universities to "brands" and students to "consumers" (Coleman 2006: 4).

In light of the discussions above, English in academia merits more attention, and in the following sections we contextualise the debates by focusing on UNIRI.

3 UNIRI: From Bologna to EMI

In recent years, Croatia's higher education system has undergone extensive changes, which were initiated in 2001, when Croatia joined Bologna (Šćukanec 2013). The aim of the reform, according to the Croatian Agency for Science and Higher Education was to implement the principles of the Bologna Declaration and integrate Croatian higher education into the European Higher Education Area, and thus enable international students and staff greater access to Croatian universities (Agencija za znanost i visoko obrazovanje 2013).

This position was in line with the general trend in Central and Eastern Europe, where participation in Bologna was a move towards standardisation and concurrent upgrading of university standards to Western levels (Field 2003). Since an identified deficiency of Croatian higher education was lack of "responsive[ness] to changing labour market demands" (World Bank Report 2012: 37), it was expected that the signing of the Bologna Declaration would initiate the needed paradigmatic shift towards a more internationally competitive market-oriented education (cf. Teichler 2004).

However, in spite of claims that Bologna would increase the quality of higher education in Croatia, it has not yielded the desired effects. The initial "enthusiasm for the reform soon waned", and objections were raised that Bologna had been introduced "à la carte" (Uspješnost provedbe Bolonjskog procesa na Sveučilištu u Rijeci – izvješće 2012: 8). In fact, the majority of students believe that Bologna has not improved the quality of education, one of the reasons being that it was introduced hastily and poorly into a system that was not prepared for the changes (Anketa o provedbi Bolonjskog procesa na sveučilištima u Hrvatskoj). According to Neven Budak (2013)[1], Special Adviser for Science to the Croatian Prime Minister, a key problem is that Bologna was rushed, without adequate prior preparation; grass-roots changes were not introduced, instead only cosmetic revisions were made to curricula. He also conceded that the aims of Bologna had not been realised and warned against executing any kind of swift educational changes that had not been properly planned.

Although problematic, the adoption of Bologna presented an opportunity to align Croatian universities and, by implication, UNIRI with internationalisation trends at European universities in two aspects, student/staff mobility and EMI. Systematic activities on mobility began in 2006, when UNIRI became a partner institution in the Tempus project *Increasing Mobility of the Croatian Academic Community* (MOBIL). In 2008, the first mobility pilot programme (a precursor to Erasmus) was launched (Lenac 2008: 41), and in 2009, UNIRI was awarded the Erasmus Charter.

Even though mobility at Croatian universities has improved in the last years, one of the main obstacles to greater student exchange is an insufficient number of programmes and courses in foreign languages (Šćukanec 2013). This position

1 Neven Budak, Panel discussion on higher education and science in the Strategy on Education, Science and Technology, held at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Rijeka, October 11, 2013.

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is reflected at UNIRI where courses are predominantly taught in Croatian, except for courses in the foreign language departments, and international students comprise less than 1% of the student body.[2] In fact, International Business at the Faculty of Economics, offered alongside its Croatian equivalent Međunarodno poslovanje, is the only full degree programme taught entirely in English (Ekonomski fakultet u Rijeci 2012).

Nevertheless, some awareness exists among UNIRI management that measures should be taken to improve the situation regarding EMI. In the *Strategy of the University of Rijeka 2007–2013* (Strategija Sveučilišta u Rijeci 2007–2013) one of the goals is to increase the number of programmes in a foreign language to ten. To aid the realisation of this strategic goal, it was agreed that a language centre should be established at the English Department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Rijeka to support teachers in EMI (Lenac 2008). Unfortunately, to date, ten programmes have not been launched nor has a language centre been established. It is evident that UNIRI is lagging seriously behind European trends, which is all the more concerning given Croatia's recent membership in the European Union. Therefore, the goal to increase the number of master's and post-master's degree programmes taught entirely in a foreign language has yet again been restated in the new *Strategy of the University of Rijeka 2014–2020* (Strategija Sveučilišta u Rijeci 2014–2020).

The internationalisation of higher education has also been identified as a goal in the recent Ministry of Science, Education and Sports projects, entitled Programme Contracts (Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i sporta 2013). When UNIRI and the Ministry invited tenders for Programme Contracts projects, we designed a proposal to develop EMI programmes, and in June 2013, we were appointed project leaders of the three-year project The Development of Study Programmes in English (UNIRI EMI Project). The research presented in this study is part of the second of the following six project phases: a) getting acquainted with trends, challenges, and best practices in the broader European context, b) investigating the opinion of students and staff at UNIRI regarding EMI implementation, c) exploring EMI in practice at the Faculty of Economics, d) conducting workshops to raise awareness of EMI, e) designing language support and f) assisting in EMI programme implementation. Research into students' opinion (Drljača Margić and Žeželić forthcoming), this particular study, and the exploration of EMI in practice comprise the first systematic initiative to gain an in-depth understanding of the academic context in relation to EMI, which will enable the taking of informed bottom-up steps and actions at UNIRI.

2 Data provided by the Head of Mobility Unit, International Relations Office, UNIRI.

Given that all earlier attempts at EMI turned out to be rather unfounded propositions, it is our aim to use the findings from our studies to create context-appropriate preconditions to foster an increase in the number of English-taught study programmes and to contribute to a planned quality-based implementation of EMI.

With this in mind, it might be interesting to note that in 2013, this project was designated as a B priority, and the proposed project budget was slashed. However, the internationalisation of study programmes became an A priority in 2014 and sparked more interest at the University, albeit still inadequate funding raises the question whether UNIRI and the Ministry are still largely unaware of the complexity of the UNIRI EMI endeavour and the extent of work needed to align teaching with international trends.

4 The present study

4.1 Aims

This study aims to explore UNIRI teachers': 1) perception of self-competence to teach in English, 2) willingness to engage in EMI, 3) opinion as to whether EMI should be introduced at UNIRI, 4) perspective as to whether it is feasible for instruction at UNIRI to be conducted in English, 5) stance regarding the potential impact of EMI on the Croatian language, and 6) view of the strengths and challenges of EMI.

4.2 Research questions

The study seeks to answer the following research questions:

> RQ1: What is the stance of UNIRI teachers with regard to EMI implementation at their university?
>
> RQ2: What do teachers perceive to be the potential implications of the introduction of EMI?
>
> RQ3: What do teachers identify as the prerequisites for a successful implementation of EMI?

4.3 Context and participants

The context where the research was conducted is UNIRI, the second largest university in Croatia comprising fifteen constituent institutions (nine faculties, four university departments, one school and one academy) with approximately 16,800 students. UNIRI, like all state-owned higher education institutions, is autonomous under Croatian constitution and can “independently decide on [its] organization and operation” (Šćukanec 2013: 40). “[F]aculties and academies are parts of universities, but legally recognized as separate and independent legal entities” (Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency 2010: 2), which “are autonomous in determining contents and teaching methods of their study programs” (Šćukanec 2013: 11), and thus in dealing with all aspects of instruction in English.

The participants in the study were 73 university teachers from eleven different constituent institutions at UNIRI, namely Department of Informatics, Department of Physics, School of Medicine, Academy of Applied Arts, Faculty of Maritime Studies, Faculty of Engineering, Faculty of Law, Faculty of Economics, Faculty of Tourism and Hospitality Management, Faculty of Civil Engineering, and Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. Most participants (66%) were between 30 and 49 years old, 14% were 29 or below, and 20% were 50 or above. They had an average of 10.5 years of teaching experience at the tertiary level.

The self-assessment results show that the majority report very good or excellent command of English in speaking, writing, listening, and reading, with the receptive skills rated higher than the productive. Most participants also say that they are often or very often in contact with English, in terms of the four skills.

A fourth of the respondents (26%) have had some experience of teaching in English, but only 6% at UNIRI, namely at the Faculty of Economics and Faculty of Engineering. Others have taught in English outside Croatia, at universities in the United States, the United Kingdom, Sweden, and Italy.

4.4 Research method

The data were collected by means of an anonymous online questionnaire, originally written in Croatian. The survey link was sent to a random sample of 250 teachers via e-mail, 73 of whom filled in the questionnaire. It took them about 20 minutes to complete it.

The questionnaire comprised four parts. The first part, consisting of six questions, enquired into the respondents’ background information, such as age, affiliation, years of teaching experience in higher education, and prior experience of EMI. The respondents were also asked to assess their speaking, writing, and comprehension skills in English, and to rate how often they spoke, listened to, wrote, and read in English for professional purposes. The second part, consisting of a Likert-type question, elicited information about the participants' self-perceived competence to teach in English. The third part, comprising five open-ended and three yes-no questions, investigated the respondents' attitudes and inclination to EMI. In this part they were asked whether: 1) they believed that EMI should be implemented at their respective institutions, 2) they were willing to teach through the medium of English, and 3) they deemed it possible for instruction to be conducted in English. The respondents were also asked if there were any institutional or personal preconditions that should be fulfilled prior to the implementation of EMI, and what they perceived to be EMI benefits and pitfalls. As for the closed-ended questions, the participants were given the option to provide their own answer. In the yes-no question eliciting their perception whether EMI could be implemented, the participants could also respond that they were not sure or that they deemed the implementation possible in the future. The fourth part of the questionnaire, consisting of eleven Likert-type questions, investigated the respondents' attitudes to bilingual higher education and to the potential impact of EMI on the Croatian language, that is, the potential threat EMI might pose to its development.

4.5 Results

The findings show that half of the respondents feel competent to teach in English, as opposed to only 12.3% who do not feel up to the task. The large majority (82%) think that EMI should be introduced; however, 52% specify conditions. Some believe that it should be introduced primarily at graduate and post-graduate levels. Others hold that primarily elective courses should be carried out in English, especially those that are internationally oriented, such as International Law. An international student body and English proficient teachers are also considered essential for the implementation of EMI.

Opponents to EMI adoption (6.6%) underscore the importance of being capable of discussing a particular field of study in one's native language, and argue that "teaching in Croatian contributes to the maintenance of cultural identity and the acquisition of field specific vocabulary, which is especially important for future teachers" (5).

They also express doubt whether home students would be inclined to attend courses in English and whether there will be a sufficient number of international students at UNIRI. Their concern is that "the target population that would be interested in classes in English is so small that it would not be worth the investment" (12).

Some even hold that instruction in English could lead to increased brain drain, i.e. “to greater emigration of educated people” (66).

The majority of the respondents (67.6%) think that at least some courses should be offered in both English and Croatian, provided that students are allowed to choose the language of instruction, while 14.7% hold that all courses should be offered in both languages. The rest (17.7%) do not agree that courses should be held in both languages, though their preferences regarding the language of instruction have not been stated explicitly. Bilingual education is particularly preferred by those educating prospective teachers and lawyers, probably due to the fact that teaching tracks and law are largely “embedded in particular languages and cultures” (Gnutzmann 2008: 74).

The vast majority (82.8%) are willing to teach in English; however, 17.1% of the total only if certain preconditions exist, such as the presence of students from abroad. Some of them believe that EMI should first be institutionalised. In addition, they are not equally inclined to teach all courses/topics in English or at all levels, i.e. they opt for electives, primarily at graduate and post-graduate levels.

Those unwilling to undertake EMI (8.6%) fear that instruction in English would result in neglecting the development of the national language, since “we primarily need to work on our native language” (17). They also fear that it would require too much extra work. One of the respondents stated that “the administrative burden of Bologna at UNIRI is sufficient, and I see no reason for taking on more work” (65).

The respondents largely (72.4%) consider it possible for EMI to be implemented. Some believe that all university teachers should be capable of teaching in two foreign languages or at least in English. They also think that teaching in English should not pose a problem given that they already write and present papers in the language. Thirty per cent deem it possible predominantly with electives, with lecture-based instruction, with students at (post-)graduate level, and with international students and English proficient teachers. A fifth of the respondents (20.3%) regard EMI implementation to be possible in the future, either in a few years’ time or after certain preconditions have been met, such as better English training in primary and secondary education, the organisation of English training courses at the tertiary level, the recruitment of English proficient teachers, and/or the presence of students from different language backgrounds.

The respondents ascribe numerous strengths to instruction in English. For example, EMI enhances international collaboration, mobility, and international visibility (54.8%), as well as competitiveness (16.4%). It also improves communication skills in English (28.8%), enables the use of a wider literature base (13.7%), and supports study and work abroad opportunities (11%).

A third of the perceived advantages are only teacher-oriented. Improved communication competences in English would contribute towards "better preparation of teachers to write scientific papers and present them in English; development of competences necessary for being guest lecturers at foreign institutions" (47). This, in turn, would help teachers with the "completion of tasks for which knowledge of English is a prerequisite (journal editing, writing project proposals, filling in applications)" (22).

As for the perceived challenges, lack of English proficiency has been identified as the central issue, which could lead to the impairment of the acquisition and transfer of academic knowledge. Students' inadequate command of the language and the resulting comprehension problems could negatively influence their academic achievement, which would be reflected in lower performance in tests. Similarly, teachers' insufficient proficiency would make it impossible for them to elaborate and improvise in class. Due to lack of knowledge of English, both students and teachers would probably cover less material or just scratch the surface. As one respondent explains, "the students' proficiency is not adequate enough to grasp the material – they cannot understand the subtleties of the arguments because of the language barrier; students will need more time to digest the materials, which means they will cover less ground" (1).

Instruction might be too language-oriented, with both students and staff paying too much attention to the clarity of expression and pronunciation at the expense of both the content and spontaneity in class. One participant claimed that "a good teacher needs to earn students' respect and trust, which is not possible without a dose of spontaneity and humaneness" (66).

The respondents fear that they "would spend too much time on class preparation" (10), because preparing a lecture in a foreign language would be too time-consuming and require too much effort. Another significant challenge they mention is that "there are few foreign and home students at UNIRI" (21) who would be interested in English-taught courses. The respondents also express financial concerns, i.e. lack of means for "basic equipment for conducting classes" (34), let alone for obtaining new teaching materials, employing new staff, and organising English training courses.

Some believe that fear, nationalism, inertness, and unreceptiveness to new ideas, which the respondents attribute to the Croatian society in general, might be major barriers to introducing EMI. In the context of higher education, an inhibiting factor could be the inability and resistance of primarily older teachers to adjust to the new system.

A third of the respondents also fear that EMI might jeopardise the development and reduce the prestige of Croatian as a language of intellectualisation. A

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frequent concern voiced is that "the development of Croatian terminology would be neglected" (50).

In order to meet the challenges presented, 63% of the respondents hold that certain preconditions should be fulfilled. First and foremost, it is language assistance that should be organised.

> It is necessary to raise teachers' level of English knowledge because classes should not be held in "distorted" English. There is a need to ensure support from a certain number of lectors who would be at teachers' disposal; maybe organise workshops. Test the teaching staff (25).

> I would teach in English if I had adequate support, e.g. foreign language training, proofreading, editing of materials, and supervision by foreign language experts, so I would know what has been well done and what needs improvement (50).

Second, financial support should be provided, i.e. it cannot be expected from those taking part in higher education to accommodate to the new system without adequate funding for recruiting more content and language specialists respectively, organising English training courses, and buying new course materials. Some also suggest that financial incentives "for those tackling EMI could be pretty motivating" (59).

Third, teaching staff workload should be reduced or modified so that it includes class preparation time necessary for teaching in English. In other words, "those who teach in English should teach fewer classes or fewer courses" (61).

Fourth, EMI should be popularised, with the aim of familiarising all stakeholders with the benefits, challenges, and types of (language) support which could be offered.

In order to respond to current trends, web pages of respective institutions should be more transparent, user-friendly, and entirely translated into English. A case in point is the comment that "the current situation regarding UNIRI web pages is catastrophic; they are only partially translated and would repel any foreign student in the first ten seconds of looking for information" (66).

Finally, programmes should be synchronised with programmes at cognate European institutions, i.e. "revised in order to correlate with programmes at other European universities" (71).

The respondents also underscore that the numerous problems which currently exist in Croatian higher education should be solved out prior to the implementation of EMI. Many of these problems are attributed to Bologna (labelled in this study as "Bologna à la UNIRI"), which was introduced for the sake of modernising higher education and accommodating it to the European higher education market, albeit rapidly and without adequate preparation. Here is a selection of the participants' comments:

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> Organisational issues, i.e. too many students, lack of educational facilities, so it is difficult to hold regular classes, let alone implement progressive ideas such as classes in English (2).

> Sort out the current chaotic situation in teaching conditions, resulting from Bologna. Teachers already teach over and above their workload, and new faculty is not recruited. If the system functioned in line with regulations, then teaching in English would not be an issue (31).

> This seems like science fiction to me at the moment. The system needs to be organised first; otherwise, this new reform, like those before, will be reduced to fulfilling norms and expectations, as well as earning points for committees and their evaluations (73).

As Croatia had a long tradition of using prestigious foreign languages, such as Latin and German, in high-status domains, a third of the participants see the spread of English in higher education as the continuation of this tradition, with the national language becoming unsuitable for transmitting new academic knowledge. The rest of the respondents believe that Croatian will continue developing in other prestigious domains and in higher education, as there should be enough space for both languages. The majority of both groups hold that it is important to systematically develop Croatian and to introduce mandatory language courses such as Croatian Standard Language or Croatian for Professional Purposes, with the aim of maintaining and further developing Croatian students' first language competences.

5 Discussion

The findings show that most teachers think that EMI could and should be introduced, but they do not support an English-only approach nor do they think that all courses should be also offered in English. In addition, the majority expect certain preconditions to be met. The fact that half of the respondents feel competent to tackle EMI, yet a large majority think that EMI should be introduced and are willing to undertake it, provided certain prerequisites have been met, clearly indicates the respondents' firm belief that the fulfilment of certain preconditions would help them successfully participate in EMI. It is worth noting, however, that when asked to consider whether EMI should be introduced, 52% of the respondents listed what they considered to be essential prerequisites. In contrast, when they expressed their willingness to engage in EMI, only 17.1% mentioned any preconditions. This is probably due to the fact that "should be introduced" involves an institutional component and entails manifold financial, organisational, and language prerequisites, which the respondents readily list,

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while "be willing to" implies personal reasons, feelings, and preconditions, which the respondents are less inclined to bring up when not explicitly asked. On the other hand, the former may indicate a top-down implementation of EMI, which sparks greater caution, while the latter implies the participants' freedom of choice and, consequently, less forethought.

If we briefly compare the results of the present study with the results obtained from the study conducted among UNIRI students (Drljača Margić and Žeželić forthcoming), we see that both students and teachers are aware of the importance of EMI and its benefits. A wide majority of teachers, as opposed to only 40% of students, are inclined to EMI and deem its introduction to be possible in the local context. Students are either unwilling to attend any courses in English (32%) or willing to take only few (48%). Those who are willing to take only few English-taught courses would do it for fun or to experience classes in English, but are not genuinely interested in tackling EMI nor do they expect to reap any benefits from it. Several reasons can be advanced for this. First, students voice great(er) concerns regarding insufficient English proficiency, excessive time and effort EMI would require, and the resulting unfavourable impact on their academic success. Second, they are to a lesser extent familiar with modern tendencies of EMI implementation worldwide and less acquainted with (best) EMI practices. Third, teachers participate in international projects and conventions and are more familiar with the use of English as the lingua franca on such occasions. Fourth, teachers are more in contact, both in terms of input and output, with academic English. Fifth, students are not as mobile as teachers. They rarely study at foreign universities within various exchange programmes or summer/winter schools. For instance, UNIRI recorded less than 1% of student outgoing mobilities in the academic year 2012–2013 (0.59% outgoing ERASMUS mobilities[3] and 0.37% outgoing CEEPUS mobilities[4]). Teachers, on the other hand, present at international conferences, stay at foreign institutions as guest lecturers, and collaborate with foreign colleagues. Finally, teachers believe to a far greater degree that there are certain preconditions whose fulfilment would help resolve problems relative to EMI.

In view of the fact that language issues emerged as one of the participants' main concerns, it might be useful to examine more thoroughly which particular language prerequisites are identified by the teachers, and corroborated in the literature. In order to enrol on EMI programmes, students should demonstrate appropriate English proficiency. However, those who do not possess the neces-

3 Information provided by the Head of Mobility Unit, International Relations Office, UNIRI.

4 Information provided by the Acting Head of Unit for EU Initiatives, Agency for Mobility and EU Programmes, Croatia.

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sary language competences should not be discouraged, but rather required to sharpen their language skills through intensive language training (cf. Selvi 2011). Also, evidence of adequate English language proficiency should be a faculty hiring requirement (cf. Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998). Furthermore, language support for teachers should be offered, i.e. language experts should be recruited to assist other teachers with EMI pedagogy (cf. Byun et al. 2011). This assistance should take some of the following forms: a) assessment of academic staff's language competences, with the aim of identifying teachers who need language support (cf. Kling and Hjulmand 2008); b) self-reflection in the form of a language (progress) portfolio, regularly reviewed by a language expert (cf. Haines and Ashworth 2008); c) collaboration between a content specialist and a language expert in class, i.e. team-teaching (cf. Wilkinson 2013); d) classroom observation and peer feedback (cf. Klaassen and de Graaff 2001; Ball and Lindsay 2013); e) organisation of intensive language training courses focusing primarily on communication and presentation skills (cf. Klaassen and de Graaff 2001; Ball and Lindsay 2013). These courses should be available to both those who are yet to participate in EMI and those who are already engaged in it. The courses organised for the latter may focus only on "a particular aspect of their existing EMI practice, perhaps a problematic issue, perhaps one insufficiently developed" (Ball and Lindsay 2013: 49). The respondents would also like their course and lesson plans to be translated or at least proofread by a language expert.

There is also a recognised need to protect the national language and ensure its further development. Hence, as part of the higher education framework, it is essential to develop an explicit language policy which would aim to find a balance between English, the national language, and other foreign languages used as tools of instruction in higher education. It would also foster native language proficiency through L1 training and its maintenance in high-status domains.

Maintenance of the national language as a language of instruction and development of students' first language competences have been addressed (and ensured) in different European contexts by using: a) English and the national language in entire programmes, b) English and the national language in the core components of a programme (Preisler 2005), c) the national language in bachelor's and English in master's programmes (Simonsen 2005; Ljosland 2007), d) more English at higher levels (Kang 2012), and/or e) the national language for student productive tasks (Inbar-Lourie and Donitsa-Schmidt 2013). All these strategies, however, seem to cause certain problems and raise questions. In terms of the first, it is questionable for how long the schema could be sustained

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before it is characterised as a cost burden or before the English language variety is seen as more prestigious and desirable, even by those enrolled in the national language variety. At Maastricht University, as Wilkinson (2013) describes, bilingual education in Dutch and English eventually turned out to be too costly and was abandoned in favour of English. In terms of the second, the question arises whether those concerned would be willing to deal with motivational, organisational, and financial issues involved, that is, a) whether teachers would be inclined to teach core content to the same students in two different languages, and how this would be regulated regarding their workload; b) whether students would be willing to listen to the core course components in two different languages, and how this would be regulated in terms of ECTS; and c) whether those in authority would consider this to be cost-effective and worthwhile. The third policy prevents foreign students from enrolling at the bachelor level. The last tactic also prevents foreign students from joining, and, as Inbar-Lourie and Donitsa-Schmidt (2013) observe, students report a limited gain in productive language skills.

With the internationalisation of higher education, where English is increasingly used as the lingua franca, we cannot but wonder how much can actually be done for the national language to maintain its all-round status and continue serving as a medium of instruction at the highest levels of education. Coleman (2006) notes that since language shift is top-down, higher education is one of its main triggers. The development of a diglossic relationship between English and the national language is, according to the author, inevitable because the world is aiming for a bilingual identity with "one language for local communication, culture and expression of identity, and another – English – for wider and more formal communication" (Coleman 2006: 11).

In addition to language issues, the respondents describe the lack of foreign students as a problem. This reveals a misconception that EMI is implemented exclusively for foreign students (cf. Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2011). It also reveals a paradox. On the one hand, enhanced international mobility is seen as an important prerequisite for introducing EMI. Foreign students are considered to be an important precondition for the implementation of EMI, while their absence is perceived as a major barrier to its introduction. On the other hand, unless EMI is introduced, it is unlikely that Croatian universities will be internationally visible. In other words, foreign students will not study in Croatia unless instruction is conducted in "a language that exchange students and professors can be expected to know" (Preisler 2005: 246).

UNIRI teachers have predominantly positive attitudes to the idea of EMI adoption, though it is unlikely that negative attitudes to EMI would change anything. EMI has become "a fact of life in European higher education" (Mauranen

2010: 9) and, in the near future, it may be considered "standard practice" (Ball and Lindsay 2013: 59), even in the Croatian context. In light of the above, it seems that teachers have no alternative but to state preconditions whose fulfilment would minimise the challenges and enhance the quality of education, and to hope that UNIRI management will address their concerns and establish the preconditions. The respondents would also like certain weaknesses of Croatian higher education to be repaired, such as work overload, too many students per course, lack of financial means, and teaching content reduction. Many were caused by the rapid and insufficiently planned implementation of previous educational innovations. This is precisely what the respondents fear might happen with the introduction of EMI. Its reckless implementation would deepen the existing problems and create new ones. Their attitudes can be succinctly expressed in the following comment: "We are willing to actively participate in EMI and are aware that its introduction is inevitable, but let's do things right".

6 Concluding remarks

Our study has gone some way towards enhancing understanding of EMI within a particular academic context. In the light of our past negative experience regarding the piecemeal implementation of Bologna at UNIRI, it is essential that we learn from our mistakes and duly acknowledge that reforms should be introduced only after detailed analyses and careful thought and preparation. Given that EMI has a significant impact on various aspects of higher education (cf. Wilkinson 2013), it is vital to closely monitor its implementation and development. More specifically, an EMI board should be established within the UNIRI Quality Assurance Board, which would conduct the quality control over key deliverables. Continuous monitoring of EMI programmes should be conducted to identify the strengths and challenges and thus provide ongoing contextualised feedback to the management and teachers. Furthermore, advantage could be taken of the Teacher Training and Education Centre at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences to establish an EMI training centre which would provide language support and training programmes for EMI teachers. Finally, it would be useful to study and discuss EMI extensively. This would help teachers identify and cope with potential challenges, and dispel possible fears about teaching in a foreign language. It would also assist students to make informed decisions regarding studying in English and to address their particular goals and needs.

It is necessary to raise awareness, especially at the management level, of the fact that the implementation of such a large scale educational change is a complex and costly enterprise in terms of financial and human resources, which could have widespread negative effects if the outcomes do not meet expectations (cf. Wendell 2009). We hope that the present study on the attitudes of university teachers towards EMI, in particular regarding the measures that need to be taken prior to and concurrently with its implementation, will contribute to laying the groundwork for the above. Clearly, there is much work ahead of us at UNIRI, and this piece of research is a step towards a contextually appropriate introduction of EMI.

To further our research, we intend to observe EMI in practice and to investigate the attitudes of those already involved in scarce English-taught classes at UNIRI. We also plan to compare teachers' experience of teaching in English and in their first language.

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Virginia Pulcini and Sandra Campagna*

3 *Internationalisation* and the EMI controversy in Italian higher education

Abstract: This paper focuses on the controversial concept of *internationalisation* and its association with the growing tendency to use EMI (English as a medium of instruction) in higher education. Although the increasing demand for English-taught programmes is a global phenomenon, our attention is restricted to its European dimension with special regard to Italy. EMI in Italy is still a largely unexplored area of investigation especially with regard to studies specifically dealing with its impact on local micro-realities. In this paper we present data drawn on a fieldwork study recently conducted at the Politecnico di Torino measuring the lecturers' assessment and perception of English-taught programmes activated in this particular setting. By drawing on other countries' experience of EMI, ICLHE (Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education) and Parallel Language Use, this paper touches upon several controversial questions that are crucial for striking a balance between 'local' and 'global' educational goals.

Keywords: internationalisation, English-medium instruction, language policies

1 Scope and aims of the paper

In this paper we intend to problematise the link between *internationalisation*, now a ubiquitous buzzword in higher education, and EMI (English-medium instruction) policies currently shaping the Italian University. At a macro-level the controversial concept of internationalisation is explored with reference to both the European higher education scenario and the implementation of EMI programmes in Italy, as these two processes appear to be closely linked (Section 2). We will first set the Italian scenario by briefly reporting on the heated debate

* This paper is a product of the research project "English in Italy: Linguistic, Educational and Professional Challenges" financed by the Compagnia di S. Paolo, Progetti di Ateneo 2012, University of Torino, and coordinated by Virginia Pulcini. Both authors have equally contributed to the overall drafting. Sections 1 and 6 were jointly planned. Sandra Campagna is responsible for Sections 2 and 3, and Virginia Pulcini for Sections 4 and 5.

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triggered by a cogent court case on the introduction of English-only programmes at the Politecnico di Milano, a paradigmatic example of the *English-only* controversy (Section 3). We believe that the sentence pronounced in June 2013 following the court case will have a strong impact on the public perception of the internationalisation process currently underway and on future language policies in Italian higher education. In Section 4 we focus on local characteristics of the Italian academic setting and on aspects of ELT (English Language Teaching) in the Italian university. Since the EMI phenomenon in Italy is still largely unexplored especially in its local dimension, we present and discuss quantitative and qualitative data on the perception of EMI programmes based on an online questionnaire circulated among lecturers of the Politecnico di Torino, a context particularly suited to EMI (Section 5). This is followed by conclusions (Section 6).

2 Internationalisation: Conflicting views

Internationalisation is now a cliché word in European higher education, even though the international component in this sector is not a new phenomenon, indeed rather an old one dating back to medieval times (Teichler 2009). As Teichler (2009) observes, the present dimension of this phenomenon involves a broad range of key thematic areas directly developed from the Bologna Process: physical mobility (mainly of students but also of academic staff and occasionally administrative staff); recognition across borders of study achievements as a consequence of student mobility; international knowledge transfer through media (this includes publications, the transfer of patents or any other virtual mode promoting transnational education); and an overall international tendency aimed to foster the growth of the *global citizen* (emphasis ours). Besides these themes which are mainly linked to promoting the circulation of people, knowledge and ideas, Teichler acknowledges two other crucial manifestations of internationalisation in European HE stemming from the Bologna process directives: the first is the recognition of (and respect for) national linguistic and cultural diversity albeit rooted in a seemingly homogeneous educational context; the second concerns the fundamental role increasingly played by internationalisation as a guiding principle for assessing quality standards in research, teaching and study programmes, an essential recipe for universities to be in line with world-wide *rankings* and not to fall behind global competition.

Among the key themes evidenced in Teichler (2009), the last two deserve special attention in that they are strongly associated with (and partly responsible for) the process of *Englishisation* currently shaping European and global universities mostly manifested through a proliferation of English-only programmes especially at MA level. This orientation to intensify English-medium instruction across Europe mainly responds to the contradictory European imperative to homogenise education by covertly adopting a common lingua franca whilst maintaining linguistic diversity in accordance with its multilingual tradition.

This dual, contradictory stance – also referred to as "the European paradox" by Phillipson (2006) – has given rise to a heated debate in European academic domains characterised by divergent attitudes. On the one hand, English is perceived as a *threat* to the identity and cultural independence of other speech communities (Wolff 1999; Phillipson 2006, 2008 and this volume). On the other hand, it is welcomed as an *opportunity* for advancement and a gateway to success and is viewed by some as a lingua franca used for effective communication among non-native speakers (Jenkins 2007, Seidlhofer 2009, 2011; Mauranen, Hynninen, and Ranta 2010), which explains why English-medium international universities are often identified as ELF (English as a lingua franca) contexts (Björkman 2011; Jenkins 2011).

One striking trait which characterises the adoption of English in European universities is that the Mediterranean countries, broadly speaking, are particularly keen on promoting the internationalisation agenda through English-medium instruction, despite the fact that in these countries EMI is often perceived as an extra hurdle, rather than as a provision meant to facilitate communication especially in settings traditionally shaped by multilingual communities (Doiz, Lagasabaster, and Sierra 2011, 2013). By contrast, the Nordic countries, which have a long tradition of bilingualism and bilingual education, have been exploring more cautious linguistic policies, centred around the concept of *Parallel Language Use* largely rooted in Scandinavian reality, aiming at preserving the national language by ensuring that it is not lost to the dominance of English-medium instruction. As the term suggests, Parallel Language Use implies a co-existence of the local language and English in Scandinavian countries and became an official language policy in 2007 when the Nordic Council of Ministers signed the Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy (Kuteeva 2011: 6). Despite its official status, the application of Parallel Language Use is still under scrutiny for its assumed lack of clear pedagogical aims (Airey and Linder 2008; Bolton and Kuteeva 2012), which indicates a gap between policies and practices not thoroughly resolved. Within the European scenario and quite in line with its consolidated tradition of plurilingualism, Parallel Language Use responds to a multilingual interpretation of internationalisation. This contrasts with the increasing demand for English-only policies in other European countries where internationalisation is conceptualised in terms of English *dominance* rather than *prevalence* (as clarified in Ammon 2001). These opposing views on internationalisation restate the ambiguity of the concept channelled through contrasting educational policies.

Another aspect worth considering at the basis of the growing demand for English-only policies in higher education is the *entrepreneurial* configuration, increasingly shaping global universities as a result of marketisation pressures (Coleman 2006) embodied in the notion of the *entrepreneurial university* (see Mautner 2005 and Campagna 2008). This entrepreneurial spirit is further reinforced by the multifaceted profile of international students. As Coleman (2006: 5) aptly observes: "[t]he phrase 'international students' increasingly means not the 'organized mobility' of mutual exchanges but the 'spontaneous mobility' of fee-paying individuals".

Finally, further concerns regarding the key role played by English in the EU context are expressed by Ammon (2006) who maintains that the primacy of English as the EU working language operates to the detriment of languages exclusively based in EU, like Italian and German and this involves several interconnected risks. These can be summarised as follows: by reducing their international standing owing to the English dominance these languages run the risk of becoming less palatable as objects of foreign language studies, and Italian is a case in point. An additional fear regards the progressive limited use of German as a medium of communication in global business contexts and in academic domains. As stated before, these conflicting views underpinning internationalisation within Europe respond to the contradictory European mission to homogenise education whilst maintaining linguistic diversity in accordance to its multilingual tradition.

This ambivalence is particularly evident in Italy where a long history of political and linguistic fragmentation makes the position of this country rather unique. In his study of the language situation in Italy Tosi (2008) argues that Italian is a far less 'normalised' language than other Romance varieties, with a long tradition of multilingualism. He claims that multilingualism in Italy "is rooted in the historical background of a country whose late unification maintained a situation of linguistic diversity that is unique within Europe" (Tosi 2008: 263). Indeed the historical tradition of multilingualism in Italy dates back to the Roman Empire and "spread soon after its decline, because of the different regional ways of speaking Latin, although there was a common written language" (Tosi 2008: 263). It is normally acknowledged that the constant political fragmentation of the country has contributed to the survival of a number of geographical varieties, traditionally called *dialects* but in fact parallel Romance varieties of Italian, offspring of Latin as well as the *volgare toscano*, which are still in use, despite the official recognition of Tuscan as Italy's national language

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in 1861[1]. Two preliminary considerations stem from the Italian complex socio-cultural environment: first, the use of Italian in the academic context symbolises the unifying efforts to shape and maintain a national intellectual identity despite the legacy of linguistic fragmentation which characterises the Italian situation; second, it is difficult to reconcile this complex and conflicting scenario with the acceptance of the adoption of English as indicated by the limited repertoire of critical studies on EMI in Italy, a point already raised by Ammon (2001) who rightly claims the need for "more valid and, of course representative, resentment studies with respect to the prevalence of English" (Ammon 2001: vii).

3 The case of the Politecnico di Milano

In Italy, this condition of dominance is particularly controversial when English is used as a medium of instruction (EMI) in higher education, especially when its adoption implies a rejection of the national language. A recent event which clearly illustrates this controversy is the paradigmatic case of the Politecnico di Milano. In February 2012 the Rector of the Politecnico di Milano announced that all post-graduate and doctoral courses would be taught entirely in English as of the academic year 2014–15, thus abandoning Italian as a medium of instruction in second-cycle degree courses. This drastic switch to an *English-only* policy caused sharp reactions inside the academic community and beyond. Many staff members of the Politecnico di Milano signed a petition firmly opposing the Rector's decision and subsequently appealed to the Regional Administrative Court (TAR) of Lombardy in order to cancel the Academic Senate resolutions in favour of the English-only formula. The Accademia della Crusca, the prestigious Italian institution that represents and promotes the Italian language and culture, also took part in the debate by posing the following thought-provoking question: "Is it useful and appropriate to adopt English monolingualism in Italian university courses?"[2]. The appeal was admitted in March 2013. The English-only formula was rejected by the TAR of Lombardy on the following grounds: 1) obliging lecturers to teach in English against their will is an infringement of article 33 of the Italian Constitution ratifying the freedom of teaching; 2) applying English monolingualism clashes with the principle of equality stated in article 3 of the Italian Constitution according to which no discrimination should be made in

1 On the history of Italian from a Language Planning perspective see Dell'Aquila and Iannàccaro (2004) and Balboni (2009).

2 On the position of the *Accademia della Crusca* regarding the EMI controversy in Italian Universities see Maraschio and De Martino (2013).

terms of various socio-cultural parameters including language; 3) it also contradicts the statement included in the royal decree of 31 August 1933 (no. 1952) that prescribes that the official language of courses and examinations is Italian in all public universities in Italy. Finally, the English-only formula is also in conflict with the university reform law 240/2010 (art. 2, par. 2, letter *l*) which, in the TAR judgement's terms, fosters the integration of cultures, not the imposition of one culture over another, a fact that will restrict and not increase the educational offer.

Although the outcome of the Politecnico di Milano case suggests a policy, at least decided at a local level, aiming at applying a defensive stance against imposition of monolingualism, the issue of English as a medium of instruction is highly controversial even when the plan, as is often the case, does not imply abandoning the national language completely.

Why choose English in the first place? What are the goals of this specific language policy? There are several layers of complexity behind EMI choices. Following Kaplan (2001), one area of ambiguity with regard to constructing the rhetoric of English around *extrinsic* values (to meet the pressures of global competition, fulfil the internationalisation agenda, attract foreign students) rather than around *intrinsic* values (to access knowledge especially in disciplines, like science and technology, whose literature is mainly published in English). Both directions are problematic: if on the one hand adopting EMI for extrinsic purposes (in line with the definition of the entrepreneurial university) may result in impoverishing both contents and teaching due to the imposition of English, especially when linguistic practices are not supported by sound governmental policies, on the other hand, conceptualising English as a gateway to international knowledge perpetrates issues of linguistic (and cultural) dominance (Ammon 2001) by granting undisputed advantages to native speakers to the detriment of non-native speakers and those who speak no English at all.

As argued in Molino and Campagna (2014) with regard to the case study of the Politecnico di Milano, the absence of a clearly and carefully conceived language policy prevents a successful implementation of EMI, thus failing to fulfil the objective of preparing the students to face the global competition. Indeed, an adequate policy should take into account all the essential objectives of *language-in-education* planning, such as, among others, the definition and training of the teacher pool (Kaplan and Baldauf 1997). As the case study of the Politecnico di Milano demonstrates, the English-only formula was strongly opposed mainly because it derives from a lack of careful language-in-education planning aimed at paying attention almost exclusively to the extrinsic properties of English (Kaplan 2001), thus disregarding both language learning objectives and the possible loss of disciplinary content resulting from the use of a low-definition language of teaching.

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4 The Italian scenario

Although Italy has been a united nation only for over 150 years, the richness of its cultural heritage and academic scholarship are centuries old. Most Italian universities were founded in the Middle Ages, fostering and spreading knowledge primarily in the humanities, like the University of Bologna, founded in 1088, which is the oldest in Europe. Tradition and innovation have been at work and in conflict in Italian universities since the 1970s. Following the political student movements that swept through universities from 1968,[3] the most radical transformation was from an élite place of learning to a free-admission educational institution.

Since the 1990s Italian higher education has strived to become "more European". In 1999, in compliance with the Bologna Process, the three-cycle system was introduced, namely BA and MA degrees (in Italy referred to as "the 3 + 2 formula") and three-year PhD programmes[4]. Several major reforms issued by the Italian Ministry were introduced to modernise the educational system in the primary and secondary school (*Riforma Moratti* 2003, *Riforma Gelmini* 2008) and in the university (*Riforma Gelmini* 2010). A major policy innovation was the attribution to universities of "autonomous status", which implies that each university is free to offer degree programmes in line with social and local needs, set specific educational goals, adopt admission prerequisites (free admission or *numerus clausus*), use the European Credit Transfer System for educational activities, apply innovative teaching methods (e.g. introduction of distance-learning schemes), and offer opportunities for vocational experience such as internships and job placements. To guarantee uniformity and legal recognition, programmes must comply with general criteria defined by the Ministry (degree "classes" for BAs and MAs).

Despite reforms and implementation efforts, the credit crunch has heavily squeezed Italian universities' financial resources. According to the OECD (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development) report in 2009, public expenditure in higher education was less than 1% of GDP, lower than the average of OECD countries (1.5%), and investments in higher education by the private sector were lower than in other European countries. Italy suffers from the so-called phenomenon of *brain drain* due to inadequate job opportunities for the best Italian graduates. Nevertheless, Italy is a very attractive country for

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3 From 2003 universities can legally decide to run competitive programmes.

4 This Law was passed on May 15, 1997 (no. 127) and implemented by a decree of the Ministry of University and Scientific and Technological Research on November 3, 1999 (n. 509).

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international students, not only for its Mediterranean environment and flavour, but especially because university fees and the cost of living are comparatively low, which may provide a good opportunity to benefit from the ongoing process of internationalisation of higher education.

English-medium instruction was introduced in Italy in the 1990s and has steadily increased. In an official survey conducted by the CRUI[5] and illustrated by Campagna and Pulcini (2014), the majority of EMI programmes are offered by Northern universities, with Milan, Torino, Bologna and Rome in leading positions. Among the 80 universities considered in the survey (out of 95 higher education institutions present on the Italian territory), about half run MA programmes, followed by PhDs, whereas much fewer (10 out of 80) have English-only BAs. Concerning disciplinary areas, EMI programmes are much more numerous in the fields of economics and engineering, as these are the degrees that train graduates for managerial and entrepreneurial careers. The data made available by the CRUI reports over the past few years confirms that Italy is trying to catch up with the European trend and standards in the promotion of English-medium instruction in higher education.

Proficiency in English is a major stumbling block for successful implementation of EMI in Italy. Campagna and Pulcini (2014) argue about a divide between "two Europes" as far as proficiency levels are concerned. As several local (Dafouz 2007) and comparative studies (Berns and De Bot 2008) have pointed out, Mediterranean citizens have an average lower level of communicative competence and academic skills in English with respect to Northern Europeans, owing to several linguistic, social and educational factors. This drawback is a recurrent feature of both CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) and EMI in Italy. In the first large-scale national survey on English-taught programmes (ETP) conducted by Costa and Coleman (2013), data on English competence is alarming: "[f]or 30% of universities, the greatest difficulty in implementing ETPs is the lecturers' insufficient English language competence, while 31% cite Italian students' insufficient English language competence" (Costa and Coleman 2013: 15).

Thus, in a context like the Italian one an approach based on integrating content and language in higher education (which is referred to with the acronym ICLHE, the university equivalent of secondary school CLIL) would be more adequate to guarantee high-quality learning and academic standards. In fact, while EMI involves the transfer of content simply through a different language

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5 *Conference of Italian University Rectors*, an association of Italian state and private universities which links higher education institutions and the Italian parliament and ministry of education, acting as a coordinating and consulting body.

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medium, ICL implies the integration of content and language. In other words, implementing English-only programmes in contexts where neither lecturers nor students possess a near-native proficiency in English, EMI may result in low-quality teaching and learning, where lessons are *watered-down*, simplified presentations of highly complex, academic contents, and students' memorisation of terminology and set phrases without capability of elaborating on contents with an adequate linguistic richness and complexity. This reminds us of the notion of *BSE (Bad Simple English)* introduced by Dieter (quoted by Caimotto 2013) in connection with the Anglicisation of the language of global marketing, which, by analogy, may well become "the language of global education". As pointed out above (Molino and Campagna 2014), *language-in-education planning* is of primary importance in contexts where adequate educational prerequisites are not yet up to standard. This includes diagnostic assessment of students' language competence, linguistic support for students who do not have satisfactory language and academic skills, linguistic support and methodological training for lecturers who are willing to but do not feel confident enough to deliver EMI courses. These matters have already been discussed by Costa and Coleman (2013) and Costa (2012) but need further investigation specifically focussed on local Italian local realities.

Two further concerns should be highlighted, namely the training of international students and the provision of English language instruction. Drawing on the notion of Parallel Language Use (Bolton and Kuteeva 2012), we wonder whether it is acceptable that international students should be awarded an Italian degree without acquiring satisfactory academic competence in the language of the host country. At present, foreign students enrolling in Italian universities are expected to pass an entrance exam in Italian or to possess a proficiency certificate. Admission criteria are generally quite lenient as it is assumed that students will learn Italian in the forthcoming period of study in order to pass exams, most of which are in Italian. As for Erasmus students, they are offered courses in Italian to support their mobility experience in the host institution. However, if a degree programme is delivered entirely in English, some may argue that learning Italian for academic purposes may become superfluous. This is a scenario that defenders of Italian language and culture would find not acceptable (Maraschio and De Martino 2013).

As far as ELT is concerned, practical language instruction in Italian universities is usually delivered by English mother tongue language instructors, whose institutional role was formalised by law in 1980[6]. Practical language instruction

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6 The official profile of mother tongue language instructors is that of *collaboratore ed esperto linguistico* (language expert and collaborator).

is normally integrated in English language official courses, in order to be granted credits, as it is considered a prerequisite for attending and studying academic subjects in English, be they linguistics, literature or science and technology. Needless to say, for students taking degrees in Modern Languages the final goal is to acquire a high level of language proficiency (C1 according to the CEFR) and a comprehensive understanding of civilisation and culture of the reference speech community, i.e. the English-speaking world for English majors. By contrast, in scientific areas English is considered as a mere medium for accessing knowledge in the specific domain of study[7]. Because of different students' needs but also due to conflicting outlooks on what is involved in foreign language teaching and learning, two different approaches are advocated by university lecturers and policy-makers:

a) The first approach regards assessing language competence as a primary objective. In order to prove adequate competence in English, students are thus required either to take an internationally recognised certificate (IELTS, TOEFL and the like), or to submit an internationally recognised certificate already taken while they were at school. University language centres provide resources and tuition for those students who have inadequate proficiency levels. This view is generally held by lecturers and policy-makers working in scientific and technical departments.
b) The second approach, instead, considers language instruction as a more complex phenomenon directly linked to the students' academic training and course syllabi. University language instructors, working within departments or in university language centres, are responsible for language tuition, and specific learning goals of different degree programmes need to be pursued using ad hoc materials and methods. This view is generally held by lecturers working in Departments of Modern Languages and in the Humanities, and by academic staff who are more directly involved in students' linguistic training and therefore more aware of the complexities involved in EFL (English as a Foreign Language) and ESP (English for Specific Purposes) teaching and learning[8].

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7 See Prat Zagrebelsky (1991) for an introduction to ELT and English language studies in higher education in Italy in its early stages.

8 Basic proficiency in English is generally considered as a pre-requisite for university students accessing higher education, but students' competence is often inadequate. With reference to this, it is worth quoting data on entrance English proficiency levels of students enrolling in Modern Languages degree programmes of the University of Torino. In 2010 freshers' levels, according to the Oxford Quick Placement Test (based on CEFR), were mainly B1 (35%) and A2 (32%); 6% had a lower level (A1) whereas only 18% had a higher level (B2), 5% (C1) and 3% (C2).

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These divergent outlooks and approaches also have different implications in terms of institutions' financial commitment. The first implies that students be largely responsible for their own language competence prior to admission to higher education, and that in later stages the institution is only partly involved (for example, universities may offer courses to prepare students for international English language tests administered by external organisations). The second option, which is less favoured by local administrators, involves far greater staff involvement in teaching activities, organisation workload and testing processes, and therefore a major financial investment.

5 Case study: EMI at the Politecnico di Torino

The Politecnico di Torino is a 150-year-old prestigious school of engineering in Italy, based in the hometown of the Fiat automotive industry. In the academic year 2012–2013 the number of students enrolled in the Politecnico was 32,000[9]. Foreign students amount to 16.5% and include a large number (22%) of incoming international students from China. The Politecnico has set up a network of international partnerships, the most important of which is with China, having established a Sino-Italian campus in Shanghai's Tongji University in 2006. The number of foreign students greatly increased over the previous decade, growing from about 1,000 in 2001 to more than 5,000 in 2012. The majority of degree programmes offered by the Politecnico in the field of engineering are in Italian (59%), whereas 17% are entirely taught in English, and 22% both in English and Italian. Most English-only programmes are MA degrees followed by BA and post-MA vocational courses[10]. No PhD programmes are offered in English. In the area of architecture only 10% of degree programmes used English as a medium of instruction[11].

The data presented here were collected as part of a project at the University of Torino which focused on the influence of English in Italy in educational and

9 Data available on http://www.polito.it/ateneo/colpodocchio/ (last accessed on 30 December 2013).

10 Vocational courses (called *Master* in the Italian higher education system) are short courses (1-year) which can be taken after a BA or an MA degree to specialise in specific disciplinary areas or acquire know-how and skills required in the job market.

11 As observed in Molino and Campagna (2014) with reference to the Politecnico di Milano debate, according to the President of the School of Architecture and Society, English is not the lingua franca of the field of Architecture and there are very few classics written originally in Italian that have been translated into English. These remarks may at least partly account for the low number of EMI programmes offered in the area of Architecture.

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professional domains. In order to collect new data on the implementation and perception of EMI courses in the local context, in June 2013 an online questionnaire written in English was sent to lecturers of the Politecnico who taught EMI courses in the academic year 2012–2013. The data summarised here are also included in an MA thesis in Modern Languages for International Communication carried out at the University of Turin (Costabello 2013). The questionnaire contains three sections: the first (*Lecturers' profile*) is aimed to collect information about lecturers' nationality, English competence and EMI experience. The second section (*Course organisation*) focuses on types of courses, materials, size of audience, students' competence, and assessment methods. The third section (*General comments*) is aimed to elicit lecturers' opinions about this mode of teaching, benefits for students, possible didactic problems involved and overall perceptions of the implementation of EMI in the Italian context[12]. The response rate was quite satisfactory (33.6%) as 79 questionnaires were received out of 235 submitted. Unlike Costa and Coleman's (2013) survey which was based on data provided by members of university institutions, this survey is entirely based on lecturers' hands-on classroom experience.

5.1 Section 1: Lecturers' profile

All lecturers are native speakers of Italian. The majority (53%) state that they learnt English at school, 22% improved their English competence through research periods abroad, 10% studied it privately, 8% at university, 5% in postgraduate courses and only 1% through study stays abroad. Only 14% completed their academic training in an English-speaking university while 86% did not have such experience. As for assessment of their own English competence, 70% judge it as advanced (C1–C2), 27% intermediate (B1-B2), and 3% elementary (A1–A2). Regarding their teaching experience in an English-speaking institution, 57% have never taught in an Anglophone university, whereas 43% state that they have. Some mentioned British, American and Scandinavian universities; one has taught in the Sino-Italian campus in China, and one in Kenya.

Regarding the EMI course at the Politecnico, 31% of lecturers state that it was their first experience, while 69% have already used English-medium instruction for several years. Asked whether the institution offered any training course to prepare them for this new delivery mode, 73% answered negatively,

12 The questionnaire contained all closed-type questions, some of which permitted the selection of more than one option, except for the third section (*General Comments*) which contained open-type questions.

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whereas 27% stated that they followed a language course or a methodological training course. This data mostly coincides with Costa and Colemans's national survey (77% of institutions provided no teacher training for EMI courses).

Overall, the profile of EMI lecturers at the Politecnico di Torino that emerges from the data is that they are all Italian native speakers who learned English mostly at school. Only some spent periods abroad and very few completed their training in an English-speaking institution. The large majority consider their English proficiency advanced and a large percentage has taught in English-speaking universities. One third have used EMI for the first time, while the rest have taught in English for several years. Less than one third have been involved in a training course in view of adopting this new teaching mode. The fact that some consider their level of English elementary or intermediate is rather worrying, unless these lecturers underestimate their English proficiency. Here follow some lecturers' comments on their experience in learning English:[13]

> I learned English in high school and then at the University. As PhD student I then had the change of traveling often, and I had the chance of improving my English skills by experience (Informant No. 8).
>
> Actually after school I improved my written and spoken English through collaboration in international projects in the last ten years or so (Informant No. 27).
>
> I learnt the most listening my fav music, writing scientific papers, talking to people and chatting in internet. My level in English is elementary, but communication is very efficient (Informant No. 32).

Although a minority (14%), lecturers who completed their training abroad also give details about their experience, mentioning prestigious universities where they got their PhD, especially in the United States, as shown in the following selected comments:

> I was a visiting scholar at the University of Illinois at Urbana Champaign (USA) during my PhD (Informant No. 49).
>
> PhD at Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, USA (Informant No. 51).
>
> I did my PhD in the US, then stayed there for another 4 years as Adjunct Professor (Informant No. 52).
>
> Post-doc (1.5 years) at University of Colorado (Informant No. 58).

In general, assessing lecturers' competence is indeed quite a sensitive aspect to explore. With regards to ICLHE in the Italian context, Costa remarks

13 Original texts are quoted here, including occasional spelling typos and language inaccuracies.

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that “[i]t is quite difficult to imagine that experienced subject specialists with a high social status (such as Italian university lecturers) will adapt to following ICLHE methodological training or accept English language training” (Costa 2012: 43). She suggests that students should be offered content courses (taught by subject lecturers) and language classes (taught by language instructors), and subject lecturers should be supported by methodological input, although this may be difficult to implement in practical terms. In her research she found that “lecturers are mainly subject lecturers and thus view themselves as subject specialists rather than language teachers” (Costa 2012: 33).

5.2 Section 2: Course organisation

Some lecturers deliver more than one course, the most common ones being in computer, electronic and automotive engineering, followed by physics, telecommunications, mathematics and electronics. Most English-taught programmes started from the academic year 2010–2011 (20%), 2011–2012 (23%) and 2012–2013 (23%) and the rest in previous years, starting from 1998. This confirms that EMI is a recent innovation and there has been an increase over the last three academic years.

As for the degree type 63% are MAs, 30% are BAs and 7% are vocational courses. Contrary to the data given by the national CRUI report, which shows that PhDs are the majority of English-only programmes (34%), the Politecnico di Torino offers doctorate programmes only in Italian. Quite interestingly, 67% of EMI courses are offered only in English, while 33% are English versions of Italian-taught courses, which means that students can choose between the two delivery modes.

The type of teaching is based on lectures plus group work (54%), lectures only (42%), followed by laboratory sessions. As group work is quite common, it means that classroom interaction is an important feature of English-taught courses. Traditional teaching through lectures only is mainly used at the Politecnico, but less frequently in comparison with Costa and Coleman’s national survey (71%).

Concerning the materials used in the course, answers indicate a range of different modes: 27% PowerPoint presentation, 25% lecture notes, 24% textbooks in English, 13% articles in English, 6% videos, 2% textbooks in Italian, followed by others (including chalk and blackboard). This is in line with Costa and Coleman’s survey; the two scholars comment that “the teaching styles are fairly diversified and up to date” (Costa and Coleman 2013: 14).

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The number of students attending courses is fairly high, ranging from 20–50 (39%), 50–100 (28%), more than 100 (20%), less than 20 (13%). As for the number of non-Italian students, 68% of lecturers declare that it is about half of their audience, a figure that is much higher than the official percentage declared by the institution (16.5%). This may be a wrong perception of lecturers, explained by the fact that non-Italian students may be more problematic, and therefore more visible, or that English-taught courses are mainly attended by foreign students (attendance is generally not compulsory in Italian higher education).

The next set of questions concerns language competence and how the English language is used in teacher/student interaction. Lecturers were asked whether they considered their students' competence in English adequate. The majority (68%) say that it is generally good, while 32% declare that it is not satisfactory. This might indicate that at least one third of students are not competent enough to be able to attend an English-taught course. Italian is never used by 81% of lecturers, while only 19% state that they use it for a variety of reasons: 62% in the interaction with students outside the classroom, 19% on students' request, 8% to clarify terminology and concepts, and only 4% in interaction with students in the classroom.

Finally the next set of questions concerns the method and language of assessment. 40% of lecturers declare that their exams are written, 31% adopt both written and oral exams, while 20% assign individual papers and projects, and only 9% do oral exams. As far as the language of assessment is concerned, the vast majority (92%) uses English only, whereas 8% use both English and Italian. None use Italian only.

Although the overall organisation of courses appears coherent with the EMI mode as far as teaching styles and assessment are concerned, some peculiarities of the Italian context emerge. First, the number of students is generally high, ranging between 50 and 100 in half of the courses considered, which makes classroom interaction difficult. It comes as no surprise that the most widespread teaching mode is the traditional academic lecture. Second, one third are "the English-version" of Italian-taught courses, which means that the institution chose to offer a parallel version of the same course to satisfy the needs of non-Italian students. Finally, one third of lecturers consider their students' levels of English inadequate to be able to attend an English-only course, which sounds rather alarming, also considering that the subjects themselves demand highly technical and cognitive efforts.

5.3 Section 3: General comments

In this part of the questionnaire, lecturers express their opinions about the introduction of EMI in Italian universities and their personal experience. The first

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question regards the lecturers' perceptions of the reasons for EMI (percentages refer to the total number of answers as more than one option was possible). The most selected reason is *to attract non-Italian students* (27%), followed by *to improve the international profile of the university* (23%), *to meet non-Italian students' needs* (18%), *to prepare students for the global market* (14%), *to promote interculturality* (10%), *to improve English language proficiency of Italian students* (8%) (Figure 1). These figures echo Kaplan's (2001) distinction (mentioned above, see Section 3.) between *extrinsic* and *intrinsic values* associated to English, the former referring to the need to make universities more international and attract foreign students, the latter reflecting the fact the most scientific and technical literature is published in English. Extrinsic values are generally perceived as dominant with respect to intrinsic ones. Incidentally, data shows that the improvement of language proficiency is considered a secondary goal.

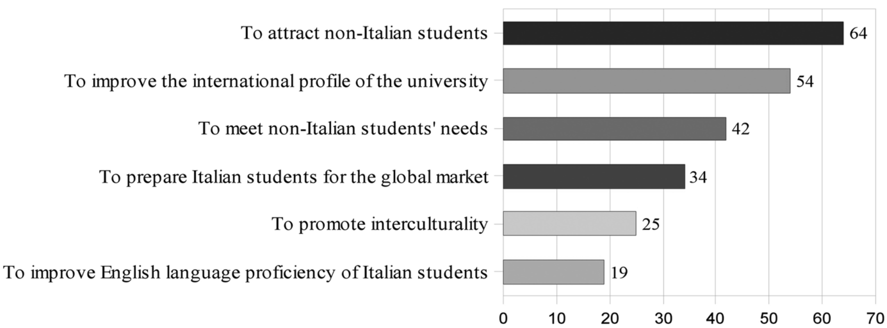

Figure 1: Reasons for introducing English-taught courses (Costabello 2013: 79)

Regarding the benefits of English-taught courses (percentages refer to the total number of answers as more than one option was possible), *to encourage students' mobility* was the most frequently selected reason (26%). This is in line with the CRUI report, which states that student mobility "is more easily achieved through courses that are accessible from a linguistic point of view" (Campagna and Pulcini 2014). The other selected reasons are *to join international networks* (23%), *to give more opportunities for students to find a job* (22%), *to improve students' English language proficiency* (19%), *to increase students' motivation* (6%), *to increase attendance rate* (4%). It is worth noting that, whereas the improvement of students' competence is not mentioned among the reasons for introducing EMI, it is anyway recognised as an educational advantage (Figure 2).

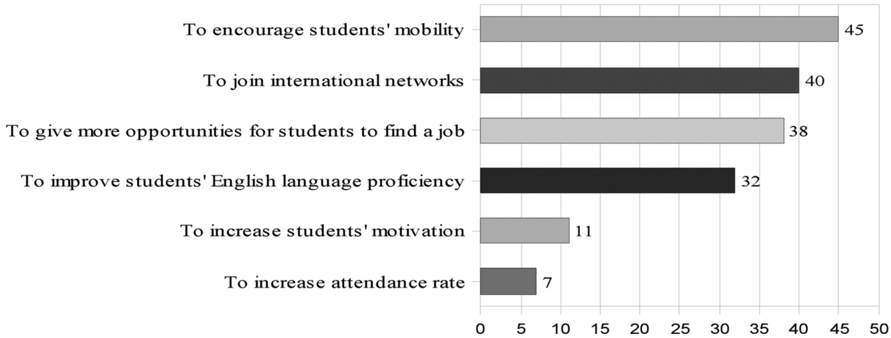

Figure 2: Benefits of English-taught courses (Costabello 2013: 80)

It is worth noting that *inadequate language skills of incoming international students* is the problem most frequently mentioned (48%) (percentages refer to the total number of answers as more than one option was possible), followed by *inadequate language skills of Italian students* (20%), *lack of interest from local students* (15%), *organisational problems* (10%), *difficulties in providing teaching materials* (6%) (Figure 3).

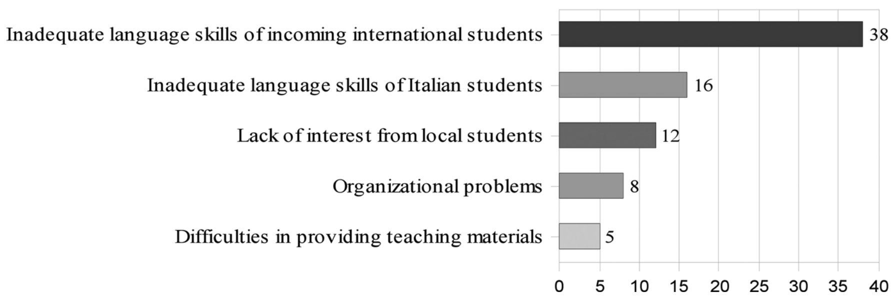

Figure 3: Problems encountered in the English-medium teaching experience (Costabello 2013: 83)

As pointed out above and in agreement with Costa and Coleman's data, inadequate language competence of both international and Italian students are considered as the most serious drawbacks for teaching in the EMI mode. Therefore data confirms that "the Italian situation reveals a specific local problem concerning inadequate levels of communicative competence in English" (Campagna and Pulcini 2014). However, this may contradict what lecturers declare in the general organisation of the course (68% stated that they considered their students' competence in English adequate; see Section 5.2. on section 2 of the questionnaire). Though it is difficult to interpret this contradiction, we may hypothesise that lecturers perceive that students possess satisfactory general competence in English (adequate receptive skills) but find it difficult to learn the subject, or when it comes to communication and academic work (productive skills) their competence is unsatisfactory. A lecturer explained in a personal comment that, "[t]here is a big language problem as most foreign students do not have a level adequate for attending the course and this is forcing me to reduce the amount of information that I can transmit compared to the same course in Italian" (Informant No. 21).

Moreover, lecturers themselves may not be able to perform in the same effective way as they would in their mother tongue, as pointed out in another comment, "[i]f your English is not your first tongue, teaching in English always reduces the effectiveness of your lectures, unfortunately" (Informant No. 74).

In this regard, Björkman explains that the use of English as a lingua franca in academic settings is characterised by "comprehension-facilitating lecturing behaviour" (Björkman 2011: 961), in the form of simplification strategies. This feature is also pointed out by Costa and Coleman (2013) who comment that this leads to a reduction of the consistency of contents and teaching quality.

About the perception of EMI as a possible threat to Italian culture, the vast majority of lecturers (92%) do not agree, and only 8% believe that this danger exists. The following comments introduce an important distinction:

> At the question 'Do you perceive English as a medium of instruction as a possible threat to Italian culture?' I would have answered 'Yes' if English was the only language for University courses (as it was proposed by some). If it's an option, I see it as a very important plus for a high level institution (Informant No. 29).

This statement seems to suggest that disciplinary knowledge in Italian is considered important also in a context of English-medium instruction. The small percentage of lecturers who envisage EMI as a threat to Italian culture mention the following reasons: *risk of losing Italian terminology in the field* (33%), *risk of professors' underperformance due to lecturing in a language other than the mother tongue* (27%), and *loss of cultural identity* (20%). Other mentioned reasons were *loss of interest in other foreign languages*, *the perception of English as a language of power*, and *the risk of students' underperformance due to studying in a language other than the mother tongue* (Figure 4).

To the question on whether students following EMI courses learn the subject better than students following the same courses in Italian, 86% answer negatively and only 14% state that EMI courses lead to better content knowledge. Once again, lecturers do not perceive EMI as an educational advantage but first of all an innovation introduced to satisfy the demands of the internationalisation agenda.

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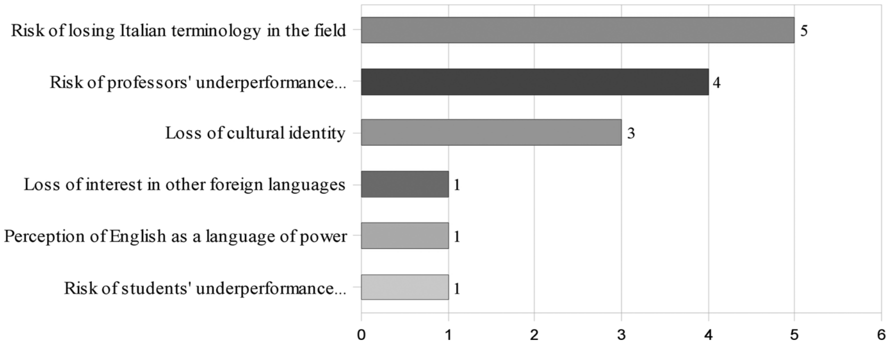

Figure 4: Reasons for perceiving EMI as a threat to Italian culture (Costabello 2013: 85)

As regards overall satisfaction about their teaching experience, 91% of lecturers declare to be fully satisfied, while 9% are not.

The last question is about the right of lecturers to refuse lecturing in English even though their competence is very good. More than half (59%) answer that they cannot oppose this decision, but a large percentage (41%) agree on lecturers' rights to reject this imposition. Some comments focus on the distinction between scientific and humanistic disciplines, pointing out that English is the language of science and technology and therefore it is quite natural to use this language in these fields, whereas the situation is totally different for the humanities.

The Politecnico respondents were particularly keen on expressing their opinions about this topic. Some comments are reported here below:

> I totally support teaching in English subjects in scientific domains, and especially computer science. The reason is that the lingua franca of science and technology is English, using Italian is a disadvantage both for students and teachers. For instance, translating terms in Italian is painful and useless, many terms in Italian are missing or are inadequate, and overall translations generate misunderstandings (Informant No. 36).

> In my area English is the language. Hence, any real researcher can simply not perform his work if he does not know it. The main reason for teaching the course in English is attracting foreign students. At the same time, Italian students can benefit from the attendance to the course, as an exercise of English comprehension. Attending a course where you can find students coming from different countries is also a major advantage (Informant No. 35).

> For Italian students studying and learning in english is an extraordinary opportunity! Unfortunately not always Italian Academic Trainers are prepared to teach in english at a satisfactory level of delivery (Informant No. 64).

6 Conclusions

The impact of internationalisation on European higher education will continue to stir reactions and emotional concerns, because the choices that it demands are loaded with cultural, linguistic, political, and economic implications. The tension between "local" and "global" and the desire to keep and foster one's own culture and identity, on the one hand, and the ambition to excel and compete internationally, on the other, are hard to balance. Linguistically, the dominance of English and the increase of English-medium instruction in higher education endorse the thesis that promoting multilingualism and encouraging a single language to get the upper hand is indeed a "European paradox".

Nevertheless, Europe is a highly heterogeneous area and national realities are different. In our previous work (Campagna and Pulcini 2014) we hypothesised the existence of "two Europes", broadly speaking, distinguishing between countries (geographically located in Northern Europe) with a longer EMI tradition and high English proficiency, and other countries (geographically located in the Mediterranean area) with a less rooted tradition of EMI and lower competence in English. As a consequence, while in Northern European countries, more specifically in Scandinavia, the threat of English has been mitigated by the introduction of Parallel Language Use policies (see for example Airey and Linder 2008, Kuteeva 2011, Bolton and Kuteeva 2012), thus limiting its role to a prevalent language rather than a dominant one, in Italy English is welcomed as an educational opportunity, and policies are directed to increasing English-medium instruction both at secondary level (through CLIL) and at university[14].

Focusing on the Italian situation, we pointed out that, since the country has a complex socio-cultural situation, characterised by social and linguistic fragmentation, the national language is held as a symbol of national identity and prestige. For this reason, the drastic resolution of the Politecnico di Milano and the subsequent court case caused a media sensation and raised a series of scholarly reactions against the English-only policy.

As the process of internationalisation is bound to continue and more English-taught courses will be offered in Italian universities, we argue that a

14 Despite the different orientations in language policies underpinning the "two Europes", perceptions of EMI in the Nordic countries on the part of the lecturers involved with EMI teaching show some similarities with the Italian context. According to a survey published by the Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use, University of Copenhagen (http://cip.ku.dk/pdf/publ/Appendix_with_English_summary_tables_and_figures.pdf) not all lecturers are prepared to teach through the medium of English and Danish students tend to underperform when exposed to English.

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mere top-down imposition of English-medium instruction in the absence of adequate pedagogical prerequisites and application scheme "may result as a mere cosmetic travesty of *internationalisation*" (Campagna and Pulcini 2014). The survey illustrated in this paper, although based on a limited sample and on the local reality of the Politecnico di Torino, provides data in support of this view. In fact, most lecturers consider the introduction of EMI in their institution as a way to attract non-Italian students and increase the international profile of the institution, and do not think that it may lead to better subject knowledge for Italian students. Moreover, we may add that since the percentage of non-Italian students is currently rather low (16.5%), and all lecturers and the large majority of students are Italian, a drastic turn to English seems to be quite an artificial solution for the time being. Considering that the lecturers of the Politecnico are scientists, it is not surprising that a possible threat to Italian culture is not generally considered a major drawback of English-medium instruction. Specialists seem to accept that English is the lingua franca of science and technology, i.e. a mere vehicle for accessing literature and transferring knowledge. Yet, many lecturers point out that the level of English of many Italian and non-Italian students is not up to standard, and this is the cause of difficulties in getting through the complexities of the disciplines. Inadequate competence in English may also lead to risks of underperformance in delivering courses, as teaching in a language other than the mother tongue requires simplification and accommodation strategies, with a reduced consistency of contents.

As we believe that internationalisation also means keeping high language profiles, we propose that EMI should become ICLHE and be gradually introduced in the Italian higher education system, with a parallel maintenance of Italian-taught courses. At the same time, language instruction should continue throughout the students' curriculum, to strengthen their general and ESP competence. Support should also be provided to lecturers who wish to adopt English-medium instruction, although, as pointed out above, this may be perceived by lecturers as undesirable interference in their work. This solution may be a good practice in order to experiment with this new mode and evaluate its benefits.

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Katherine Gürtler and Elke Kronewald

4 Internationalization and English-medium instruction in German higher education

Abstract: We investigated the attitudes and experiences of higher education instructors with foreign-language-medium and in particular English-medium instruction in Germany, a nation that has recently and is still currently undergoing a highly dynamic transition from German-medium instruction towards internationally oriented higher education. We found that there is a perceptual divide between teaching staff with experience in foreign-language instruction, who at this stage in the internationalization of German higher education are primarily self-selecting and motivated by personal interest, and those with experience only in domestic-language instruction, who exhibit a broad and resolute array of rationales against the introduction of instruction in a foreign language. Barriers to the further expansion of EMI in Germany are identified in the foreign language competency of students and the lack of institutional support mechanisms, in particular incentives for instructors.

Keywords: English-medium, EMI, German higher education, internationalization

1 Introduction

German institutes of higher education (HEI), like those in other nations explored in this volume and elsewhere, have been undergoing a process of internationalization in response to globalization and the Bologna Process. Alongside a drive to increase the international exchange – both incoming and outgoing – of students and staff, a tool to internationalize tertiary level education is seen in the advancement of instruction in languages other than German. In this paper we report on a questionnaire survey conducted of German HEIs, in particular the teaching staff, on their experiences and attitudes towards foreign-language-medium instruction (FLMI) to provide a snapshot of the year 2013. While our study dealt with foreign-language-medium instruction as a whole rather than English-medium instruction (EMI) in particular, the high predominance of English over other languages (98.3% of FLMI in Germany is in English) obscures other

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effects and points to an increasing "Englishization" of German higher education (see also Earls 2013).

English-medium instruction has expanded rapidly in Germany, as evidenced by the 65 English-language degree programs available in 2001 (Maiworm and Wächter 2002), to 214 programs in 2007 (Wächter and Maiworm 2008), to the 927 programs with English as the primary language available in early 2014 (www.hochschulkompass.de, the information portal of the *Hochschulrektorenkonferenz*, an association representing HEIs). Among European nations, Germany is a frontrunner in the absolute number of English-medium degree programs; but of course, Germany is considerably more populous than other contenders (population 80.7 million in 2013, cf. Netherlands, pop. 16.7 million; Sweden, pop. 9.6 million; Finland, pop. 5.4 million) and accordingly has a more extensive higher education system. As such, despite the high absolute value, the proportion of English-medium degree programs to domestic-language programs is lower in Germany than in these other nations (see also the introduction to this volume).

Our aim was to explore the attitudes and experiences of teaching staff with respect to foreign-language-medium instruction at what we consider to be a key juncture in German higher education (HE): dynamic policy change has effected a 1300% increase in English-medium programs in just over a decade with few formal guidelines (especially as German HE is mostly administered regionally by the 16 *Bundesländer*), while the lifelong civil servant status of many academic positions results in very gradual staff turnover. Meanwhile, the retention of a high number of German-language programs in combination with the German language's strong scientific and academic heritage provide powerful backing for instructors who would prefer to continue teaching in German for any number of reasons.

We therefore set about to identify what type of individual was teaching in a foreign language; who was not; what the rationales offered by both camps are; and what successes and challenges they have encountered. To this end, we developed surveys to investigate instructors' experience with foreign-language-medium instruction with respect to factors such as discipline, HEI type, instructional form and the extent of in-class foreign language use. These findings were complemented by a qualitative line of questioning exploring instructors' personal motivations, challenges and criticisms of the implementation of FLMI in Germany.

Our research differs from macro-level studies on the national or cross-national level dealing with degree programs (cf. Ammon and McConnell 2002; Maiworm and Wächter 2002; Coleman 2006; Wächter and Maiworm 2008) by instead focusing on the practical effects of FLMI on a micro-level, investigating the use of foreign language by individual instructors or in the environment of a single course (cf. Dewey and Duff 2009; Tatzl 2011). We conducted two surveys in 2013, one targeting International Offices at German HEIs to gain insight into the institutional stance towards FLMI (n = 64; Section 4); with a second, more extensive questionnaire survey of teaching staff (n = 1,032; Section 3) exploring their experience with and personal attitudes towards FLMI.

2 Background and context

In order to put the results of our study into context, it is first necessary to provide some background information on the German higher education system and its internationalization in particular.

2.1 Institutes of higher education in Germany

Germany has traditionally had two main types of higher education institute: universities (*Universitäten*) and universities of applied sciences (*Fachhochschulen*, or the more recent terms *Hochschulen für angewandte Wissenschaften* or *Technische Hochschulen*) (administered by the states, see e.g. Bayerisches Hochschulgesetz 2006). German universities offer classical subjects, such as philosophy, social sciences and natural sciences, in addition to fields such as medicine and law, and are typically more focused on research, in particular theoretical and fundamental research. Universities with a focus on engineering are often called technical universities, though they still offer a broad range of degree programs including classical subjects. In contrast, German universities of applied sciences (UAS) emerged in 1968 from the former system of engineering and professional schools, and have generally retained their focus on applied subjects such as business administration, engineering or social service (e.g. Wissenschaftsrat 2010). Universities of applied sciences originally did not conduct research, although beginning in the 1990s applied research was viewed as an important function.

Through the Bologna Process, German HEIs have become more similar, including the adoption of a three-cycle qualification system, with bachelor's and master's degrees from both universities and UAS on equal terms (in contrast to the former *Diplom* system, where university and UAS qualifications were not equivalent). One of the remaining differences between universities and UAS

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is found in the third cycle, with only universities entitled to award doctorate degrees (e.g. Bayerisches Hochschulgesetz 2006).

German HEIs may also be distinguished by their source of funding. Compared to publicly funded HEIs, private HEIs typically have a narrower course selection and fewer students (average 1051 students) (Frank et al. 2010). While publicly funded HEIs charge no tuition[1], the annual student fees at private HEIs range from €4000 to €11000 (Frank et al. 2010).

The main teaching posts at German HEIs are professors, research associates and post-docs (*wissenschaftliche Mitarbeiter*), lecturers (*Lehrkräfte für besondere Aufgaben*) and adjunct teaching staff (*Lehrbeauftragte*). Most professors obtain lifelong civil servant posts (*Beamtenstatus*), with the exception of junior professors (W1) or professors at private HEIs. Research associates and lecturers are usually employed on a temporary contract, while adjunct teaching staff are paid on an hourly basis and hired semester-by-semester.

2.2 Internationalization of higher education in Germany

Germany, like other European countries, is encouraged by the European Union to increase international mobility of students and academic staff through the Bologna Process (e.g. the Bucharest Ministerial Communiqué, European Commission 2012) and to promote language learning and multilingualism (European Commission 2008). In practice, a primary form of the internationalization of higher education is the spread of English-medium instruction (e.g. Nastansky 2004; Earls 2013), with English far outpacing other alternatives as the preferred second language at all stages of education in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2008, 2011).

Despite the typical anxieties about domain loss and marginalization of the national language (e.g. Ammon 2005; Ehlich 2005), there is little doubt that the use of English will continue to grow in German society and education (e.g. Earls 2013). Pragmatically, Germans view the spread of English as important to securing the country's political future and maintaining its strong export economy (Ammon 2001). The academy is concerned that English should not dominate higher education at the expense of German or other foreign languages (e.g. Hochschulrektorenkonferenz 2011), and Earls (2013) argues that English-medium

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1 The last German state to charge tuition to public universities is Lower Saxony, which intends to end its €500-per-semester tuition as of winter semester 2014/15 (dpa 2013).

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degree programs are far from attaining the critical mass necessary to depose German's status as the primary language of higher education.

3 Teaching staff survey

Higher education instructors play a key role in internationalization as they are often the ones implementing the educational policy. Thus, it is essential to the long-term success of the internationalization agenda that educators be trained and willing to fulfill their role.

3.1 Method

We surveyed teaching staff at German HEIs to explore quantitative and qualitative aspects of instructors' experience with foreign-language-medium instruction and in particular English-medium instruction. Teaching staff at German HEIs were invited to take part in a fifteen-minute online questionnaire survey on the platform Unipark from April 15, 2013, to June 21, 2013. (References in this paper to "current" language use therefore refer to the summer semester 2013.)

The survey was a structured questionnaire, including multiple choice, Likert scale responses, and additional open responses to give respondents the opportunity to express their feelings and attitudes in their own words as well as raise other issues. The survey was constructed so as to take different paths depending on the responses in order to gather the most relevant input for different sets of participants.

Instructors were alerted to the survey via the professional organizations *Deutscher Hochschulverband* and the *Hochschullehrerbund*, including the latter's monthly publication *Die neue Hochschule*; via the Oktopus Projekt, a virtual information portal for International Offices at German HEIs, with the request to forward the invitation to participate to teaching staff; as well as via personal network and the social networking sites Facebook, Xing.de and LinkedIn. Therefore, the sample of this study is not representative, but is instead intended to provide insight into the factors motivating educators to expand FLMI offerings as well as the challenges they encounter.

3.2 Sample

A total of 2,199 individuals visited the questionnaire survey of teaching staff on the Unipark website, of which 1,065 respondents completed the survey (com-

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pletion rate of just under 50%). We eliminated respondents who indicated their experience with foreign languages was confined to instruction of a foreign language rather than content courses as well as those who chose not to answer certain defining questions of the survey (e.g. socio-demographic variables), yielding 1,032 respondents who met our sample requirements (effective completion rate of 48.4%).

Two thirds of the respondents in our sample were male (65.6%), one third female (34.4%). Whereas the position of professor is dominated by men (77.8% male, 22.2% female), the ratio is nearly balanced for research associates and postdocs (47.9% male, 52.1% female). Professors had an average age of 49.5 years, research associates and postdocs of 34.5 years. Compared to the figures of the German Federal Statistical Office (2012), the gender ratio and the average age of professors in our sample correspond highly with the real distribution (here and in the following: calculations derived from Statistisches Bundesamt 2013). For research associates, the average age in our sample also shows high correlation with federal statistics; only the female predominance in the position of research associate is a slight anomaly in our sample (federal statistics report just over 40% female). As to the institution, 87.1% of the respondents are affiliated with a public HEI, 7.8% with a private HEI, and 5.1% with another educational institution.

Of the male respondents, nearly two thirds were professors (64.9%), while only one third of female respondents were professors (35.2%). Relatedly, as professors have a higher average age than other staff groups, the average age of male respondents was higher than for female respondents (average male age of 46.2 years, average female age of 39.6). Due to these interrelationships, the study results include several effects that are confounded for the factors of gender, position and age. Multivariate approaches may be able to isolate these effects in a later stage of analysis, but the primary objective of the current article is to provide a broadly descriptive snapshot of FLMI in Germany.

Looking at the distribution by subject area, there are significant discrepancies between our sample and federal statistics. Most of our respondents came from the field of engineering (30.0%), followed by business and economics (20.8%), social sciences and humanities (16.3%), and natural sciences and mathematics (15.8%). Other areas, like philology or medicine, are significantly underrepresented with respect to the German higher education landscape.

Our sample is significantly skewed to overrepresent teaching staff at UAS, with 49.5% of our respondents coming from a UAS and 39.7% from a university, as opposed to the federal averages of 23.2% of academic staff working at a UAS and 72.0% at a university. This discrepancy may be due to the differing missions at UAS and universities, with the applied scientific approach of a UAS implying

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a higher likelihood of participation in our survey. Several universities refused to distribute our independent survey as there is no affiliation with an official body such as the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD); no such responses were received from UAS. Furthermore, the authors hold professorships at UAS, which again may have influenced the likelihood of participation.

In our sample, 57.6% of the respondents from universities are male, and 42.4% female. Respondents from UAS are around three quarters male and one quarter female. These gender ratios approximate well the official statistics, where the proportion of male teaching staff is 60.8% at universities and 69.8% at UAS. The average age of respondents from universities (38.4) was noticeably lower than that of UAS (47.9).

Regarding the teaching position of our respondents, our sample is again skewed. According to the federal statistics, university teaching staff are composed of only 9.6% professors and 61.3% research associates and postdocs, while our sample contained nearly one quarter professors (24.1%) and two thirds (65.1%) research associates. At UAS the official ratio is different, with 20.6% of teaching staff professors and 11.7% research associates; yet the survey respondents from UAS were 80.6% professors and 8.1% research associates. Adjunct faculty make up over half of the teaching staff at UAS, but at 5.3% they were significantly underrepresented in our sample, most likely because the temporary, part-time nature of their position marginalizes adjunct staff.

In sum, we can say that the 1,032 respondents to our survey represent the current German HEI landscape well with respect to position and average age, and to a limited extent gender. However, both the distribution by subject area and by type of HEI show significant differences to the federal statistical average. As such, our study can provide good insight into trends and tendencies in FLMI in Germany, but should not be interpreted as a definitive or fully representational report.

3.3 Distribution of FLMI/EMI by academic factors

We obtained an academic snapshot of the use of FLMI in Germany, investigating the degree programs and class types where FLMI is offered by our respondents, as well as FLMI at different types of HEI. Respondents were asked to provide information on their FLMI teaching experience in content courses. Overall, 49.5% of respondents (n=511) reported that they had not taught in a language other than German, with 50.5% (n=521) reporting that they had taught in a foreign language, of which 98.3% (n=512) said they had taught in English.

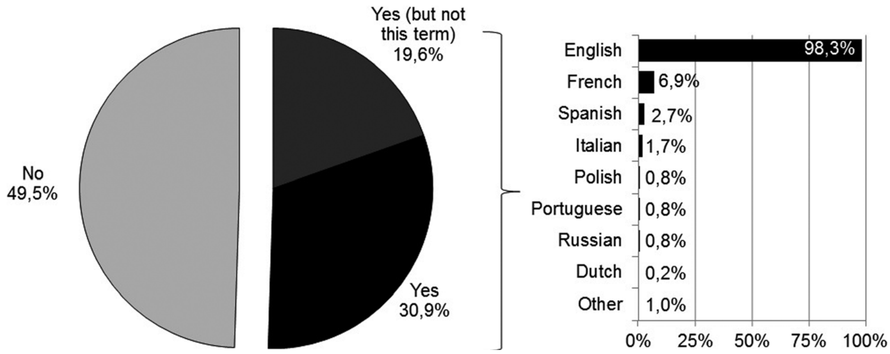

Figure 1: Experience with FLMI (n = 1,032) and foreign language distribution (n = 521, multiple responses possible)

UAS tended to be more likely to offer FLMI than universities, although this difference fell just short of being statistically significant.

The figure below differentiates respondents' experience with FLMI by subject area. The four subjects with the highest proportion of instructors with experience having ever taught FLMI – business and economics; agricultural science; art, design and music; and philology and cultural studies – also have the highest percentage of instructors who currently teach in a foreign language. Around three quarters of the teaching staff in these fields who have ever instructed in a foreign language were currently doing so. In contrast, only 40–60% of the teaching staff in other fields with experience in FLMI were currently teaching in a foreign language.

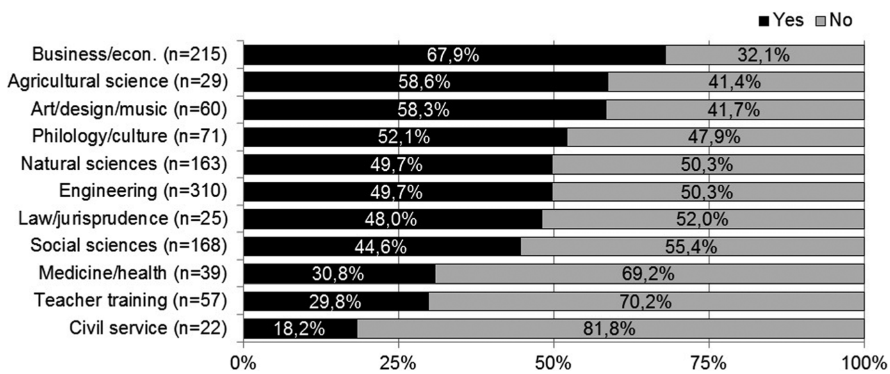

Figure 2: Experience with FLMI by discipline (n = 1,013, multiple responses possible)

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Looking at the absolute values, 154 respondents in the field of engineering reported that they had taught in a foreign language; 146 from business and economics; 81 from the natural sciences and mathematics; and 75 from the social sciences. These figures are of course influenced by the sample, but support other studies showing that these fields are the most popular for foreign-language-medium instruction in terms of absolute numbers (e.g. on the program level, Wächter and Maiworm 2008).

Respondents were further asked in which type of course they employed FLMI, with results given in Figure 3. Instructional forms were categorized into small group seminars, where discussion is encouraged (*Seminare*); lectures with frontal instruction (*Vorlesungen*); tutorial sessions in support of a lecture (*Übungen und Tutorien*); student projects (*Lehrprojekte*); and laboratory sessions (*Labore*). Other instructional forms cited by respondents with low frequency include excursions, internship semesters and simulations.

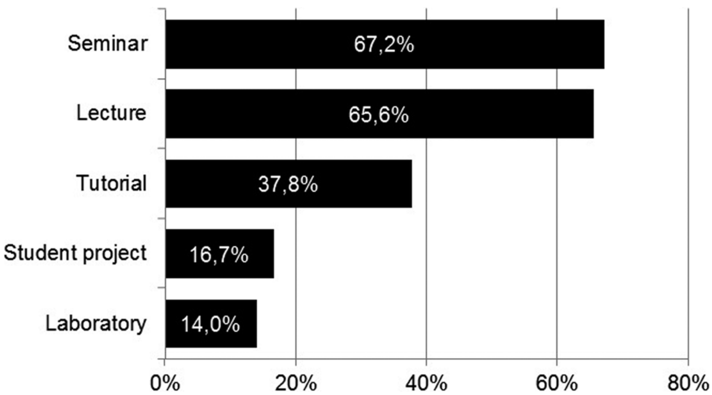

Figure 3: Instructional form of FLMI (n = 521, multiple responses possible)

We see that the most frequently used instructional types, seminars and lectures, were also the most common forums for FLMI. While English was by far the most common language in all classes, there was a tendency for other foreign languages such as French to be used more frequently in the intimate setting of a seminar. Tutorials saw a much lower role for FLMI, suggesting that even when a lecture was held in a foreign language, the tutorial session was continued in the German language, possibly as a tool to ensure that students have understood the course content.

Another instructional aspect explored in the survey of teaching staff was the type of degree in which FLMI was used. It was found that FLMI was used with about the same frequency for both bachelor's and master's programs, between

65% and 70%. The response rate for other degree programs, most notably doctorate, was not high enough to provide a robust picture.

A clear message derived from the open responses to the survey was the view that FLMI should ideally be employed at later stages of education or in elective courses. Sample remarks characterizing this perspective were "[b]achelor degrees should be completed in the native language (at least for a considerable portion) to first acquire the subject's basic principles," and "[w]hen dealing with elective courses, the acceptance [by students] is very high. But if compulsory courses like mathematics or statistics were taught in English, there would probably be complaints".

Respondents were further asked to characterize their in-class language use. Half of the respondents reported that the foreign language presence was very high or the sole language of instruction; a cumulative 70% said that the foreign language accounted for more than half of the language content. However, these figures may also be a social desirability effect, with respondents wanting to believe or appear that the proportion of foreign language content is higher than objective reality. There was no significant correlation between instructional form and the extent of foreign language usage in an FLMI course; a correlation here may have revealed e.g. that frontal lectures tend to be exclusively in the foreign language, while the accompanying tutorial employs code switching between the foreign language and the domestic language. As it is, the extent of instructor-led foreign language use appears to be independent of the instructional form; in student projects, however, the level of domestic language use was much higher.

Fluent and native speakers of a foreign language were much more likely to have a high extent of foreign language usage in their courses, which further supports the conclusion that FLMI instructors are self-selecting – those who feel comfortable in the foreign language opt to teach FLMI, with less confident speakers able to avoid this task. However, an unexpected finding was that over half of respondents who rated their own English language ability as "good" to "very good" (but not proficient; CEFR B1–B2) nonetheless reported that the English language accounted for more than half of their course content (32.8% holding courses exclusively in English; 19.7% with high English content).[2] However, self-evaluation of language skills is notoriously subjective, and academics may arguably have higher expectations of proficiency, as acknowledged in informant comments like: "I find my English competency to be quite good, I present

2 Respondents were asked to self-assess their language competency based on a scale referring to both natural language terms and the CEFR. The term *verhandlungssicher* (C2) is higher proficiency than "simply" fluent (*fließend*; C1).

at international conferences, write English publications, etc. That is why I know exactly what I do wrong and what differentiates me from a native speaker. But perhaps I am just too much of a perfectionist."

Some of the respondents who reported that their use of FLMI varied depending on the lesson (n = 27; 5.2%) indicated this was due to the differing occasions and environments (German was the primary language of instruction but English was used when necessary, e.g. while on an excursion abroad or to accommodate visiting academics). However, several respondents reported that their foreign language use declined as the semester progressed: the instructor originally planned to teach a class of native German students in English, but the students requested for the instructor to switch to German part way through the course.

3.4 Socio-demography of FLMI/EMI teaching staff

Now we turn our investigation to the teaching staff themselves in order to develop a picture of the individuals offering FLMI in Germany. In addition to standard socio-demographic data such as age and gender, we explored respondents' academic position and affiliation.

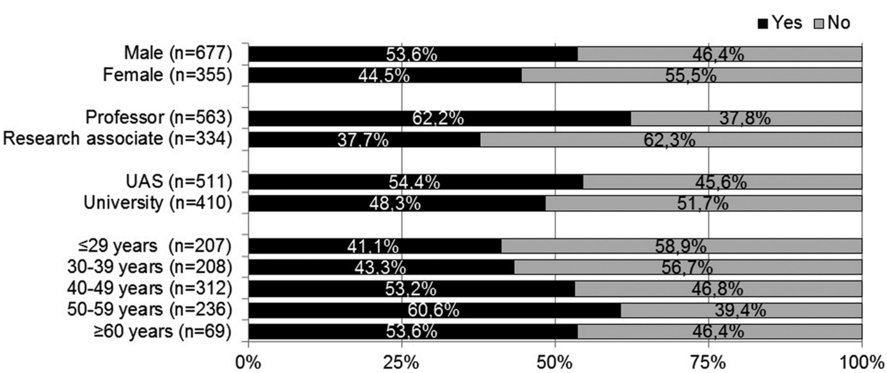

Figure 4: Experience with FLMI

The data shows that men are more likely to have taught in a foreign language, both with respect to their entire teaching career (53.6% of men versus 44.5% of women) and in the current semester (33.5% of men versus 25.9% of women). This gender effect is closely linked with other factors, such as the higher average age of male respondents and the higher likelihood of male respondents to be professors rather than other academic staff, such that the individual effects of these factors cannot be singled out at present. A strong

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determiner for likelihood to offer FLMI is the respondent's position at the HEI, with around two thirds of professors reporting that they have at some point held FLMI, but only one third of other teaching staff. Instructors at UAS are also more likely to have held a content course in a foreign language.

Finally, age appears to influence FLMI experience. It is unsurprising that the response rate for having taught in a foreign language at any point in one's career would increase with age, given the greater overall teaching experience. However, older instructors were also more likely to be currently teaching in a foreign language (e.g. 38.6% of 50–59 year olds versus 23.7% of respondents 29 years or younger). The direct relationship between age and likelihood to have taught FLMI is contravened by the oldest age bracket, respondents 60 years and older, where there is a reversal in the upwards trend, although at 53.6% this group is still the second most likely to have conducted FLMI. This generational break may be linked to the historical development of school curricula in Germany. In the Federal Republic of Germany, the *Hamburger Abkommen* of 1964 (implemented nationally in 1967) brought the mandatory introduction of a foreign language forward from secondary school to the fifth grade (Kultusministerkonferenz [1964] 1971). Meanwhile, the German Democratic Republic mandated Russian lessons from the fifth grade with an optional second foreign language in the seventh or ninth grade, but participation in English or French lessons was modest (Pfeil 2007). As such, respondents who were 60 or older at the time of our survey would have begun learning English or French, the most popular languages for FLMI in Germany, later than younger respondents. This age group was indeed more likely than others to report that they considered their language skills insufficient to teach in a foreign language (59.4%), although the lower number of respondents from this age group (n=69) weaken this finding.

3.5 Characterization of teaching staff motivations, challenges and support mechanisms

Another goal of our study was to identify the factors that influenced instructors' reasons for or against teaching in a foreign language and their subjective experiences. Respondents who have taught in a foreign language were asked about their intrinsic and extrinsic motivations, while those who had never instructed in a foreign language were asked slightly different questions, exploring their reasons for having taught exclusively in German. Both sets of respondents were further asked about any perceived or experienced barriers to the implementation of FLMI.

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As to the value of offering FLMI, 60.9% of all respondents agreed that FLMI is important, with a further 22.6% undecided; 16.5% felt that FLMI was unimportant. Respondents from UAS were significantly more likely to say that FLMI is important. Men were somewhat less likely than women to agree, although this tendency fell short of statistical significance. There were no significant differences with respect to age.

3.5.1 Motivation for offering FLMI

Respondents who have taught in a foreign language were asked to characterize their motivations. They were given a catalog of anticipated answers and asked to rank their agreement with a statement on a four-point Likert scale, as well as given the option to provide their own open responses.

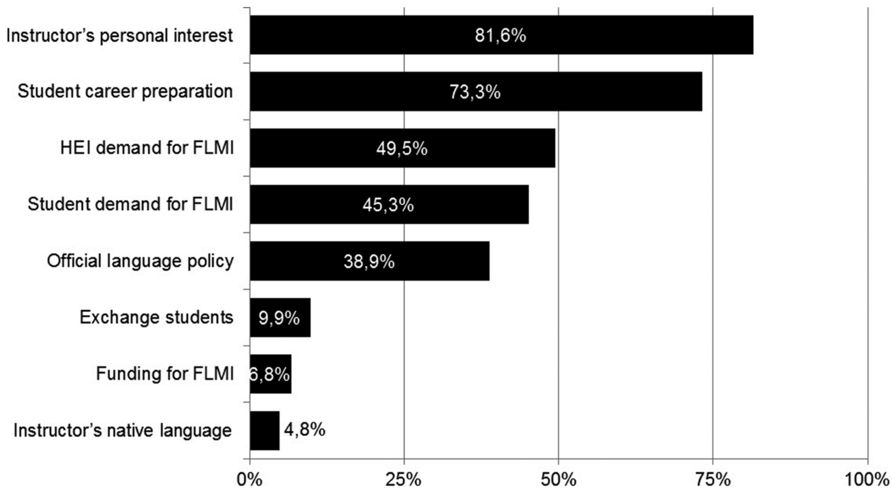

Figure 5: Reasons for teaching in a foreign language (those who agree or somewhat agree with the statements; n = 517, multiple responses possible)

As the data shows, the overwhelming reason that teaching staff engage in FLMI is personal interest. This high personal commitment alongside the finding that only around half of all respondents have ever taught in a foreign language suggests that instructors offering FLMI in Germany are primarily self-selecting. Accordingly, instructors who do not wish to teach in a foreign language, whatever their reasons, are generally able to avoid the task. The self-selection of instructors is in contrast to the language policy often seen e.g. in the Netherlands and the Nordic countries (e.g. Coleman 2006, Wächter and Maiworm 2008).

Personal interest was frequently combined with a desire to use their own experience with a foreign language to benefit students, as expressed in statements like: “I personally studied in English, and I know the advantages”. This wish to serve students’ best interests dovetails into the second strongest motivating factor for FLMI, preparing students for their future careers. These two drivers were the only two cited by a majority of respondents. Although instructors see FLMI as important to students’ futures, they reported that student demand for foreign language instruction was significantly lower. This perceptual gap is likely due to the experience of teaching staff in how mastery of a foreign language has benefited them professionally or academically.

Two prominent extrinsic drivers for FLMI were on an institutional level. About half of respondents reported that their HEI strongly encourages FLMI, while nearly two in five responded that this institutional push was codified as the official language of the module, degree program or HEI. This finding shows that while the institutional drive for HEIs is in many cases formalized through language policy, instructors also conduct FLMI when not officially required in an effort to satisfy the academy.

A final major rationale for offering FLMI was to promote the internationalization of the HEI by accommodating foreign students with poor German skills or increasing the attractiveness of their HEI for exchange opportunities. This rationale is related to instructors’ perceptions of the university demand for FLMI, but internationalization regrettably was not explicitly included in the catalog of responses we provided. With nearly 10% of respondents nominating this answer independently, the response rate would almost certainly have been higher if it had been included in the questionnaire. FLMI as a concession to non-German-speaking students was viewed enthusiastically by some: “[FLMI] makes the involvement of students with no or poor German possible, which enormously enriches the class”. However, others viewed FLMI as a chore, typified by statements such as: [“I teach in a foreign language because of the] high number of exchange students who need it, and colleagues who won’t do it”.

External funding opportunities had a very low citation rate and presumably were not a true incentive, but instead viewed as an additional benefit available when stronger motivations, such as personal interest or institutional demands, had already provided the impulse to offer FLMI. Additional minor factors mentioned (each under 3%) include access to foreign language publications, international cooperation projects and experiences teaching abroad.

Universities and UAS correspond well overall with respect to their reasons for offering FLMI. However, university instructors were slightly more likely to cite student demand, while the teaching staff at UAS reported higher pressure from the HEI to hold FLMI. There were no stark gender or age effects, though

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professors were more likely to see student career preparation as a motivating factor, while research associates more frequently attributed their foreign-language-medium instruction to official language policy.

3.5.2 Challenges to offering FLMI

Respondents who have held FLMI were asked about the problems they had experienced, whereas those who indicated they had not held a content course in a foreign language were asked their reasons why not. Recall from Figure 1 that these two groups are approximately the same size. All respondents were asked to agree or disagree with a catalog of possible answers on a four-point Likert scale, and respondents who had never taught in a foreign language were also provided the optional reply that they were fully booked with domestic-language instruction. All respondents were given the opportunity to expand on their experience or present other rationales in open responses.

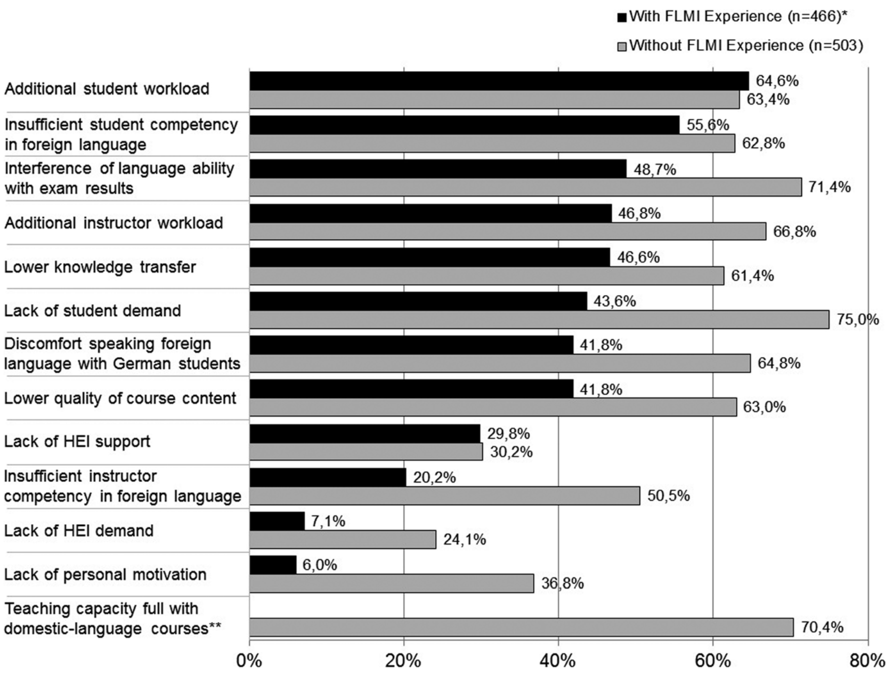

Figure 6: Experienced and perceived challenges to teaching in a foreign language (those who agree or somewhat agree with the statements; multiple responses possible)

* N values differ slightly from previous figures as not all respondents completed all sections of the survey.

** Category not offered for respondents with FLMI experience

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As we found in Figure 5 above, instructors who have taught foreign-language-medium courses clearly distinguished between motivations, with personal interest and student career preparation providing the strongest incentives. In contrast, instructors with no previous experience teaching FLMI have an arsenal of de-motivations, with approximately two thirds to three quarters of respondents agreeing with nearly all the catalog reasons against offering FLMI. The only factors that were cited with lower frequency were the instructor's insufficient foreign language proficiency, reported by half of respondents; a lack of personal motivation and institutional support (one third); and a lack of institutional interest in FLMI (one quarter).

On the whole, instructors with experience with FLMI perceived fewer problems than educators with no experience with FLMI. This finding again suggests that FLMI practitioners are self-selecting, with their personal positive attitude towards foreign-language-medium instruction influencing the decision to hold FLMI courses. Unsurprisingly, practitioners of FLMI appear to be more comfortable engaging in a foreign language, with respondents less likely to cite their own foreign language competence, an increase in their own workload, discomfort using the foreign language or lack of personal motivation as problems.

Both groups are in agreement that the closely related problems of additional student workload, students' lack of foreign language competency and the bias of language skills on examination results were among the most significant problems. Our survey figures reported by teaching staff at German HEIs are in strong contrast to the findings of Maiworm and Wächter (2008), whose Europe-wide study found that only 16% of respondents cited a lack of English knowledge among foreign students and 9% among domestic students as problematic (cf. Tatzl 2011, who also found a large discrepancy between the Maiworm and Wächter figures and the perceived language proficiency levels in his Austrian study).

Practitioners versus non-practitioners also exhibited large perceptual differences of the demand for FLMI by other stakeholders, with 75.0% of non-practitioners versus 43.6% of FLMI practitioners reporting a lack of student demand, and 24.1% of non-practitioners versus 7.1% of practitioners citing low HEI interest in FLMI. Nonetheless, nearly one third of both groups reported that a lack of institutional support was problematic (see also Section 3.5.3.).

In their open responses, FLMI practitioners identified the challenge of differing language levels of students, a seemingly universal difficulty (Wächter and Maiworm 2008). Lower student participation in the classroom was also a frequently cited hurdle, both in terms of fostering an interactive learning environment and receiving feedback as an educator, for example: "Even more so than in German-language classes, it is unclear how much knowledge is retained, as the active class participation is lower". The preparation and correction of English-

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language exam materials were also perceived as more challenging.[3] Several respondents indicated a change in their teaching style due to their own limitations in the foreign language, expressed by comments such as: “It is more difficult to express personal things, jokes, experiences”, reflecting findings in other studies (e.g. Airey 2011 and sources cited within). Practitioners and non-practitioners alike reported difficulty finding suitable foreign-language literature – even for English, perhaps due to the overwhelming selection.

Hindrances cited by non-practitioners in their open responses with some frequency include official language policies, such as foundation courses or a degree program being offered solely in German, or inappropriateness to the subject, with remarks such as “[n]o, it’s just insanity for a German to teach Germans German content, for example German tax law, in English”. Numerous respondents bemoaned poor German language skills by domestic students, who would therefore be overwhelmed by another language, for example: “If students do not even have accurate command of their own native language, they should at least have the chance to improve their German language abilities during their studies”. The cult of the native speaker was a frequently mentioned theme, for example: “FLMI conducted by a non-native speaker doesn’t achieve anything, except an increase in misunderstandings due to the language barrier”. However, a few respondents viewed intercultural English use more pragmatically, with one commenting, “[t]he students must often first learn that it isn’t about speaking perfect Oxford English, but that they must be able to express themselves appropriately in a common non-native-language with someone from Poland, Finland, Italy, China, Portugal, etc”. Interestingly, there was a frequent perception that a foreign language would be more appropriate in another subject, with respondents from the social sciences saying that their field is too theoretically complex but that English would be appropriate in the natural sciences or engineering; while instructors of technical subjects said that their material was too difficult in German let alone a foreign language, but that a foreign language would be appropriate for a “softer” field (see also the discussion of disciplinary differences in Kuteeva and Airey 2014).

Despite the strong array of obstacles toward offering FLMI perceived by non-practitioners, 28.0% of the respondents who have not yet conducted FLMI say they would be willing to do so, with an additional 36.5% saying they would be moderately willing. Nonetheless, over one third of respondents reported they are unwilling to teach in a foreign language in Germany, evidenced by comments such as: “Students who are interested in a foreign language should go abroad

3 In Germany, the final grade is often based on a single final written examination (*Klausur*), making the formulation of this exam crucial.

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(that's what the Erasmus program is there for)," or "Why should we steer foreign students to Germany, only to deprive them of the culture through English-medium instruction?".

Many practitioners also viewed English-medium instruction as a necessary but regrettable aspect of international education, with comments such as: "I would categorically not teach in a foreign language, if all students could speak German. The foreign language itself has hardly any value". Just as instructors of FLMI appear to self-select based on personal interest, the same was reported for students: "[FLMI] merely appeals to those who are interested in language and are already quite good students at the expense of lower knowledge transfer. This in turn particularly impacts the students with poorer technical skills" (a phenomenon also reported e.g. in Hellekjær and Wilkinson 2003).

Numerous respondents were concerned that FLMI should not be restricted to the English language, for example: "HEIs unfortunately put too much emphasis on English. French is neglected, although France and Germany are the most important European trading partners for one other. Other languages are also underrepresented". Conversely, a number of respondents were equally astounded by our survey's investigation of all foreign languages, as expressed by remarks such as: "The questions are always about foreign-language-medium instruction, but please be clear: Only English comes into question! What's the point if I offer courses in Japanese?".

3.5.3 Support mechanisms for the implementation of FLMI

As we found in the preceding section, approximately one third of both FLMI practitioners and non-practitioners viewed a lack of institutional support as an obstacle to the realization of FLMI course offerings. Indeed, only 23.2% of respondents reported receiving any support toward the implementation of FLMI. The actual rate of institutional support is in fact likely lower, as numerous respondents indicated that they were counting moral support, personal relationships, self-financed training, or experiences abroad during their own studies or careers (but not supported by the HEI or another organization). The support received can be broken down as shown in Figure 7.

The support available to promote FLMI may be characterized as one of two types: instrumental, tools which enable adequate delivery of a course in a foreign language; or compensatory, in recognition of the instructor for the additional workload towards offering FLMI, especially during the transitional or course development phases. Instrumental support includes the creation or improvement of foreign-language course materials, language and methodological

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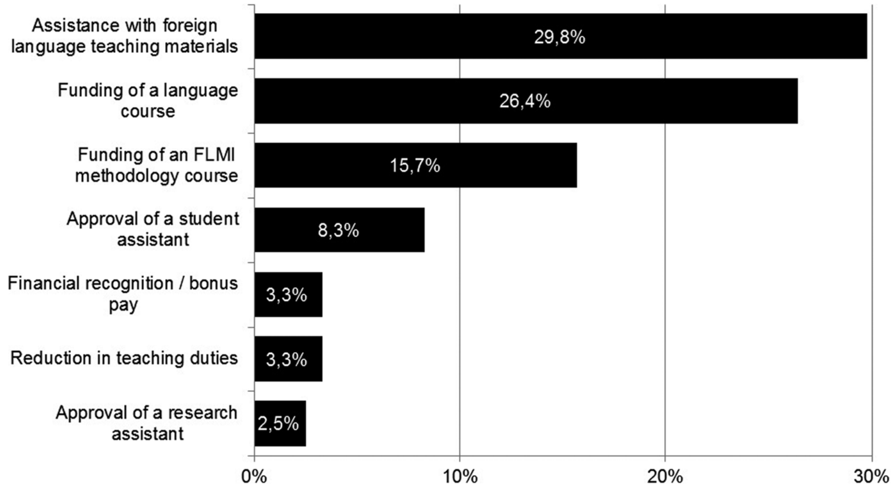

Figure 7: Support received towards implementing FLMI (n = 121, multiple responses possible)

courses for better delivery of foreign-language offerings (which may in fact impose an additional cost on the instructor, e.g. the time investment to attend a course), or provision of an assistant. Compensatory support, on the other hand, rewards the instructor for participating in FLMI with bonus pay or a teaching reduction[4].

As Figure 7 shows, the support provided by German HEIs is overwhelmingly instrumental, facilitating the delivery of foreign-language medium courses. Compensatory support for the instructor was found to be nearly nonexistent. Delivery-focused instrumental support is doubtless beneficial to instructors and improves the overall quality of FLMI offerings, but it provides little incentive to the nearly 50% who have never taught in a foreign language. The lack of compensatory support was raised by several respondents, for instance: "Where is the motivational system for the instructors to become more involved, that is, what exactly does an instructor get from changing their courses [to FLMI]?".

4 Assistance with foreign-language course materials or the approval of additional staff are in practice deployed instrumentally, but theoretically they could be compensatory. For example, proof reading of an instructor's self-prepared foreign-language materials would be deemed instrumental support, as the instructor has personally completed the brunt of the work and proof reading simply enhances delivery; likewise, a (fluent or native-speaker) teaching assistant could facilitate the delivery of FLMI. In theory, each of these could be extended to de facto compensation – if the materials support or teaching assistant cover a greater workload than that incurred by holding FLMI, the instructor essentially receives a workload reduction.

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In light of the overall low levels of institutional support for FLMI, several respondents expressed frustration ("The HEI advertises itself with its foreign language offerings and requires them as part of the appointment process, but in practice there is no demand or support") or even surprise that institutional support for FLMI might be available. The dearth of institutional support runs contrary to the general view that educators should be assisted during their transition to English-medium instruction (e.g. Kurtán 2003), although a lack of support is a commonly reported challenge to the internationalization of higher education (e.g. Dafouz and Núñez 2009, in reference to Spain; Tatzl 2011, in reference to Austria). In Germany, support structures for the development of EMI are typically present on the level of the institution, if at all. Especially larger universities (and less so UAS) offer support to instructors teaching in English. Some supra-institutional support is available, for example a week-long EMI preparation course in London promoted by the federally and state-funded DAAD, but at €950 excluding travel and accommodation, the price may be prohibitively expensive. Another example is the Center for Higher Education Didactics (*DiZ Zentrum für Hochschuldidaktik*), jointly funded by UAS in the state of Bavaria, which has in the past offered EMI preparatory training but now no longer offers this course due to insufficient registrations (p.c. Franz Waldherr, Director of the DiZ).

4 Institutional survey

International Offices (IO) are responsible for a central aspect of internationalization – international exchanges of students and staff – and, depending on the institution, other strategic plans like the promotion of FLMI. As already seen in the teaching staff survey, there is some disconnect between instructors and policy makers/administrators, raising the question of how IOs perceive internationalization policy and their role in its implementation.

4.1 Method

A second, independent survey was conducted on an institutional level in order to provide a better understanding of the HEI's goals and motivations for providing FLMI. We invited employees at International Offices (IO) at German HEIs to participate in an online survey; this group of respondents was selected to provide insight into the institute's perspectives and implementation of FLMI

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because the IO is a primary stakeholder in internationalization. We found that the IO is often directly involved with the administration or policymaking regarding FLMI; and that even when foreign language policy is guided by another body, the IO typically has a good understanding of the status and institutional attitudes towards FLMI due to their work with incoming exchange students.

The approximately ten-minute questionnaire survey was conducted on the online platform Unipark from March 4–21, 2013. (This survey took place chronologically before the survey of teaching staff described in Section 4, in order to provide context for which aspects to focus on.) Representatives of the IO were invited to participate via the Oktopus Projekt, an online information portal for International Offices sponsored by the DAAD.

4.2 Sample

Two hundred and three individuals accessed our survey, of which 64 responses were relevant to the current study for completion of the key enquiries into the implementation of FLMI (completion rate 32%). The responses here therefore represent approximately 15% of German HEIs. Of the respondents, 51.1% work at a UAS, 34.0% at a university, 8.5% at a musical or arts university, and 6.4% at a vocational college. With respect to the institutions, 74.5% are publicly funded, 19.1% privately, and 6.4% have a different funding structure. The number of enrolled students ranged from 200 to 50,000, with an average of 7,901 students.

4.3 Presence of EMI and FLMI

The majority of respondents (90.6%) indicated that their HEI offers English-medium instruction. The data in Figure 8 indicates a tendency that EMI is less likely to be offered at UAS, at public HEIs, and at small HEIs, where resources and capacity are likely to be lower. Due to the small number of respondents, the results here are primarily limited to only EMI and not all foreign languages, and represent only tendencies.

Instruction of content courses in languages other than English was much lower; next most prevalent were French (21.9% of HEIs), Spanish (20.3%), Italian (10.9%) and Mandarin (9.4%). There was a strong contrast between the availability of non-English FLMI at universities (73.3%) to UAS (12.5%). However, the greatest correlating factor with the presence of non-English FLMI was the size of the student population, with nearly 90% of HEIs with more than 10,000 students reporting non-English FLMI, but less than 20% of smaller institutes.

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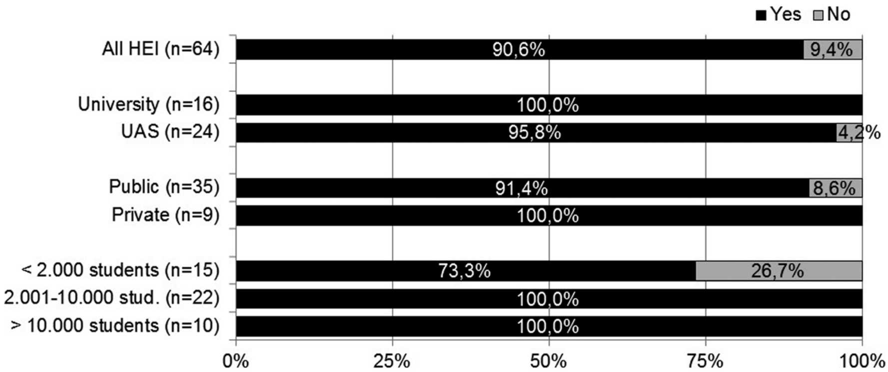

Figure 8: Presence of EMI

4.4 Institutional motivations for EMI

The survey of International Offices also investigated the institutional motivations and support structures for increasing the presence of EMI. IOs were asked to characterize their motivations for offering EMI on a four-point Likert scale, with the opportunity to provide an open response if desired.

The top three factors shown in Figure 9 correspond well with the institutional motivations identified by Wächter and Maiworm (2008), although their

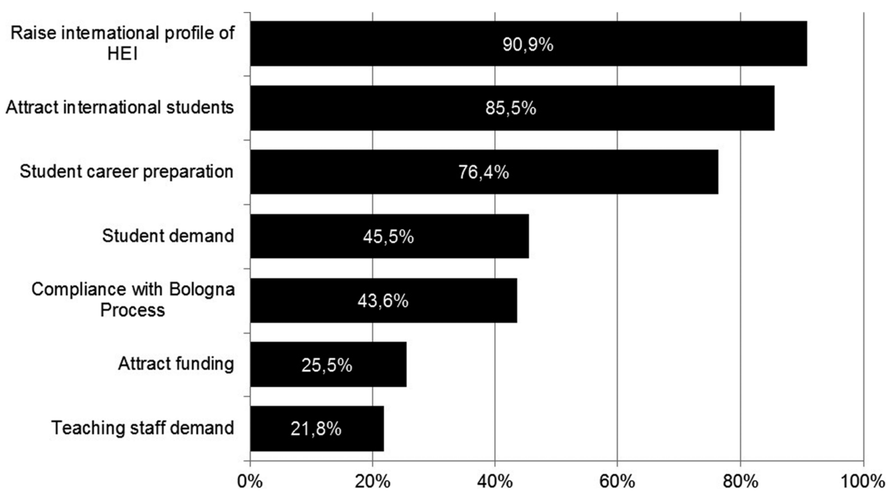

Figure 9: Reasons for offering EMI (those who agree or somewhat agree with the statements; n = 55, multiple responses possible)

third factor, sharpening the institutional profile, ranked first among International Offices. The fourth and fifth place motivators identified by Wächter and Maiworm, securing the research base by attracting international PhD students and providing education to students from the developing world, were not among the reported motivations in our sample.

The prominent motivation to train students in English as preparation for their future careers (76.4%) aligns with the responses from teaching staff described in Section 3.5.1., where 73.3% of instructors cited career preparation as a motivating factor. External drivers, such as compliance with the Bologna process or third-party funding, were deemed less important and cited by under half of the IOs. Around half of respondents (45.5%) viewed student demand as an important motivator, which again corresponds with the instructor responses (45.3%). However, less than one quarter of respondents at International Offices perceived instructor demand as an important driver. Given that 60% of respondents to the teaching staff survey said they believed FLMI is important, and half of them have conducted foreign-language-medium instruction with the large majority of these reporting a personal interest in FLMI, the figure for instructor demand as reported by the International Offices appears low. This disparity may be because an IO, as a primarily student-serving organization, has higher contact with students and therefore a stronger perception of their demand for EMI.

A final important finding of the institutional-level survey deals with the role of the IO. When asked if the promotion of EMI was important for the IO, 53.5% responded that it was important, while 28.5% said reported that it was less important or unimportant to their mission. A further 17.9% indicated that the promotion of EMI was not one of their duties.

5 Conclusion

Our investigation found that about half of the teaching staff at German institutes of higher education have taught a content course in a language other than German, with the fields of business administration, natural sciences and engineering most likely to employ FLMI. Of those who have taught in a foreign language, only around half of them reported using the foreign language (nearly) exclusively; the rest employed code switching to various degrees. The instructors who offer FLMI were found to be primarily intrinsically motivated, with personal interest in FLMI being the most commonly cited driving factor, followed by a desire to prepare students for their future careers.

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Combining the comparatively low participation in FLMI (only half of instructors have ever taught in a foreign language and three in ten were actively engaged in FLMI at the time of the survey in 2013) with the finding that the chief motivation for instructors to conduct FLMI is personal interest strongly suggests that the majority of instructors of FLMI are self-selecting at this stage of development. In contrast, non-practitioners of FLMI overwhelmingly agreed with an array of rationales against offering FLMI, indicating that this group of respondents has for the most part canonically opted out of foreign-language-medium instruction. The opt-in/opt-out culture is further fuelled by large perceptual differences of other stakeholders' interests in foreign-language-medium instruction: 75% of non-practitioners report a lack of student interest in FLMI versus 44% of practitioners, and 24% of non-practitioners report a lack of institutional interest in FLMI versus 7% of practitioners.

Practitioners and non-practitioners alike identified the same core difficulty in conducting FLMI in Germany, namely inadequate student foreign language proficiency, with two derived effects: the increased student workload and the unwanted interference of language proficiency on examination results. Both groups also cited a lack of support towards the implementation of FLMI, and indeed only 23% of practitioners reported receiving any institutional support. In particular, measures to reward instructors for conducting FLMI, dubbed here compensatory support, were in short supply; nearly all support measures were aimed at increasing the quality of FLMI (instrumental support) with no direct benefit to the instructor.

While the implementation has been swift in Germany, the administrative structures and support mechanisms to increase the availability and quality of FLMI/EMI are still being developed. As identified in other studies of internationalization (e.g. Dewey and Duff 2009), the low levels of funding, coordination and information provide significant barriers to the continuing spread of FLMI, in particular for educators who are not intrinsically motivated. We believe that the lack of extrinsic incentives for instructors to engage in FLMI, alongside the reported inadequate levels of student foreign language competency, will result in a deceleration of the introduction of new foreign-language-medium offerings in Germany; otherwise the continued expansion of FLMI at the current pace before administrative and (secondary) educational structures are able to catch up will be resisted by students and educators alike, and ultimately result in a decline in the quality of (foreign-language-medium) higher education in Germany. Meanwhile, Germany can continue to seek a viable path to internationalize higher education, in part through FLMI, while averting domain loss of the German language in research and academia.

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Acknowledgements

We are grateful to Sibylle Möbius, Rosenheim University of Applied Sciences; Philipp Lechleiter, editor of the Oktopus Projekt; the organizers of the EiE conference on the English Language in Teaching in Higher Education; and, of course, the survey respondents.

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David Lasagabaster

5 Multilingual language policy: Is it becoming a misnomer at university level?

Abstract: Globalisation-related forces are preventing university authorities from implementing any language policy that does not regard English as its axis, and by doing so offering little more than a watered down version of the adjective *multilingual*. It is a highly topical issue in the case of higher education institutions in which English has to coexist with official bilingualism. The University of the Basque Country is a very good case in point, as it is a bilingual institution in Basque and Spanish that since 2005 has promoted foreign language-medium teaching. However, English reigns supreme and the vast majority of courses are delivered in this language.

The participants in this study were 153 teaching staff and administration personnel who completed an open-ended item questionnaire. The aim was to find out exactly what they felt about the effects of the UBC's multilingual language policy. The results indicate that most comments were positive and the respondents did not seem to be troubled about the impact of the hegemony of English on the implementation of multilingual schemes, as confirmed by the almost total absence of references to languages other than English.

Keywords: multilingual language policies, English, minority language

1 Introduction

The world is more globalised than ever before and the spread of English is a side-effect of this process, but neither globalisation nor language spread are new to the history of the world, which is why there is a need to analyse the latter more critically (Mufwene 2013). The question that triggered this paper is whether the hegemonic role that English plays as the current lingua franca in the European Higher Education Area (EHEA) is in fact watering down the objective of boosting multilingualism.

In the EHEA, English plays a leading and increasing role, as reflected in the rise of courses delivered in this language all over the continent. In fact, "university-level students are expected to have a high level of English language

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proficiency" (Smit and Dafouz 2012: 3), students are surprised if "instructors do not speak English more fluently" (Llurda, Cots, and Armengol 2013: 219), and "both international and local students clearly identify English as the necessary language in order to transform the university into a multilingual one" (Llurda, Cots, and Armengol 2013: 220). In June 2013 the High Level Group on the Modernisation of Higher Education (McAleese et al. 2013: 66) sent a report to the European Commission on improving the quality of teaching and learning in Europe's almost 4,000 higher education institutions. The report included 16 recommendations, and recommendation 12 is the one most closely linked to this paper:

> Higher education institutions should develop and implement holistic internationalisation strategies as an integral part of their overall mission and functions. Increased mobility of students and staff, international dimension of curricula, international experience of faculty, *with a sufficient command of English and a second foreign language* (my emphasis) and intercultural competences, transnational delivery of courses and degrees, and international alliances should become indispensable components of higher education in Europe and beyond.

In January and February 2013 the European University Association (2013) surveyed higher education institutions regarding their expectations concerning the internationalisation of higher education establishments participating in the EHEA. Responses from 175 higher education institution in 38 countries were received and all but one underscored that their strategy had had a positive effect on their institution's internationalisation, particularly with regards to student and staff mobility and teaching in English. In fact, 67% of them acknowledged that they were offering more courses in English. When the respondents were asked to make suggestions to enhance internationalisation, one of the most frequently mentioned aspects was the need to improve students' and staff's language skills by offering more courses in English or in other foreign languages so as to internationalise both the curriculum and the classroom. Therefore, both the High Level Group and the universities participating in the European University Association's survey took English for granted as an inherent part of universities' internationalisation strategies, but also advised knowledge of a second foreign language.

A review of the literature brings to light the fact that, although many European higher education institutions have multilingualism as one of their main language policy objectives, English is making this aim unviable due to its adverse effect not only upon other foreign languages, but also upon national languages (see Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013a for a compendium of different contexts the world over). Van der Walt (2013: 28) puts it bluntly, "A monolingual

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worldview is evident and pressure to use one language, English, is persistent. The tension that HEIs (higher education institutions) live with as they manage the demands of local and international students is evident here." Therefore, the role of English has a bearing on both national and international students, as the former learn English before any other foreign language and, on many occasions, only those foreign students that are proficient in English are attracted. In fact, international students whose first foreign language is not English are becoming rare in many university contexts (Haberland and Risager 2008).

And this trend is also observable as regards the teaching staff. In fact, Bocanegra-Valle (2013) completed a study in which European scholars were asked about the role of English in their publications. The results indicated that the hegemony of English is irreversible due to global and supranational inter-related driving forces and the passivity of educational authorities. Thus, university teaching staff are requested to publish in high-impact journals whose working language is English if they are to achieve tenure or promotion. Flowerdew (2013) labels this process *self-perpetuating*, because the higher the number of researchers who write their research papers in English (the bigger the critical mass), the more publications in English are disseminated (the more readers it attracts). And since university trains experts in a wide variety of fields, this tendency is also reaching a wider spectrum of the social sphere, such as the business world, where the role of English as a leading language is undisputed. Nonetheless, studies demonstrate that there is a shortage of foreign language skills in European companies and a dire need to learn other languages that will allow the conquest of new markets (Darqueness 2011).

There appear to be two main standpoints regarding this. On the one hand, according to some authors (Brutt-Griffler 2002; Graddol 2006; King et al. 2008; Seidlhofer 2011), English should not be regarded as an obstacle, but rather as an opportunity to share a language for international communication. These authors state that researchers should focus on the implications of its dominant role and should direct their efforts to analysing how multilingualism can be bolstered, instead of complaining about its imposition on the periphery. In her analysis of empirical data Brutt-Griffler (2002: 190) concludes that the spread of English is not simply a top-down process and that people from many different parts of the world have actively participated in creating World English, "The present work suggests that speakers of other languages have both spread and changed English, transforming it into World English". From this perspective of the ineluctable role of English as the current *lingua franca* due to the confluence of diverse global forces, perhaps we need to look at how it is affecting the spread of multilingualism at tertiary level instead of becoming exhausted by swimming against too powerful a tide.

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Mufwene (2013) criticises what he terms the *fallacy of global English*, as it is spoken by only 20% of the population in the Outer Circle (Kachru 1992) and by an even smaller percentage in the Expanding Circle; in addition, he also underscores that the presence of English remains negligible on the margins of economic globalisation. Mufwene finds it striking that, despite the money and time invested in teaching English in countries such as Japan or South Korea, the number of confident speakers does not live up to expectations and is in fact rather limited. But this is not the case of Europe, where English is the first foreign language, and its expansion can be observed even in countries which used to be under the former Soviet Union's umbrella (Eurydice 2012). Mufwene (2013: 51) concludes that it is legitimate to speak of "English as a global language", its geographical spread allowing it to serve as an international lingua franca in various domains – a clear example being at university level – but not to make English responsible for endangering the vitality of other European languages.

On the other hand, some voices are extremely critical about how internationalisation is being tackled at universities and claim that the process actually means English-medium instruction (Phillipson 2006; see also Phillipson in this volume). Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (2011) find it striking that the Bologna Process makes no reference to languages, bilingual degrees or multilingualism. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2013) state that the historical, economic and political context of globalisation entails English linguistic neo-imperialism and a tendency toward linguistic homogenisation, which fails to situate English within the wider language ecology. These authors are very concerned about scholars who project a neutral image of English as just a tool and seem to be unaware that there are many lingua francas in Europe (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2013: 81). They define the mushrooming of courses in English in many European universities as a pandemic that disrupts the local language ecologies.

These two positions appear to fit nicely within Spolsky's (2010) distinction between those countries that choose to foster the presence of English and those that are obliged to due to social pressures. Among the former he includes those European countries that have overwhelmingly opted for English as the main foreign language on all the rungs of the educational ladder, whereas in the latter he includes countries such as South Korea, where a majority of the citizens believe that English is important for promoting economic progress, and this belief is the main reason to embrace it.

The aim of this paper is to examine the feelings of two of the main actors in the university community – teaching staff and administration personnel – regarding the internationalisation of higher education and language, since the relationships between them are still poorly understood (Meyer et al. 2012). It is worth pointing out that the number of studies that have included administration personnel in their samples is negligible (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013b). This university sector often complains about their being disregarded in the internationalisation process and the dearth of studies which include them as active participants bears this out. According to Dewaele and Wei (2013), the changes observed in language attitudes vary depending on the changes in society at large and on the individual's environment in particular, which affects how different individuals view the same linguistic phenomenon. The dimension and fast implementation of English-medium instruction has outpaced empirical research (Dafouz, Camacho, and Urquia 2013), which is why there are still many questions that need to be answered. Analysing the language attitudes and opinions of these university workers regarding the spread of English will help us to understand the role of English in higher education better.

2 The University of the Basque Country

This study was undertaken at the University of the Basque Country (UBC henceforth), an officially bilingual (Basque and Spanish) university located in the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain. The UBC is one of the biggest universities in Spain and it has over 45,000 students, more than 5,300 teaching staff and about 1,700 administration personnel. The majority of the local university community is made up of linguistically homogeneous members who are either monolingual in Spanish or bilingual in Spanish and Basque. There are currently around 1,200 international students whose numbers have steadily increased (especially in postgraduate programmes) during the last decade. The intake of foreign students is not great considering the size of the UBC, which is why the academic authorities have looked to teaching in English as a way to augment the number of foreign students.

This state of affairs led the UBC academic authorities to introduce the so-called Multilingualism Programme in 2005, a programme that since its inception has only included undergraduate courses. Its purpose is to teach subjects in foreign languages with a view to improving local students' foreign language proficiency and to enhancing their work and career prospects, while at the same time attracting foreign students and teachers. In the 2012/2013 academic year more than 2,700 undergraduates were enrolled in different courses taught in foreign languages and over 400 teachers had the language qualifications required to teach on the programme, namely the C1 proficiency level of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

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As for the conditions to take part in the programme, when a department makes the decision to offer one subject in a foreign language, it commits to maintaining it for at least four academic years. Likewise, the department must have all the compulsory credits in Basque and Spanish covered and on offer, so that the teaching in a foreign language can get the green light from the Vicerectorate responsible for the programme. From the third year on, the subjects must have had at least 7 students enrolled, otherwise the group is cancelled, and the course is not considered in the teaching load of the teacher concerned.

Although in the 2005/2006 academic year, when the programme was first implemented, there were only 16 subjects (in English) offered, in 2012/2013 the number had risen to around 150 subjects, which indicates a quite remarkable increase. Nevertheless, these courses only represent 5% of those offered at the UBC. In the seven years that have gone by since the programme got off the ground, English has repeatedly upstaged French and German. The vast majority of the subjects included in the programme are taught in English, while just 10 are in French. The number of students enrolled in French courses is negligible, and sometimes the courses are not eventually delivered because they do not attract the minimum number of students established by the UBC. German, whose situation concerning the students enrolled mirrors that of the French courses, has just recently been incorporated into the programme, and there is only one subject taught in this language. The pre-eminence of English as the main foreign language at pre-university level, a trend observable not only in Spain (see Lasagabaster and Zarobe 2010) but also in schools throughout the European Union (Eurydice 2012), would help to explain the reluctance of students to enrol in courses taught in foreign languages other than English. This is the reason why, whenever the Multilingualism Programme comes to the fore at the UBC, the three university bodies immediately associate it with English-medium instruction.

The *2012–2017 Strategic Plan* of the UBC (University of the Basque Country 2012) establishes the objectives and actions to be taken during that period. One of the actions is focused on facilitating access to foreign language courses, especially English courses, in order to improve language skills and bolster foreign language use among all the members of the university community. It also establishes that the Multilingualism Programme should be overhauled, increasing the range of courses offered in foreign languages, in English above all, and especially master's degrees (as mentioned above, postgraduate degrees were not included in the Multilingualism programme). To reach this objective the commitment of departments and faculties is requested. The objective is to have an internationally attractive range of postgraduate programmes in the two official

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languages and English, other foreign languages being ignored. In the 2012/2013 academic year, out of 87 official master's programmes on offer at the UBC, 9 (10%) were entirely taught in English. Moreover, an additional 11 master's programmes had part of their credits (ECTS or European Credit Transfer System) taught in English. Forty-one per cent of the students enrolled on these master's programmes delivered in English were not Spanish (University of the Basque Country 2013), which seems to indicate that the UBC's aim to attract foreign postgraduate students is on the right track. This course of action on the part of the UBC would confirm Risager's (2012) statement that internationalisation of higher education institutions is leading to the almost exclusive use of English, especially at the master's and PhD level. As a result of this trend, in the UBC the role played by Basque is getting smaller in postgraduate studies and research, whereas English is becoming more important (Cenoz 2009: 231).

3 The study

With this context in mind, the research reported in this paper was carried out within a larger project focused on the analysis of the tensions between internationalisation and language policies observed at three universities located in the bilingual territories of the Basque Country and Catalonia, in Spain, and Wales in the United Kingdom (Lasagabaster, Cots, and Mancho-Barés 2013). However, the question analysed in this study (the participants' assessment of the Multilingualism Programme) was only included in the Basque context.

The participants were 153 staff members at the UBC, teaching staff (103) and administration personnel (50). They belonged to 17 different faculties and their age range percentages were very similar. Both the teaching staff's (84.4%) and the administration personnel's (82%) ages ranged primarily between 34 and 57, which indicates that they mostly belong to the same generation and therefore potential different perspectives cannot be put down to the age variable. Only 7.8% of the teaching staff and 8% of the administration personnel were 33 or younger, and the percentages of those above 57 were also low and similar, 5.8% in the case of the former and 8% in the case of the latter. Therefore, the percentages in each age group for lecturers and administration staff were very similar.

The participants were invited to answer an open question once they had filled out a battery of items presented on a Likert-type scale (for a summary see Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2014). The paper is based on the findings from the following open question: How do you assess the implementation of the teaching of subjects in English and other foreign languages within the Multilingualism Programme? The questionnaires were answered in either Basque or Spanish, as these are the official languages of the Basque Autonomous Community and the UBC. The participants filled them out individually and at their convenience. All the participants were Spanish and they had Spanish (76%), Basque (12.7%) or both Basque and Spanish (10.7%) as their L1. One of the participants was from Catalonia and had Catalan as L1.

The question asked them to assess the implementation of the Multilingualism Programme at the UBC. By presenting them an open question, it was expected that the respondents would focus on the issues that they considered more important about English-medium instruction at university level. Content analysis was carried out in order to reduce the data to manageable proportions while maintaining its varied nature. The analysis was undertaken by the researcher. The discrete ideas expressed in each answer were first identified, and then clustered into broader categories. In the following section the main categories detected in the analysis will be dealt with.

4 Results and discussion

Firstly, a quantitative account of the results will be provided in an attempt to provide a general picture of the results. In order to have such an overview of the results and identify trends, the percentages for each category were obtained and comparisons between the two groupings made. Table 1 shows the number of positive assessments about the Multilingualism Programme (comments that showed a favourable attitude towards the programme and the consequences derived from its implementation), negative assessments, neutral assessments, other, and blank answers apportioned by the participants. The *neutral* category encompasses those comments that were either explicitly neutral or those that presented both a positive and a negative side of the Multilingualism Programme whereas the *other* category included comments that had no clear-cut connection with the question asked (mainly comments that had to do with personal issues but which did not address the question put forward).

Table 1: Percentage of answers in each category by type of participants

	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Other	Blank
Teaching staff	54.3%	13.3%	4.8%	5.7%	21.9%
Administration personnel	62.7%	11.8%	3.9%	2%	19.6%

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A majority in both groups were clearly favourable towards English-medium instruction, especially among the administration personnel. In any case, there were few in either group holding negative attitudes whereas, as is usually the case with open questions included in a questionnaire, there was a high number of participants who did not answer this final question. The percentage of favourable answers would be even more remarkable if the blank category was not considered, since in that case the positive replies among those who did answer the question would amount to 69.5% in the case of the teaching staff and 78% in the case of the administration personnel.

A qualitative analysis of the results was then conducted in order to have a more fine-grained understanding of the particular aspects that were praised or criticised by the respondents, identifying first the discrete ideas and then clustering them into broader categories. A wide variety of reasons were articulated in favour of English-medium instruction. Among the teaching staff *the language competence category* was the most habitual, and it was linked to discrete ideas such as proficiency, open-minded, useful and language attitudes. The participants highlighted that English-medium instruction helps both local and international students to improve their language competence while learning the subject content:

> My two-year experience teaching courses in English is very positive. Apart from learning the contents of the subject, students learn very useful vocabulary that will help them when dealing with the literature and in their future professions (Teacher 18).

The coexistence of international and local students in the same class is also praised on the grounds that it helps them to become more open-minded:

> It is a positive experience that helps to improve our students' command of the foreign language while at the same facilitates the arrival of foreign students. Besides, the coexistence of local and foreign students in the same class leads to very enriching experiences for both teachers and students, and instills more open and enriching attitudes (Teacher 40).

Despite harbouring a positive stance, there is some concern about the language competence of both teachers and students, and the teachers are also struck by the fact that the courses taught in English are not as popular as initially expected. English-medium instruction is also believed to enhance the UBC's international profile (*the internationalisation category*) which includes reference to increasing mobility among teachers and students, as well as improvements in the UBC's quality indicators (the internationalisation category includes discrete ideas related to mobility and quality indicators).

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Among the administration personnel there is also widespread support for the multilingualism plan and three main issues are mentioned as positive aspects. The first one, and the prevailing one, has to with the importance of English-medium instruction for the internationalisation of the UBC, "Both English and other languages are indispensable in an international university which aims at having an international profile" (Administration personnel 13). The second highlighted advantage is directly linked to the role of English as the main language in the scientific domain: "The new generations are ever more plurilingual and, therefore, require at least training in English, as this is the most important language in the scientific world" (Administration personnel 12). And the third one is closely linked to the perception that English is an asset in the job market: "It is very positive. Nowadays, a good command of English is indispensable to get a job" (Administration personnel 41). *The internationalisation category* includes therefore discrete ideas such as international profile, plurilingualism, English as language of science, and job opportunities.

Improving both students' and teachers' English proficiency (*the language proficiency category*) was also mentioned by the administration personnel, but not so predominantly as in the case of the teaching staff. The administration personnel made reference to the teachers' command of English, but no teacher referred to the administration personnel's English proficiency, which would once again confirm that they are often overlooked, as pointed out above. In fact, the administration personnel claimed the need to include them in the language equation:

> It is necessary to provide the administration personnel of the UBC with opportunities to learn English during our working hours, so that we can leverage it with international visitors. The more foreign languages are present in everyday life, the more possibilities for the administration personnel to participate in exchange programmes, which should not be limited to only teachers and students (Administration personnel 7).

It has to be pointed out that at the UBC there are already mobility programmes at European and international (beyond Europe) levels that include exchanges aimed at the administration personnel, but one of the main reasons for their limited success is that many members of this university group do not have a sufficient command of foreign languages to take part in them. It must be remembered that until the late 1990s little importance was attached to learning foreign languages either in the Basque Country or Spain in general. In the last fifteen years or so it has become highly regarded, and this could explain requests by administration personnel to have foreign language courses available during their working hours.

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In the case of the teaching staff, no reference was made to the situation of the co-official languages among those who see English-medium instruction in a positive light, whereas only two members of the administration personnel mentioned the need to balance its impact on either Basque or Spanish: "In my opinion this is a positive experience, but there is a need to reconcile its implementation with the measures and the steps taken in favour of the normalisation of Basque" (Administration Personnel 24). Therefore, what could be labelled *the language conflict category* is underrepresented among the participants in this study.

As far as the negative comments are concerned, two broad categories can be distinguished among both teaching staff and administration personnel: *the language competence category* (but now in a negative light that includes discrete ideas such as poor English skills and the native speaker) and *the flawed planning category* (that includes discrete ideas such as top-down decision and the incoherent course offer of the Multilingualism Programme). However, the weight of these two factors varies from one group to the other: whereas the vast majority of the comments made by the teaching staff revolve around lack of fluency in English, in the case of the administration personnel the majority of their comments focus on the lack of planning. One of the teachers was highly critical and asserted the following:

> I know what I am talking about and I can say that the command of English is very low on many occasions. In any case, is it reasonable to turn our university into a big language school? I find this a bit artificial. I think it is due to some inferiority complex (Teaching Staff 88).

Some of the negative comments also include references to the native speaker debate and, in fact, one of the teachers said the following: "I believe that the original approach is mistaken: language is a tool and a non-native teacher teaching non-native students is like trying to hammer a nail with a wrench" (Teaching Staff 37). In a previous study Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra (2013b) observed that the teachers who did not take part in the multilingualism programme perceived non-nativeness as a problem, while those actively involved in the programme considered that their being non-native instructors was advantageous. These authors conclude that experience helps to overcome the stereotypes usually associated with non-native teachers (for more on this see Moussu and Llurda 2008).

The second big issue for the teaching staff is concerned with the lack of proper planning when it comes to the implementation of the subjects taught in English:

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> It is not being adequately implemented. Instead of relying on the good will of teachers, it should be the result of a top-down, carefully planned, strategy, where a decision has been previously made about the semesters, the courses and the subjects taught in English, so that our and exchange students can choose from a coherent offer of subjects (Teaching Staff 13).

The administration personnel are mainly worried about the planning of the Multilingualism Programme at the UBC: "The implementation is very sluggish and the offer is rather limited" (Administration Personnel 30). Another example of this criticism can be found in the following quotation:

> I think it is being WRONGLY (capital letters in the original) implemented and in an inefficient manner. The Multilingualism Programme entails excessive costs and the offer of subjects in English is unstructured: in fact, there is not a single semester entirely taught in English in any degree. We should have taken advantage of the Bologna process and the design of the new degrees to have made a greater effort (Administration Personnel 25).

Although the sentence is contradictory as this person first underscores the unjustified expenditure and then demands greater investment, this concern is shared by the majority of those who were unfavourable to English-medium instruction as it is currently planned. Consequently, their complaint is not so much about the fact of delivering courses in English, but rather about how it is being put into practice.

The administration personnel's concern about the lack of English proficiency among those involved in the programme ("We are far from reaching a reasonable command of English, let alone of other foreign languages" (Administration Personnel 1)) is much more limited than that of the teaching staff, results which match those obtained through a quantitative perspective in a previous study (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2014), where it was observed that the administration personnel were significantly more positive than the other two university bodies (teachers and students) when asked if they believed the UBC students were linguistically capable of being taught in English.

Nevertheless, the most striking result has to do with the lack of any reference to the detrimental effect of English on the presence of other foreign languages. As mentioned above the presence of French and German in the Multilingualism Programme is negligible, but neither group seemed concerned about this issue. English is taken for granted and, in fact, its hegemonic position is not challenged by any of the participants. A summary of the different categories is provided in table 2 in the belief that it can give the reader a synthetic and useful overview.

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Table 2: Summary of the categories in order of preference

	Teaching staff	Administration personnel
Positive Assessment	1. The language competence category 2. The internationalisation category	1. The internationalisation category 2. The language competence category 3. The language conflict category (under-represented)
Negative Assessment	1. The language competence category (in a negative light) 2. The flawed planning category	1. The flawed planning category 2. The language competence category (in a negative light)

5 Conclusions

Research on English-medium instruction is scant at tertiary level in Spain (Dafouz, Camacho, and Urquia 2013), especially regarding the opinions and beliefs of those who are directly affected by current language policies (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013a). In this paper I have tried to gather data from two university bodies (teaching staff and administration personnel) that have received little attention so far.

The answer to the question posed in the title of this paper is affirmative, as multilingualism in higher education at the UBC is not happening (which can be drawn from the number of courses offered in the different foreign languages and the low level of third language (L3) proficiencies) and the term is a misnomer in this case. In bilingual universities such as the UBC there are two main linguistic goals: the need to equip the university community with the linguistic tools to compete in the global world, and the desire to protect their own linguistic and cultural heritage. These dichotomies between the micro-macro and the global-local levels help to shed light on the different levels of language policy (Hult 2010), and in the case of the UBC it seems to leave no space for foreign languages other than English. The respondents of the two university bodies under scrutiny in this paper are aligned with the first of the two main trends discussed in the introduction and represented by authors such as Brutt-Griffler (2002), King et al. (2008) and Seidlhofer (2011), who consider that researchers should focus on what are the implications of the dominant role of English to actually encourage multilingualism, instead of regarding it as a problem. In fact, the participants' concerns are mainly related to the language competence, flawed planning and internationalisation categories, whereas there is hardly any reference to the language conflict category (and on no occasion is the latter related to foreign languages other than English).

Since English proficiency is held in high esteem not only by academic authorities but also by faculty and administration personnel, more often than not other types of multilingual options are excluded. This only-one-foreign-language perspective is not particular to the UBC, but also to many European universities that have also been captivated by this trend. The main conclusion to be drawn from this study could thus be that not only governments (Wilkinson 2013) and education authorities (Bocanegra-Valle 2013) are responsible for provoking a context in which English-medium instruction is burgeoning, but also the different university bodies who seem to accept this tendency as ineluctable.

Bocanegra-Valle (2013) affirms that what is currently happening in Spanish academia in the research area can also be applied to most other European countries, as the teaching staff find themselves obliged to publish in English if their work is to recognised:

> Spain seems to be a good example of the general trend. There are no specific regulations on this matter but there are some journals which are English-only journals from the outset, others which are changing their policy to become English-only journals, and certain publication requirements that are gradually giving English more visibility, at least in certain areas of research (Bocanegra-Valle 2013: 18).

This is a general trend which is leading to the establishment of a European (and global) English-only academia. Curiously enough, and although it does not directly affect them, our results reveal that the administration personnel are even more positive than the teaching staff towards the use of English as a medium of instruction. The reason may probably lie in the fact that English is unanimously regarded as a lingua franca that facilitates transnational communication, which is why its ubiquitousness should be taken as a starting point for discussions on how to encourage real multi/plurilingualism (Darquennes 2011: 152).

In spite of the European institutions' best endeavours to foster multilingualism through the well-known "mother tongue + 2 other languages" formula and the urge of groups (McAleese et al. 2013) and institutions (European University Association 2013) to boost the knowledge of a second foreign language, the role of English as the global *lingua franca* at university level (Coleman 2006; Wilkinson 2013) seems to represent an unavoidable stumbling block when it comes to implementing multilingual language policies. Nevertheless, the participants in this study do not seem too concerned about the pre-eminent position of English as the hub of the world language system (De Swaan 2013), at least in the university sphere. The pessimistic prognoses that claim that English is going to overshadow and upstage even national languages do not seem to find any echo among the vast majority of the teaching staff and administration personnel

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at the UBC. However, further studies should probably delve into the university stakeholders' opinion about the dominance of English in many other social domains.

One of the limitations of this study has to do with the fact that students, the third main group that make up the university community, were not included in the sample of this study. Previous quantitative studies (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2014) reveal that English-medium instruction is widely supported by teaching staff and by administration personnel but not so much by students, especially by students whose first language is Basque (see also Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013c), who perceive English as a menace to the minority language that may jeopardise the normalisation process of Basque at university. As van der Walt (2013) puts it, there is a need to re-conceptualise multilingual education in higher education so that a balance between global and local interest is sought. Meyer et al. (2012) have also observed that Swiss undergraduates enrolled at a German-language university in multilingual Switzerland are making great efforts to ensure that their plurilingualism goes beyond English. These authors (Meyer et al. 2012: 407) state that, "Students continue to struggle with the tensions between what they can actually do, what they report they would like to do, and what they perceive is expected of them concerning language competencies during their studies and after". However, this resistance on the part of students is not the case in all countries. Tange (2013) confirms that Danish university students are very reluctant to read literature in languages other than Danish and English, which indicates that there is a need to consider the idiosyncrasy of each context.

The big challenge then may lie in disseminating the nowadays wide research on L3 learning, where it has been recurrently shown that bilingualism facilitates the learning of an additional language (Cenoz 2009). Teaching approaches that take a holistic view of multilingualism into account should also be considered. In an attempt to transcend the habitual compartmentalised approach to multilingualism in higher education, Meyer et al. (2012) put forward a four-language (French, Italian, English and German) course developed at a Language Centre as an example of a multilingual training intervention. After analyzing research carried out with focus groups at the University of Lleida (Catalonia) in which both local and international students took part, Llurda, Cots, and Armengol (2013) similarly point out that heteroglossic multilingualism could represent an alternative to the parallel multilingualism in which courses are identified with one particular language, as is also the case in the UBC. In this European current in favour of blurring language barriers the Swedish case is also worth mentioning, as higher education institutions have opted for parallel language use as a guiding principle. Bolton and Kuteeva (2012) examine this new practice in

Swedish universities and conclude that the use of English and Swedish as media of instruction is likely to continue into the indefinite future if Swedish universities intend to remain competitive in the international arena.

It is in this context where translanguaging can also become a pedagogical tool to be considered (García 2009; García and Wei 2014; Lewis, Jones, and Baker 2012), as it may help to allay the fears about teaching in foreign languages other than English – fears mainly due to both students' and teachers' low proficiency levels. Translanguaging can be defined as the process through which bilingual students make use of their whole semiotic and linguistic repertoire to create meaning, while shaping their experiences and increasing their knowledge by means of their different languages which are used in a dynamic and integrated way (Baker 2011; García 2009). The effectiveness of translanguaging relies obviously on its acceptance by the teaching staff as a legitimate tool. Translanguaging fosters pedagogical practices that hinge on bilingualism as a resource instead of approaching it as a problem; it stems from a heteroglossic perspective of bilingual education that sees the use of different linguistic resources as a natural part of bi/multilingual education and becomes thus a form of social justice. Its successful implementation, however, demands that higher education institutions abandon the traditional perspective of bilingualism in which the two languages are approached separately (in what Cummins 2008, labels *the two solitudes*). This artificial way to keep languages apart is challenged by everyday practices, as the study by Söderlundh (2012) confirms. In fact, the data gathered by that author indicate that university students' interactions at an English-medium university course in Sweden adapt their use of their different languages to place-bound needs and conditions, which gives rise to local norms.

A more flexible and open vision of language teaching needs to be embraced at tertiary level so that the synergies that emanate from the use of two or more languages in contact can be taken advantage of, instead of penalising the simultaneous use of such practices. This may be the only way to make subjects taught in foreign languages other than English more popular, as the higher cognitive demand of university contents seems to make students reluctant to join these courses, which leads to the pre-eminence of English as the only foreign language at universities such as the UBC. Although the internationalisation of higher education institutions should inherently imply the spread of multilingualism, current experiences (Bocanegra-Valle 2013; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013a; Llurda, Cots, and Armengol 2013; Saarinen 2012; Wilkinson 2013) indicate that this is not the case.

Originally the spread of English-medium instruction took place in countries with a small national language such as Finland or the Netherlands, but nowadays it is conspicuous in countries with big national languages such as Italy or Spain.

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The consideration of the aforementioned multilingual approaches to language teaching can contribute to fostering multilingual higher education systems that will leave no room for the misnomer presented in the introduction of this paper.

Acknowledgements

The results presented in this paper are part of the following research projects: FFI2012-34214 (Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness), and IT311-10 (Department of Education, University and Research of the Basque Government). I would also like to thank the teaching staff and administration personnel who participated in the study for their time and collaboration.

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II Before, During, and After EMI

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Hafdís Ingvarsdóttir and Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir

6 English in a new linguistic context: Implications for higher education

Abstract: This chapter describes how the extensive use of English has changed the linguistic ecology of Iceland strongly impacting higher education. This view is based on the findings of a recent five-year study that revealed how English permeates all levels of Icelandic society, effectively creating a new linguistic environment. Extensive exposure to conversational English has led to receptive rather than productive proficiency of Icelanders, and familiarity with informal rather than formal registers. The increased presence of English affects education in dramatic ways, especially tertiary education. Official language- and educational policies in Iceland still define English as a foreign language and English is categorized with other foreign languages for the number of allotted hours in the National Curriculum. The same is true for proficiency benchmarks. The chapter describes how the discrepancy between The National Curriculum and the linguistic context in which Icelandic children grow up affects their academic preparation in primary and secondary school, and especially at university level. While Icelandic is the official national language and the spoken and written language of the University of Iceland, over 90% of textbooks are written in English, and there is pressure on faculty and graduate students to write in English. The pressure to use academic English has significant implications for students and faculty who have received their prior academic training in Icelandic. More than a third of students struggle with English academic texts and with using two languages simultaneously in their studies. Faculty support is haphazard as some instructors do not see it as their role to assist students with their language struggles. In order to meet the English proficiency needs of Icelandic students and faculty, new thinking is required. Such reevaluation includes the development of new language- and educational policies that better reflect the new linguistic reality and which includes a more systematic English academic language support.

Keywords: Linguistics ecology, English as a utility language, higher education, educational policy

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1 Introduction

The dominance of English as a language of popular culture, business and education in the world has created a new, previously undefined, linguistic context. This new linguistic environment is generated through high exposure to English in addition to the local language where English has no previous or official status. In the Nordic countries, which have fully-fledged national languages, there is increased pressure to adopt English as a language of science, higher education and business, and Anglo-Saxon cultural influences are high. English is defined as a foreign language in these countries even though English use has become an integral part of daily life. The use of English is sometimes described as parallel to the local language especially in science and education (Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use 2014). The notion of parallel language use is based on a prevailing view that everyone in the Nordic countries is able to use English along with their first language in various domains including in educational and scientific pursuits. This is reflected in a common Nordic language policy implemented in 2004 which states: "Nordic residents, ... internationally speaking, have good English skills" (Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy, Art. 2.1, p. 94). The common declaration then urges business and labor-market organizations "to develop strategies for the parallel use of language and that it be possible to use both the languages of the Nordic countries essential to society and English as languages of science" (p. 94). Subsequently, English is increasingly being used as language of instruction and communication in Nordic universities (Destination 2012; Brock-Utne 2001; Hellekjær 2009; Ljosland 2008). The common view is that increased use of English will strengthen universities' academic and scientific standing by attracting the best students and researchers. Nordic scholars are under pressure to publish in international journals, encouraged by academic advancement and financial incentives. Studies from all five Nordic countries; Iceland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland, show that English has gained a firm position within academia (Brock-Utne 2001; Ljosland 2008; Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir 2010, 2013).

At the same time that pressure to use English mounts at Nordic universities, studies on English use and proficiency at tertiary level suggest that the *good English skills* among Nordic peoples stated in the common Nordic policy may be overestimated. This is especially true for English proficiency levels of university students and faculty, many of whom struggle with English academic reading and writing (Hellekjær 2009; Pecorari et al. 2012; Pilkinton-Pihko 2010; Ljosland 2008; Swerts and Westbrook 2013). This has also been the case in Iceland for the

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last three decades where English use has increased with unprecedented speed, but where recent studies have found that a substantial number of students struggle with simultaneous use of two languages at tertiary level.

This chapter first describes the level of English exposure in Iceland, in order to provide a backdrop for the amount and type of input to which Icelandic students are exposed, and to show how it affects their academic preparation. The next section outlines how Icelandic language policy is at odds with the new situation and how this discrepancy creates a dissonance between primary and secondary students' education needs and official guidelines and instructional practices. The main focus of the chapter will be to discuss the impact of this dissonance on university students' ability to access the curriculum, and on faculty members' struggle to use English in their academic pursuits. Finally, the chapter discusses the specific challenges students face while working with two languages simultaneously, since input is largely in English while output and evaluation are in Icelandic.

2 The status of English in Iceland and official language and education policies

Clearly the spread of English throughout the post war world has prompted a whole new field of research (Garcia 2011). A recent five-year comprehensive study of the status of English in Iceland has enabled us to construct a picture of the impact of the spread of English at the national level with clear implications for teaching and learning at the tertiary level. Within the last two decades, Icelanders have begun to experience daily exposure to English from pre-school and onwards (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2011). Today no one can cope either in higher education or in the workforce without a fair command of English, and English has become indispensable as a utility language. The daily use of another language in addition to Icelandic has taken place without official support or the backing of official language policy. The reason for this development is most likely that speakers of small languages, like Icelandic, who profess strong attachments to their national language, see an advantage and, increasingly, a need to learn an additional language, in this case English, to gain access to recreation, information, education, and professional advancement (Canagarajah 2013). The participants in our studies, from primary school children to university professors, identified strongly with Icelandic while recognizing the practical need to know English as part of being an educated global citizen (Jóhannsdóttir 2010; Jeeves 2013; Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir 2013).

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Although exposure to English in Iceland is extensive, this exposure is largely receptive. Recently, a study of 750 Icelanders, forming a representative sample of the population, revealed that 86% hear English every day while over 95% of respondents between 18–29 years of age hear English daily (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2011). Almost half of the respondents, or 43%, read English every day. The survey also revealed that most of this input is in the form of highly contextualized language supported by visual media, i.e. most Icelanders hear English when it is supported by pictures and Icelandic subtitles. Productive use of English is much less common among Icelanders as only 19% overall say they speak English daily. This figure rises to over 30% among the youngest age group (18–29 years). Twenty-one percent of all respondents say they write in English daily. The important aspect of these findings is the pervasiveness of English at all levels of Icelandic society, the clear and overarching predominance of receptive English exposure over productive use, and of exposure to informal rather than formal registers of English among the population (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2011).

These studies provide empirical evidence for previous claims advanced by the authors that due to its high exposure, English can no longer be considered a foreign language in Iceland (Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2007). Instead it rather serves an instrumental purpose as a utility language, a role that does not fit easily into the traditional definitions used for foreign vs. second languages.

The project also examined the level of English proficiency as perceived by Icelanders and the extent to which that proficiency served them in the execution of the linguistic tasks they were required to perform in English. This has particular relevance in higher education. Over 3,000 Icelanders were asked to evaluate their English proficiency. Of those, 386 were primary school children at the onset of English instruction, 703 respondents were in year 10, or the last year of their compulsory education, another 300 participants were near the end of their English studies in the secondary school, 1,028 were university students, 250 were faculty at the University of Iceland, and 547 were people in different work sectors. Additionally, the primary school children and secondary school students were tested for lexical proficiency.

The results of the surveys show that Icelanders are on the whole satisfied with their English skills. In our survey amongst students in grade ten, 50% of the girls felt their English was good or very good and 59% of the boys felt the same. Almost 90% of university students and faculty surveyed reported that their general English skills were good or very good, although slightly fewer said that their writing was good or very good. Participants in national surveys were slightly less confident as about 64% felt that their English was good or very good (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2009; Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2010;

Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir 2010; Jeeves 2013). Vocabulary tests administered to students in primary school at the onset of formal English instruction in fourth grade showed that their level of proficiency had exceeded the curriculum goals for that grade (Jóhannsdóttir 2010).

These results show that the confidence in Nordic people's English skills demonstrated in the Nordic language policy cited above is also reflected in Icelanders' own beliefs about their English proficiency. Quite possibly, the fact that people understand the English they hear every day (often highly contextual conversational discourse supported by subtitles in Icelandic) creates an assumption that they can also produce English at the same proficiency level. However, English input encourages receptive skills and respondents, by their own admission, have very few opportunities to test their productive English skills. These figures support our previous claim that in Iceland a new linguistic context at the national level has been created (Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2007).

The rapid growth in English use is at odds with Icelandic language and education policies. The official language policy of Iceland is that Icelandic is the national language of Iceland and that the government should ensure that Icelandic is used at all levels of society for all purposes (art. 2). Article 8 of the policy further declares that Icelandic is the language of education at all levels. The language policy of the University of Iceland similarly announces that Icelandic is the official spoken and written language of the University of Iceland, in instruction, research and governance (University of Iceland 2004). The policy further proclaims that research and graduate studies involve international collaboration and require the use of other languages than Icelandic, mainly English. The National Curriculum Guidelines for Foreign Languages categorize English as a foreign language along with German, French and other languages to which Icelandic students are exposed mainly in the classroom. The Curriculum Guidelines appear in the form of three very open proficiency benchmarks with no effort to delineate how these benchmarks apply to the different languages (Aðalnámskrá framhaldsskóla: Viðauki III 2011). For example it is unlikely that the average student who has taken 2–4 semesters of a foreign language, other than English, in secondary school can reach higher than the first proficiency level at the end of secondary school. The same student, who has had vast exposure to English all his life and formal instruction for at least 7 years, is likely to enter secondary school with English proficiency evaluated near or at the second level; additionally it is expected that all students are at the same level in all four skills when entering secondary school. This is, however, not the case for Icelandic students. The Curriculum Guidelines then are mute on what proficiency benchmarks the remaining compulsory English courses should aim at,

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let alone what the target goals and objectives of any optional English courses the student might wish to choose should be. There is thus a discrepancy between official language and educational policies, on the one hand, and the realities of the new linguistic context, on the other hand (Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2014). This tension has significant implications for education at all levels and was the impetus for a comprehensive study of its effect on secondary and especially higher education. The results of the study will be presented in the next sections.

3 The new linguistic context and English language education

English education has not kept up with the changing role of English in Iceland and the same is true of the other Nordic countries. New research is emerging indicating that the demands for radical changes in teaching and learning English in Nordic schools are not being met. Ranta (2010) investigated the views of teachers and students in secondary schools in Finland and she found that Finnish students and teachers are well aware of the lingua franca role of English in the 'real world'. However, the native speaker model is still prevalent and teachers are not fully aware of the consequences for classroom practices. Hellekjær's studies (2007, 2008, 2009, 2010) amongst Norwegian secondary school students have shown a lack of proficiency in English academic vocabulary and understanding of academic texts. His main conclusion is that "the current Norwegian complacency about the quality of upper secondary English as a foreign language (EFL) instruction as preparation for higher education, or for occupational purposes, is unmerited" (2008:15). He argues that serious changes in teaching practices and learning objectives as well as in examinations and testing are called for (Hellekjær 2008). Hellekjær also claims that EFL instruction at the lower secondary schools has to give far higher priority to reading other material outside the "perennial EFL textbooks" and he calls for instruction in literacy and learning strategies (Hellekjær 2008).

Our studies at all education levels in Iceland support the views expressed by our Scandinavian colleagues. Icelandic fourth graders have exceeded the English curriculum goals for that grade, and the onset of instruction is not a factor in level of proficiency once in fourth grade. These results suggest that children learn their English from other sources than school and that the National Curriculum Guidelines are out of touch with the linguistic experiences of young Icelanders (Jóhannsdóttir 2010). Jeeves' (forthcoming, 2014, 2012) extensive studies show that once in secondary school, students seem to be aware of how important English is for their future, but many expressed doubt about the relevance of the English curriculum and see English as an easy subject. Jeeves' young adult interviewees, in and outside of educational contexts, reported that while they enjoyed reading literature and expanding their vocabulary, the general consensus was that secondary school English studies did not add much to what they had already learned outside of school. Although some students did say that school was the place where they learned to write correct English, it is clear that students' receptive English skills are enhanced at secondary school with little opportunity for expression, oral or written (Jeeves 2013).

These perceptions are borne out in Pétursdóttir's (2013) study that measured secondary school students' lexical proficiency. She found that students' receptive vocabulary far exceeded their productive capabilities and that productive lexical knowledge varied greatly among students. Icelandic teachers in both lower and upper secondary school acknowledge the increased importance of English but have not been able to respond to this new situation adequately (Ingvarsdóttir 2011, 2010). The findings show that instructional emphases enhance the proficiency of Icelandic school children that is attained mostly out of formal instructional settings. The findings have significant consequences for academic work at the tertiary level as will be shown in the next section.

4 English at university

Surveys of over 1,000 students and almost 300 faculty members at the University of Iceland reveal a number of problems regarding the use of English for academic purposes. The findings support the results of studies in other Nordic countries (Hellekjær 2009; Pilkinton-Pihko 2010; Ljosland 2008; Percorari et al. 2012; Swerts and Westbrook 2013). First of all, our studies in Iceland reveal that a substantial amount, over 90%, of textbooks at university level (100% in many Natural Science fields) are written in English for native speakers of English (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2009). English is increasingly the medium of instruction in graduate programs, most Ph.D. theses are written in English (Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir 2013), and university faculty members are compensated especially for partaking in international research networks and publishing in English rather than the native language.

Despite being generally satisfied with their English skills as reported above, with close to 65% of students believing that they were well prepared to use

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English at University level (Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2010), many Icelandic students struggle with using English at university. More than a third of the 1,028 university students surveyed admit that they have had difficulty in comprehending English academic texts, students in Education, Social Sciences and the Humanities more so than students in Natural Sciences. Almost half of the respondents, or 44% (N=480), said that working with English increased their workload. When prompted for further clarification about what kind of extra work they engaged in, close to 70% (N=728) use online dictionaries, 60% (N=604) create translated lists of terminology, more than 40% (N=477) translate using Google and 30% (N=320) write summaries of texts in Icelandic. The findings suggest that more than a third of Icelandic students do not have the level of English proficiency required for academic study and that almost half of the students go to great lengths to access the curriculum written in English (Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2010).

The quantitative study presented above was followed up by in-depth interviews with two students from each of the five faculties at the University of Iceland. The goal of the ten interviews was to shed further light on the themes represented in the surveys. The themes were: How well did students' proficiency serve them at University? Were they prepared to tackle English academic texts? How did the use of English affect their workload? What strategies did they use to access the English curriculum? Did they read the English texts? And, finally, to what extent were students' studies affected by the fact that the input was largely in English and the output and evaluations in Icelandic?

The surveys had initially revealed that students were satisfied with their English proficiency and it was only when probed that they were willing to acknowledge that English posed a challenge. Students were forthcoming about these challenges in the interviews. When asked about whether their English proficiency sufficed when working with the English curriculum, one student responded: "I thought about quitting in the first semester, there was so much reading in English that I struggled with – I read so slowly". Another student said it was "difficult to work with English on top of new terminology, to understand the meaning of the whole text" (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2012).

Note that in the surveys, students generally felt well prepared to tackle the university curriculum. This was not borne out in the interviews where interviewees seemed more aware of the challenges they experienced using English. One interviewee claimed, "I had a difficult time with English at University with my primary and secondary school English". Another student responded in this way when asked about the English tasks in secondary school, "we had oral exams and read novels, we didn´t work with academic texts". This view is supported by this statement by another interviewee, "I am used to reading

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novels and such in English, not scholarly articles, it's not the same". Clearly there is an overemphasis on one particular genre in secondary school English at the expense of exposure to more diverse types of text and students do not feel that reading literature in secondary school served them well once at university.

Some students, at least, do not read the set reading material at all as it takes too long to get through the English text. One female student from Humanities said there was "not enough time to read all the texts" and another one, a male from Humanities, said, "In Icelandic I can read more text more quickly" (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2012). The perception that many students who use English in academia avoid reading the textbook and simply depend on the teachers' overheads is supported by the findings of Percorari and her colleagues in Sweden (2012). Below are some representative examples of responses when interviewees were asked about whether, and if so, how, working with English increased their workload. One male student in Humanities said:

> ... when you are reading a text with textbooks in English, there is also the discipline of having to look up all the words you don´t know, and even if you think you know them, you look them up anyway because it can make such a huge difference. One word can completely change the whole text.

Another student, a female from Social Sciences, said: ... there are ten of us who divide articles between us and either translate them or write summaries, we also have a study group because sometimes the translation is so odd that we can´t understand it so we discuss it in a group. (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2012) These translation groups are not without problems as another student in Social Science said, "I stopped taking part in translation groups because once I happened to have read the actual chapter in English and found that the summary they gave me was not accurate" (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2012). This illustrates the lengths to which students must go to access the curriculum, extra work that is not acknowledged when course workload is converted to course credit.

The results of the interviews supported the findings about the types of strategies students used to access the curriculum. While respondents described using Google translate and online dictionaries, others said they received some of the terminology from Icelandic articles while some teachers gave them the terminology on overheads. One student in Business commented that sometimes instructors did not use the same Icelandic terminology, which he found confusing.

A final result of the university survey was that 83% of the over one thousand respondents think it is problematic to use English in Icelandic mediated courses; more so in Education and Social Sciences than in Natural Sciences (Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2010). Here is one comment from a male student in the Humanities about one of the ways these problems manifest themselves:

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> . . . I have sometimes noticed, it sometimes happens that, well look. . . a lot of the texts are in English and we have to answer in Icelandic on tests and . . . I remember once just before a test . . . I was trying to ask people or somehow find out . . . what really this and that was in Icelandic. . . what they say . . . sometimes this connection is missing (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2012).

Clearly, students overestimate their English skills and do not realize that their proficiency is mainly informal and receptive, and this does not always serve them adequately in their academic pursuits. Icelandic students have had their academic preparation in their first language. However, the bulk of the academic input at tertiary level is in English while the output is still mainly in Icelandic. This creates a situation where students tackle the content in two languages simultaneously. This is not a bilingual situation, nor is it *parallel language use*. We have termed this largely unacknowledged multilingual context *simultaneous parallel code use* or SPCU. SPCU will be the focus of the next section.

4.1 Simultaneous parallel code use

As far as we know, the impact of using two languages simultaneously on the teaching and learning process has not been studied. Using two languages particularly in professional and educational settings in the Nordic countries is referred to as *parallel language use*. *Parallel language use* means that a speaker chooses the language most appropriate to the linguistic situation at hand. It is situational language use where "the choice of language depends on what is deemed most appropriate and efficient in a specific situation" (Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use 2014). This is not the case in academic settings in Iceland and in some Scandinavian countries (Pecorari et al. 2012) where input is in English while information processing and assessment is in another language. The University of Iceland's course catalogue states that the language of instruction/examination is Icelandic. It also states that most texts are in English (University of Iceland 2014). This use of two languages clearly differs from *parallel language use*. Because in this new context students' receptive language is not the same as the language in which they communicate their knowledge as constant negotiations between the two languages are involved. The option of choosing the most appropriate language does not present itself since students have no choice but to read curriculum material in English at the same time as dealing with instruction and assessment in Icelandic.

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We have labelled this linguistic/cognitive process *simultaneous parallel code use* (SPCU). As language use in this situation is not by choice, it differs from traditional *parallel language use*. It also contrasts with bilingual language use which often involves a home language that differs from the language of school or work. In an SPCU situation students must extract meaning from a receptive language that contains language, culture and discipline specific content. They are then required to discuss and demonstrate mastery of that same content in their first language with its own specific linguistic, cultural and academic rhetorical conventions and knowledge base. The transfer of knowledge between the languages under SPCU is essential. It is, after all, through this transfer of knowledge from the language of curriculum material to the language of assessment that constitutes the major method by which the student's mastery of the subject is assessed. Coping with SPCU is thus essential to students' academic achievement and professional future. However, under SPCU conditions there is very little awareness of the challenges faced by students and no systematic attempt (see next section) to adapt the curriculum to students' language proficiency. The illustration below compares the different language contexts:

Native Speaker Context
– L1 Native Proficiency
– L1 Input and Output

Parallel Language Use
– L2 Proficiency (adaptation/awareness of L2 proficiency)
– L2 Input and Output

Simultaneous Parallel Code Use
– L2 Proficiency (no adaptation and often no awareness of L2 proficiency)
– L2 Input
– L1 Output

It seems evident that the SPCU negotiation process places constraints on the learning process (Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2010). Furthermore, questions arise about the depth of students' acquisition of new knowledge when a good deal of their cognitive and memory capacity is spent on linguistic processing. It is therefore crucial that consideration be given to the effect SPCU may have on teaching and learning. Below we present some preliminary thoughts on the subject.

There is significant research on how using a deep approach that focuses on meaning, versus a surface approach focusing on memorization for the test, can affect learning in higher education. (Marton and Säljö 1976; Entwistle and Ramsden 1983; Prosser, Trigwell, and Taylor 1994; Trigwell, Prosser, and Waterhouse 1999). Studies in this area with a focus on language code are few. The

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picture outlined by research so far indicates that a significant component of a deep approach is that the reader/learner engages in a more active dialogue with the text. It is as if the learner is constantly asking himself questions such as how the various parts of the text relate to each other or whether the argument is consistent and how it relates to what the student already knows (Trigwell et al. 1999). The question arises of how much time the learner has for these contemplations while hampered by questions about the meaning of individual words, clusters of words, even whole paragraphs, not to mention cultural references in the text that the reader may not be familiar with.

Albrechtsen, Haastrup, and Henriksen (2008) studied how learning skills transferred between the first language (Danish) and second language (English) in terms of time expended. The study looked at the differences between individuals and across learner groups at three levels, the highest level being a group of university students. Their findings showed that the use of advanced processing was three times faster in the first language than the second language for individuals and that, in general, process and outcome measures in the first language were "clearly superior" to those in the second language (Albrechtsen et al. 2008: 96).

Clearly, dual language processing constrains the cognitive process. This is in addition to the challenges students face when introduced to unfamiliar genre-based differences that all first year university students encounter and that impede comprehension. At the very least, the added demands SPCU places on cognition and memory represent a factor which needs further exploration.

The SPCU situation is not reflected in educational policy in Iceland, and no systematic measures are present to facilitate students' access to the curriculum written in a different language than the one in which students have had their previous academic preparation. This linguistic situation in fact goes largely unacknowledged by educational authorities. It also goes counter to prevailing language and education policies that proclaim Icelandic to be the national language to be used in all domains of language use and the official language of the University of Iceland. Further research is needed into both *parallel language use* and SPCU and how they affect students' educational experiences at tertiary level. In the next section we turn to the perspective of instructors who use English material in their teaching.

4.2 The perspective of university instructors

Icelandic university professors in most academic fields claim that having course material in English increases their workload as they need to give substantial

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help to students. A survey was administered to all instructors at the University of Iceland asking about their views on having to work with two languages, i.e. teaching and testing in Icelandic while setting reading material almost exclusively in English (Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir 2010, 2013). Two hundred and thirty-eight of about 1,800 full-time and part-time faculty responded. Although the results of the study suggest that instructors believe that using English curriculum material causes few or no problems to their students, many feel they need to use a variety of scaffolding devices to support their students' learning.

Instructors seem, on the whole, to hold the view that there are minor or no problems using curriculum materials in English (a great majority or 87.7% find it easy or rather easy to work with two languages). However, 80% of the respondents use a variety of scaffolding devices or strategies to support their students with the language (Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir 2010).

The most common answers to an open-ended question about commonly-used scaffolding devices were:

> I use English and Icelandic concepts simultaneously when lecturing.
>
> I give English concepts in brackets on transparencies.
>
> I give Icelandic translations on handouts.
>
> I go through the English text with students.
>
> I distribute transparencies in Icelandic at the beginning of the course.
>
> I ask students to compile a list of concepts on the web (Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir 2010).

It thus seems that after all many instructors anticipate students having some problems with reading material in English if not aided in some way.

The survey was followed up with interviews with two representatives from each of the five schools at the University of Iceland. The interviews clarify the fact that professors are aware that many students have problems with using English texts; although this differs between Schools and the instructors from the Natural Sciences expect the fewest problems (as was the case in the survey). Previously unpublished examples are given below of what teachers from all five Schools say about the support they give to help students cope:

> I know they find it difficult but you know we give them massive support e.g. we always make sure that they have all concepts on the transparencies in English and Icelandic and all concepts in assignments and tests (Education).
>
> Then I sometimes take the English text and read aloud from it in Icelandic, that is, I translate simultaneously; these are of course texts I know very well (Humanities).

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> The text is of course in English and the theoretical concepts are in English and I talk around them in Icelandic mmm, you see this becomes a mixture, you see, I don't think we would get a good grade for either our Icelandic or English; this is a cocktail (Social Sciences).

> When I give a lecture I give them a handout with translations of all the main concepts so they can more easily become acquainted with the clinical jargon (Health Sciences).

> If they don't come to the lectures [where the instructor gives translations of concepts] and I have everything in Icelandic in the test they are in trouble. So now I write the exams so that the English translation of the Icelandic concept is in brackets (Natural Sciences).

As we can see, the interviews confirm the findings of the survey that teachers from all schools are aware that students may run into difficulties. However, the support they give is mainly restricted to vocabulary and there seems to be no help given with reading comprehension as such, for example by providing guidance on reading strategies.

5 The linguistic challenge at tertiary level

Clearly, the linguistic ecology of Iceland is undergoing rapid change as another language, English, is highly prevalent in a linguistic context previously dominated by one national language. As we have argued, Icelanders have developed receptive English skills through their recreational activities but seem less able to use more formal registers productively. The formal registers of language used in writing and in professional and educational discourse are still problematic for most Icelanders. This is an issue well known to educators in second language contexts where fluency in colloquial speech masks the lack of proficiency in formal language that is usually attained through literacy and education (Cummins 1979).

The question remains of how we are adjusting to and coping with this new linguistic context. Not very well, according to the findings presented above (Jóhannsdóttir 2010; Jeeves 2013, 2014; Ingvarsdóttir 2011, 2010). The language problems at tertiary level seem to be caused by several interrelated issues. The first is students' lack of academic English preparation. Although students develop good general English proficiency, seemingly mostly out of school, the skills are mostly receptive and limited to informal registers which do not suffice for academic use. Formal instruction seems to focus on skills already acquired outside of school and advanced reading is restricted to literature at the expense of other genres. Additionally, the challenges faced by university students when

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accessing English academic texts seem to go largely unacknowledged, officially, and students receive very little systematic language support. There are also other issues such as increased student diversity that affect academic achievement at university. These will be discussed below.

During the last few decades there has been an explosion in the number of Icelandic students who are eligible for university. At the same time, there has been an increase in the number of universities and university programs. This means that the students are socially and educationally more heterogeneous and the curriculum content is more diverse now than in previous decades. The projection is that in the nearest future the number of secondary students who pursue university studies will only increase. Our studies have shown that at present more than a third of university students struggle with English even if they estimate their English proficiency level as good and have good grades from secondary schools (Jeeves 2013; Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2010).

To prepare future students for the level of English they need at tertiary level, the curriculum in secondary schools needs to be revised. Students need to be given more variety of reading texts written in different styles and genres and they must be introduced to the structure of genres found in academic textbooks. Just as importantly they need to be trained in reading strategies as our study amongst university students indicates that their reading strategies are lacking (Arnbjörnsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir 2010). For this to happen, we need to change the emphasis in teacher education for secondary school to give more weight to literacy and genre-based approaches. At university level the language policy needs to be revised to reflect reality, accepting that two languages are used simultaneously on a daily basis. Speaking and listening skills at higher level are also becoming more important as more and more courses are taught in English and the number of foreign lecturers and students is increasing.

It seems that increased awareness of this issue at the University can be detected from two new incentives: a course in academic English and two new writing centers. The University of Iceland has recently established an Academic English Program specifically aimed at students who are not English majors but need to improve their academic English. The goal of the program is, as the name suggests, to improve students' academic English proficiency in all fields of study. The key courses are: Academic Reading and Vocabulary Development, Academic Writing for Accuracy, Advanced Academic Writing for Fluency, Academic Speaking and Listening Skills, Oral Academic Debate, Argumentation and Presentations and English in the Disciplines: Genre Based Reading.

The program is learner-centered and students can take courses specific to their individual needs and focus on the genre of their particular discipline. A writing program has also been developed based on the "genre approach to writing" (Swales 2004) that considers the specific needs of students who have receptive and colloquial English proficiency, but who have developed academic language proficiency in another language. Textbooks targeting the needs of this population in particular have been developed (Prinz and Arnbjörnsdóttir 2014).

In 2009, a writing center (Ritver) was established at the School of Education helping students with academic writing in Icelandic and English and recently another writing center was established at the School of Humanities. Although this is a promising start, more is needed. We need to establish a support center similar to the one found at the University of Copenhagen (Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use 2014) that assesses individual faculty members' and students' ability to enhance their English skills and consults with university departments on issues related to teaching and learning English for academic and publishing purposes.

6 Concluding remarks

In this chapter we have discussed the new linguistic context, which has been developing in Iceland as a result of the spread of English and its implications for tertiary education. We reported on longitudinal studies at national level which have uncovered as a myth that the English proficiency of Icelanders is very good. We have also demonstrated that many students have difficulties accessing a curriculum written for native speakers of English. We call for the recognition of this struggle and its effect on students' learning and re-examination of instructional practices at all school levels. We suggest that reform should begin with a revision of goals for English at primary and secondary school with more emphasis on academic language. The status of English needs to be redefined in the National Curriculum and emphases on instructional practice and teacher development need to be redirected away from literature-based curriculum to an academic English or language for specific purposes/genre based approaches. SPCU needs further research in order to draw up a blueprint for coping strategies in an SPCU situation. Finally, it is important to re-examine the present language policy that proclaims that Icelandic only be used in all language domains. New educational policies that reflect a new linguistic environment need to be put forward so that students can be better prepared for the demands which await them at tertiary level and in future professional endeavors. Finally we would like to point out that although the research project reported here is based on data from Iceland, we believe the findings may have relevance for other contexts, not least in the Nordic countries.

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John Airey

7 From stimulated recall to disciplinary literacy: Summarizing ten years of research into teaching and learning in English

Abstract: This chapter summarizes my research work in Swedish higher education in the area of teaching and learning in English. Sweden makes for a particularly interesting case study since there are high levels of English competence in the general population and a large percentage of university courses have traditionally been taught through the medium of English.

The work I have done falls into three broad categories: University learning in English, University teaching in English and Disciplinary differences in attitudes to English language use.

Over the years I have used a range of data collection techniques including video recordings of lectures, semi-structured interviews, questionnaires and stimulated recall. The research work is almost exclusively qualitative in nature adopting a case study approach.

Keywords: medium of instruction, teaching in English, learning in English, university lecturing, disciplinary differences

1 Introduction

In this chapter I have been invited to summarize my research work in Swedish higher education in the area of teaching and learning in English. Originally trained as a physics teacher, my interest in languages began when I moved to Sweden and learned Swedish. After retraining as an English teacher, I worked in English for Specific Purposes for ten years in Sweden and the UK before beginning my research career in 2003. In my research I have combined my experiences as a language trainer and a physicist to examine language use in university physics education in Sweden and beyond. Sweden makes for a particularly interesting case study since there are generally high levels of English language

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competency in the general population and the country is at the forefront of English-medium instruction (Maiworm and Wächter 2002; Wächter and Maiworm 2008).

2 Research background

When I first started researching teaching and learning through the medium of English, very little work had been done at university level. The main research available was based on the North American immersion studies at lower levels of schooling. These studies generally seemed to suggest that there were benefits of bilingual education. Willig (1985), for example, carried out a meta-analysis of 23 US bilingual programmes, concluding that participation in bilingual education programmes consistently produced results that favoured bilingual education. However, Met and Lorenz (1997) and Duff (1997) challenged the generalizability of these findings to high school and tertiary education (so-called late immersion). They hypothesized that limitations in L2 could inhibit students' ability to explore abstract concepts in non-language subjects. Support for this view came from Marsh, Hau, and Kong (2000, 2002), who found large negative effects of high school teaching in L2 English on attainment, noting that the focus of earlier bilingual studies had been on achievement in languages with "a remarkable disregard for achievement in non-language subjects" (Marsh, Hau, and Kong 2000: 339).

Meanwhile, in Sweden the government published the white paper *Den öppna högskolan* [The open university] detailing its intentions for the university sector. Here, the following statement was made regarding teaching in English at Swedish universities:

> Swedish universities and university colleges have at present a significant number of courses and degree programmes where the language of instruction is English. Sweden is at the forefront in this area compared to other EU countries. In recent years, the range of courses and degree programmes offered in English has increased dramatically. A questionnaire administered by this commission shows the demand for teaching through the medium of English is steadily growing and that the choice of courses of this type seems likely to increase in the future. The government sees this as both a proper and positive development (Swedish Ministry of Education and Research [2001: 15], translation mine).

However, it was around this time that researchers at university level also began to report negative correlations between learning in L2 English and undergraduate performance (e.g. Klaassen 2001; Barton and Neville-Barton 2003, 2004; Gerber et al. 2005; Neville-Barton and Barton 2005). Here the work of

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Klaassen stands out due to its semi-longitudinal nature. Klaassen found that the average grades of engineering student cohorts on the same tests became lower when the language of instruction was changed to English, but that this negative effect appeared to be transient. After one year of study the grades of students taught in L2 English were indistinguishable from those of students who had been taught in L1 (Dutch). This suggested that students were adapting in some way to English-medium instruction. At this point no research was available into what exactly it was that students found difficult with English L2 instruction, nor how they had seemingly adapted to overcome such difficulties. Moreover, it was not known whether Klaassen's findings were a special case or whether they could be generalized to wider populations of students. Thus Klaassen (2001) suggested following up her work with stimulated recall sessions (Bloom 1953; Calderhead 1981; Haglund 2003) to find out what students were actually doing and thinking during lectures. This is what I set out to investigate in my early research in the area of undergraduate physics in Sweden (Airey and Linder 2006, 2007; Airey 2009b). In what follows, I summarize my research into teaching and learning in English in three related areas: *students learning in English*, *lecturers teaching in English* and *disciplinary differences* in attitudes to the use of English.

3 Learning in English

Building on Klaassen's work I decided that I would like to compare the experiences of physics undergraduates taught in English and in Swedish. I was also interested in the ability of students to explain physics content in both English and Swedish in relation to the language in which they had been taught. Clearly the most comparable data set would be to follow the *same students* being taught in the two languages. I therefore located instances in Sweden where the same students were attending two physics courses in parallel as part of their degree programme: one taught in English and the other in Swedish. Having located a number of such instances, I set about negotiating access with teachers and students. I eventually managed to gain access to three separate physics programmes where students were being taught in this way. I arranged to video sample lectures and then used this video in individual interviews with students to stimulate recall (Bloom 1953; Calderhead 1981; Haglund 2003). In the interviews I first followed a semi-structured interview protocol where I asked students to talk in general about their background and experiences of attending lectures in English and in Swedish. Then, once I had elicited this information, I showed the students selected clips from the two lectures they had attended in order to stimulate recall. In the interviews I also asked students to explain in English and in Swedish some of the content of the two lectures they had attended. Pairs of explanations were elicited for a number of physical phenomena – one in English and the other in Swedish and these could then be cross-referenced to the language originally used to present the phenomenon in the lectures. In total, 22 students from two universities were individually interviewed. Each interview lasted approximately 90 minutes.

The interview data lent itself to answering the following research questions:
1. To what extent can students explain physics phenomena in English and Swedish after attending lectures in Swedish and English respectively?
2. How do students experience learning physics in Swedish and in English?

3.1 Explaining physics phenomena in English and in Swedish

Having transcribed my interviews, I collated all the physics explanations the students produced. This resulted in a dataset of 58 disciplinary explanations in Swedish and English of the physics phenomena that the students had met in their lectures (Airey 2009a, 2010a). I was interested in three aspects of these transcripts: *fluency*, *involuntary code-switching* and *disciplinarity*.

3.1.1 Fluency

In the literature fluency has been related to two constructs, the rate of production of language and the amount said between pauses. Unfortunately, Swedish and English have quite different structures at the sentence level with Swedish favouring large compound nouns. In order to address this problem, I followed the work of Hincks (2005, 2010), dividing the transcripts into syllables. Two fluency measures were then used to compare transcripts of the same student explaining the same disciplinary concept in Swedish and in English. These measures were articulation rate, measured in syllables per second, and mean length of runs, which is the amount of syllables uttered between pauses. In the literature it has been argued that this second measure is the more valid (see Towell, Hawkins, and Bazergui 1996; Chambers 1997; Kormos and Dénes 2004).

3.1.2 Involuntary code-switching

In educational literature, code-switching is usually seen as a positive resource (see for example Liebscher and Dailey-O’Caine 2005; Üstünel and Seedhouse

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2005; Moschkovich 2007). However, since I was interested in students' ability to describe physics concepts in two languages, the students were instructed to use only one particular language in their descriptions. Any code-switching that occurred in the descriptions was thus deemed to be involuntary.

3.1.3 Disciplinarity

The students' descriptions were also rated using a four point disciplinary scale ranging from weak to excellent:

Grade	Label	Descriptor
1.	**Weak**:	Student uses very little disciplinary language.
2.	**Intermediate**:	Student uses some disciplinary terms appropriately, but either has clear disciplinary lexical gaps or uses other terms inappropriately.
3.	**Good**:	Student uses disciplinary terms appropriately in the sequence, but does not develop ideas fully.
4.	**Excellent**:	Student uses disciplinary terms appropriately and develops ideas fully. Expert explanation.

3.1.4 Findings

Analysis of student explanations of physics phenomena in Swedish and English using the three measures (fluency, involuntary code-switching and disciplinarity) produced the following findings:

- Some students (n = 3) were unable to give disciplinary descriptions in English – they simply code-switched to Swedish. These were first-year students who had not been taught in English before.
- All students spoke more slowly and had shorter runs in their English descriptions.
- Students gave similarly rated disciplinary explanations in both languages regardless of the language in which the concept had been taught.

3.1.5 Conclusions

The students in this study were asked to do something extremely challenging – to explain physics concepts that they had only met in an interpretive, listening

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mode in a lecture by using a productive oral mode in two languages – without any practice. It is therefore quite remarkable that the majority of students were able to complete the task. The three students who were unable to give disciplinary explanations in English were all experiencing teaching in English for the first time and thus (following Klaassen 2001) the implication is that these students would eventually learn to explain physics concepts in both English and Swedish. However, since there is a great deal of drop-out in physics degrees, it is not possible to rule out that such students simply leave the degree rather than adapt. Above the lower language threshold, students gave similar disciplinary explanations in both Swedish and English, regardless of the language in which the concept was originally taught. Note that this finding does not suggest that teaching language is unimportant – judgements about how well something is learned in Swedish or in English cannot be made from this data set – the data simply suggests that that which is learned in one language can be explained with similar levels of disciplinarity in both languages. Finally, since all students speak less fluently in English, one recommendation is that teachers should not confuse this lower fluency with poorer content knowledge.

3.2 Students learning physics in English and in Swedish

In the interviews the students initially reported no differences in their learning when taught in Swedish or English, suggesting that they were happy for the lecturer to use whichever language he or she was most comfortable with. However, despite this initial claim, during stimulated recall the same students reported a number of important differences in their learning when changing from Swedish to English.

3.2.1 Findings

There were two main findings of this part of the study. When taught undergraduate physics in English:

- Students asked and answered fewer questions.
- Students who took notes had difficulty following the lecture.

The students reported that they had adapted their study habits. When taught in English, many students reported that they did not feel comfortable asking questions during the lecture, preferring to ask questions informally afterwards. A number of students read sections of work before lectures in English – a

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practice that they did not employ before attending lectures in Swedish. Many students had stopped taking notes in English-medium lectures, preferring to try to understand what the lecturer was saying. Others who did take notes reported being unable to simultaneously follow the lecturer – for them, lectures had become sessions for mechanical note-taking. The success of these students appeared to depend on them doing extra work outside class to make sense of their notes.

3.2.2 Recommendations

The following are six recommendations for lecturers based on my results and my own experience:

1. Discuss the fact that there are differences when lectures are in a second language.

   Students were for the most part unaware that they had changed their learning strategies when they were taught in English. It therefore seems logical for a lecturer to point out to students who are about to be taught in English for the first time that there *are* differences, and that there are a number of (more or less) successful strategies that other students have adopted.

2. Stimulate discussion.

   Since students asked and answered fewer questions in lectures, I believe it makes sense for the lecturer to take steps to encourage more interaction. By asking a question and getting students to discuss it in smaller groups, the pressure of speaking English in front of the whole class can be lessened.

3. Allow time after the lecture for students to ask questions.

   If students feel uncomfortable asking questions in lectures, it is probably good practice for the lecturer to finish the lecture slightly early to allow time for informal questions where neither lecturer nor student needs to hurry away.

4. Follow a book or give out lecture notes.

   Since many students found it difficult to take notes and simultaneously follow the lecture, it probably makes sense for lecturers to either closely follow a book or give out notes. Note taking can then be limited to a minimum where students simply annotate the text with a few explanatory words or phrases.

5. Ask students to read sections before the lecture.

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One way some students had addressed problems of listening comprehension in English-medium lectures was to read the relevant book chapter before the lecture. In this way the lecture was used for confirmation and for answering questions that students had already formulated. Recent research suggests that students do not read their textbooks as much as their lecturers believe (Mežek 2013). Thus it may be useful to emphasize the success other students have had by employing this strategy for dealing with English-medium lectures.

6. Don't use lectures.

Since interaction was reduced in English-medium lectures, it may be wiser to move towards the use of seminars and group work instead. Perhaps it is possible to put the lecture online and use face-to-face meetings to discuss the content? Here, contemporary ideas about blended learning (Garisson and Kanuka 2004) and flipped classrooms (Bergmann and Sams 2012) may be particularly appropriate strategies for L2 settings, not least because asynchronous, online presentations give students the chance to stop and re-play sections of lectures that they find particularly difficult to understand.

All of these recommendations would probably be useful in first-language settings too. As such, it is my firm belief that teaching in English simply accentuates problems that already exist in L1 communicative events.

3.3 Summary of work into learning in English

My work into learning in English can be summarized as follows: When taught in English, Swedish physics students appear to adapt quite quickly. Thus the majority of students could explain physics concepts in both Swedish and English, regardless of the language in which the concept had been taught. These explanations were less fluent in English with students speaking more slowly and saying less between pauses. Students changed their study habits when they attended lectures in English, but they were for the most part unaware of these changes. They asked and answered fewer questions and had difficulty taking notes and following the lecture simultaneously. I have also presented a number of measures that I suggest could be used to address these issues.

4 Teaching in English

Having worked with the experiences of students attending physics lectures in English for my PhD, I then turned to the experiences of lecturers teaching in

English. In this section I report work published in two papers (Airey 2011c; Thøgersen and Airey 2011) together with some tentative findings from work in progress.

4.1 Research background

Early research into lecturers teaching in English was carried out in the Netherlands. Vinke (1995) administered a questionnaire to 131 lecturers at a technical university and recorded 16 engineering lecturers when they taught in both English and Dutch. After analysing her data, Vinke reported that the lecturers in her study suggested that they hardly noticed any difference when teaching in English or in Dutch. This finding was similar to work carried out by Zonneveld (1991). However, even though the lecturers' impression was that there were few differences, there were actually a number of differences that could be seen in the data, such as reduced redundancy, slower speech rate and lower expressiveness and accuracy (Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998). Lecturers also reported an increase in preparation time needed for English-medium teaching. It is important to acknowledge that the lecturers in Vinke (1995) were a select group – they were highly experienced and taught in English on a daily basis. This suggests that the findings of this study may not be generalizable to other contexts with less experienced teachers who do not regularly teach in English.

In a follow-up study at the same technical university in the Netherlands, Klaassen (2001) studied the language competency and pedagogical approach of lecturers in relation to ratings of their lectures for intelligibility. Lectures were recorded and rated for comprehensibility and student-centredness, which was cross-referenced with the lecturers' language levels (assessed using a TOEFL test). Klaassen's conclusion was that above a certain base level of English language competence, student-centred lecturing was a much more important factor in the success of an English-medium lecture than the lecturer's language level. Klaassen (2001:176) suggested a threshold level for English-medium instruction of TOEFL 580 (approximately equal to C1 on the Common European Framework, Council of Europe 2001; Educational Testing Service 2004). Below this limit Klaassen suggested that language training would be necessary. Above this threshold, Klaassen argued that more benefit could be derived from pedagogical training than language training.

Working in Finland, Lehtonen and Lönnfors (2001) administered a questionnaire (n = 43) and carried out interviews with 9 university lecturers. Their findings are similar to Vinke's (1995). New findings for this study were lecturers' problems with pronunciation and the suggestion that lecturers would feel uncomfortable correcting students' English.

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Then, working with student presentations in Swedish and English, Hincks (2005, 2010) found that when the same material was presented in English, students spoke on average 23% slower. From this she conjectured that if the same values held for lecturers, a 45-minute lecture given Swedish would take almost an hour to complete in English.

4.2 Research questions

Based on the research overview, the following research questions were generated:
1. How do lectures given in L1 differ from lectures on the same topic given by the same lecturer(s) in English?
2. How do lecturers experience the process of change from lecturing in Swedish to lecturing in English?

4.3 Two studies comparing lectures in L1 and English

In this section I summarize published work carried out in Denmark and report tentative findings from work in progress in Sweden.

4.3.1 The Danish study

Based on work with student presentations, Hincks (2010) conjectured that lectures given in L2 English could potentially take around 25% more time to complete. In order to investigate this hypothesis, Thøgersen and Airey (2011) compared five lectures on the same content given by the same lecturer – two in English and three in Danish. Unlike the earlier work of Hincks, the data for this study was naturalistic, since it followed an actual lecturer doing his job. Analysis of these five lectures followed similar methods to my earlier study of fluency in student explanations, i.e. the articulation rate and mean length of runs of the lecturer in Danish and English were calculated (see Section 3.1.). The rhetorical style of the lecturer in the two languages was also compared.

4.3.1.1 Findings, Denmark

When the lecturer taught in English, the same content took 22% longer to present with the lecturer speaking 23% slower. The lecturer's mean length of runs (i.e. the amount said between pauses) was 30% lower. There was also

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a noticeable difference in rhetorical style between the English and Danish lectures. The lectures in English were delivered using language that closely resembled formal, textbook English, whereas lectures in Danish had a more informal style.

4.3.1.2 Conclusions, Denmark

This work suggested that there could be a systematic difference between lecturing in L1 and L2 where lectures in L2 are less fluent. The results are nearly identical to Hincks' (2010) values for student presentations in Swedish and English where students spoke 23% slower, with 24% lower mean length of run in English. This finding is potentially important since the data was from a very experienced lecturer, suggesting that slowing down may be a persistent feature rather than something that occurs in a transition phase when first starting to teach in English.

The fact that the lecturer used a more formal style in English can be interpreted in a number of ways. It is not possible to discern whether the lecturer's natural style in L1 Danish may have changed in English due to fluency issues (i.e. the lecturer did not have access to informal disciplinary English), or whether this was an unconscious process of accommodation to students who are probably more familiar with the language of the textbook.

I argue that when teaching in L2 English, the pedagogical effects of both slowing down and using language that mirrors the students' textbook may in fact be positive – even if the changes in these parameters are a side effect that is outside the lecturers' control.

4.3.2 The Swedish study

A natural follow-up to the Danish study was to collect matched data from a range of lecturers and disciplines to examine the extent to which the findings from this one Danish lecturer were generalizable to wider systems. To this end, I collected a data set from 18 lecturers at two Swedish universities across a range of disciplines. These lecturers delivered 36 paired mini-lectures (2x18) in L1 Swedish and English on the same subject. These ten-minute mini-lectures were collected as part of the course "Teaching in English" for university staff. As such, the lecturers were not recorded in a naturalistic setting and, unlike the Danish lecturer, these lecturers did not have a long history of giving lectures in English – rather they were in the process of coming to terms with teaching in this way. Moreover, in the Danish data the order of lectures was mixed, whilst

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lecturers in this study first gave a mini-lecture in Swedish in an area that they normally teach and then, the following week returned to give the same lecture in English. This arrangement was, however, purposeful, since it models both the situation that the lecturers were faced with when changing to teaching in English and the wider processes at work in Swedish higher education where more courses are changing from being taught in Swedish to being taught in English.

The lecturers were given a time-guide of ten minutes for their lectures, but this was deliberately not enforced; rather the lecturers were allowed to present all the material they had prepared in both languages. The hypothesis here was that given the slowing down documented in earlier studies, lectures would need to be longer in English.

4.3.2.1 Tentative findings, Sweden

The ongoing analysis of the pairs of lectures so far confirms the findings of the Danish study in that lecturers spoke more slowly. However, surprisingly, not all the lectures were longer in English. On closer analysis these shorter lectures could be explained either by the lecturer changing approach to adopt a more structured delivery method in their English lectures (change from "chalk and talk" to computer presentation software) or by the lecturer having a free structure where different information was presented in Swedish and English.

4.3.2.2 Tentative conclusions, Sweden

Although the data for this study is still under analysis, it may be interesting for the reader to get a flavour of the types of findings that are emerging. At this stage the analysis suggests that there may be four types of approach adopted by the lecturers: *structure retained, structure changed, free form retained* and *structure introduced*.

For those lecturers who had a structured approach to their teaching in L1 Swedish and who then adopted the same format in L2 English, there appear to be two options, either the lecture was longer or the end of the lecture was cut off. This finding mirrors the initial expectation that slowing down would cause lectures to be longer. However, other lecturers with a structured approach in L1 Swedish adapted their lecture format in L2 English to achieve lectures of similar length. Here, options for adapting were to miss out certain content, reduce redundancy or cover everything in slightly less depth. It is too early in the analysis to draw any definitive conclusions here. The third teacher category was made up of those who had a free form in L1 Swedish. These lecturers

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presented different content in their L2 English lectures but would probably have presented different content if asked to give the same lecture again in L1. Thus the differences in lecture content could not be directly attributed to changes in the language of instruction. Here, it was interesting to note that free form lectures were shorter in L2 English. One hypothesis is that retaining a free form places greater demands on language – changing to English accentuates these demands and the response is less speech production. This suggests that a viable strategy for this instructor type when changing to L2 English may be to adopt a more structured approach – and this is in fact what I witnessed when "chalk and talk" lecturers opted to use structured slide presentations for their L2 English lectures. Unfortunately, the small number of lecturers who initially used a free form in L1 Swedish but introduced structure in their L2 English lectures precludes the drawing of any definitive conclusions about this particular strategy.

4.4 Comparing lecturer experiences of changing to English

4.4.1 Data collection

The cohort of lecturers used for this study is the same as the work in progress reported in section 4.3., 18 lecturers from two universities who were all on the staff training course "Teaching in English". As part of the course, the lecturers discussed and commented on their experiences of changing to English in an online discussion forum. This produced a corpus of 60,000 words. Twelve of the lecturers were also interviewed creating a total of four hours of transcribed data.

4.4.2 Findings

Analysis of the data resulted in nine themes reported in Airey (2011c). These themes are: more preparation, less detail, less flexibility, less fluency, no correction, short notice, no training, few differences and confidence boost. In many respects these themes replicate the findings of earlier work. Thus the first five themes have already been identified in the earlier work mentioned in the overview in section 4.1. The first new theme for this study concerns the short notice that had been given to many of the lecturers before having to teach in English. Here, many of the lecturers reported that their first experience of teaching in English was when they were "thrown in" to cover for a colleague. Another

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theme that was identified was the shared surprise over the lack of training offered for those who teach in English for the first time. Here comparisons were made to the compulsory pedagogical training that university lecturers are required to complete in Sweden.

When the lecturers were asked to analyse and comment on the video recordings of their lectures and those of other participants on the course, they were surprised to see how little difference there was between their lectures in Swedish and English. This led to the final category – the confidence boost that the lecturers felt from having attended the course.

4.4.3 Conclusions

The findings of this study on lecturer experiences of EMI mostly replicate the findings of earlier work carried out in Finland and the Netherlands. Similar results have also been reported for other European countries such as Spain (e.g. Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2011; Ball and Lindsay 2013; Cots 2013), Denmark (e.g. Jensen and Thøgersen 2011; Werther et al. 2014) and Austria (e.g. Tatzl 2011)[1]. What is interesting about this Swedish study is that it describes the experiences of lecturers who are in the process of changing their teaching language to English. The work thus models the present situation in Europe where more and more courses are changing to being taught in English. In this study, the combination of the short notice given before teaching in English and the absence of any training for this work seem to have exacerbated the doubts of the lecturers regarding their English-medium lecturing abilities. However, simply watching and analysing the videos of their own lectures and commenting on those of others led to an increase in the confidence of the teachers.

4.5 Summary: Teaching in English

In summary, when Swedish lecturers teach in L2 English, there are a number of issues related to the slowing down of speech that I suggest may have distinct pedagogical effects. Regarding the experience of changing to English, the findings of this study replicated those of earlier work. However, the study also showed that simple training courses where new lecturers can watch and analyse video footage of their lectures and discuss issues with other teachers have the

1 Findings are also reported in this volume for Germany, Croatia, Italy and the Basque region of Spain.

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distinct potential to help lecturers in their process of adjustment to teaching in English.

5 Disciplinary differences

Finally, I would like to briefly address the issue of disciplinary differences in attitudes to English-medium instruction. Given the low number of studies that actually deal with teaching and learning in L2 English, I believe there is a distinct danger that the recommendations of such studies are used to inform teaching and learning practices outside the system to which they are strictly applicable. In my own case, my early work (reported in section 3) dealt exclusively with physics undergraduates in two Swedish universities. It seems natural to critically consider the generalizability of such findings if they are to be applied to another country, particularly if the levels of English language ability in the student population in that country are substantially different than those in Sweden. What is perhaps less apparent is that the *discipline* in which the study was carried out may, in some cases, prove to be more important than the country where the data was collected. In my more recent work, for example, I have found strong similarities in the attitudes of physics lecturers to English across different universities in countries as diverse as Sweden and South Africa (Airey 2012, 2013; Linder et al. 2014). Here the knowledge structure of the discipline appears to play an important role (Bernstein 1999).

5.1 Disciplinary knowledge structures

Bernstein suggests that disciplinary knowledge structures can be analytically categorized as more *hierarchical* or more *horizontal* in nature. Hierarchical knowledge structures attempt "to create very general propositions and theories, which integrate knowledge at lower levels" (Bernstein 1999: 162), whilst disciplines with horizontal knowledge structures build knowledge through the development of a range of specialized languages that do not need to be compatible with each other. Typical examples of disciplines with hierarchical knowledge structures are natural sciences such as physics or chemistry, whereas typical disciplines with horizontal knowledge structures would be humanities such as literature or history. Drawing on Wignell (2007) and Martin (2011), social sciences can be seen as knowledge hybrids in Bernstein's classification, often attempting to emulate the integrative hierarchical knowledge structures of the

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natural sciences, whilst simultaneously acknowledging the potential multiplicity of relevant perspectives for understanding any given phenomenon. Here, Kuteeva and Airey (2014) find that disciplines with more hierarchical knowledge structures, such as natural sciences and medicine, have strong preferences for English language use, whilst disciplines with more horizontal knowledge structures such as the humanities display preferences for local languages. This finding clearly has consequences for university language policies.

5.2 Disciplinary literacy

I have suggested that it is useful to view the role of undergraduate teaching in terms of the fostering of disciplinary literacy. Here I have defined disciplinary literacy as the ability to appropriately participate in the communicative practices of a discipline. These communicative practices relate to three sites: the academy, the workplace and society (Airey 2011a, 2011b, 2013). I argue that every discipline places a unique emphasis on developing disciplinary literacy for these three sites. Thus, becoming disciplinarily literate involves learning how to communicate about the discipline in research circles, in the world of work and in society at large (e.g. a popular science description of the discipline). So, for example, whilst physics tends to place the majority of its emphasis on developing disciplinary literacy for the academy, nursing could be argued to focus more on the workplace and society, history could be seen to place more emphasis on academy and society, etc. Clearly, the skills required for achieving disciplinary literacy are fundamentally different for each of the three sites, as are the demands placed on language. For example, being disciplinarily literate in society will usually entail the use of one or more local languages, whilst disciplinary literacy in the academy will usually (although not always) require some amount of English. Thus, by framing learning in terms of disciplinary literacy I argue that it becomes relatively easy to appreciate and understand the disciplinary differences in attitudes languages found by Kuteeva and Airey (2014).

6 Conclusions and future work

The different demands placed on disciplinary literacy across disciplines and settings suggest that this is a serious issue that deserves more attention. My conclusion for the whole of this chapter, therefore, is that a one-size-fits-all approach to the problems of language use in higher education risks ignoring the disciplinary literacy needs of students. Rather, I suggest that what is needed

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are local, disciplinary-specific decisions about which skills lecturers want their students to be able to perform in which language(s), coupled with purposeful, coordinated strategies for developing these skills. In this respect, I have argued that a natural conclusion is that the syllabus of every degree course should explicitly deal with language learning outcomes alongside the more traditional disciplinary learning objectives (Airey 2010b). See also Airey et al. (forthcoming).

In 1994 Flowerdew summarized the state of research into lecturing in L2 as follows:

> One thing that is clear from this review is that a lot more research is needed before we have a clear idea of what constitutes a successful second language lecture. A lot more information is needed – in terms of how a lecture is comprehended, in terms of what a lecture is made up of, and in terms of how the variable features of a lecture may be manipulated to ensure optimum comprehension – before meaningful statements can be made about many aspects of lectures which will have concrete effects on pedagogy (Flowerdew 1994: 25).

When I started my research work ten years after Flowerdew's assessment of the situation, I concluded in my literature review that little had changed (Airey 2004). Today we know much more about teaching and learning in English; however, Flowerdew's appeal for more information seems as relevant as ever. I therefore suggest that a future goal of research in the area of English-medium instruction should be to document language use in higher education across a wide range of disciplines and settings in an attempt to isolate which research findings are generic (and therefore largely generalizable) and which are specific to the discipline and setting.

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Erkan Arkın and Necdet Osam

8 English-medium higher education: A case study in a Turkish university context

Abstract: This research investigated, through an exploratory case study, the impact of English-medium instruction (EMI) on disciplinary learning in a Turkish university context. A survey given out to the undergraduate university students studying at an English-medium university showed that while EMI is perceived as necessary for professional and academic career prospects, the process of disciplinary learning is perceived to be negatively affected due to limited language skills of the students. The researchers then decided to further investigate the issue in more depth through a case study which included analysis of lecturer discourse in videotaped classroom observations and follow up interviews with the participating students, using stimulated recall. The results reveal that despite the efforts of the content instructor such as reduced speech rate and higher use of content redundancy, the students still had problems following the lecture and comprehending the content. Based on the findings, this research proposes both practical and theoretical implications, with the latter calling for a shift from EMI to content and language integrated learning (CLIL) for a more effective addressing of both language and content needs of learners.

Keywords: English-medium instruction (EMI), Turkish university context, case study, disciplinary learning, lecturer discourse, student interviews, language policy, content and language integrated learning (CLILL)

1 Introduction

Being the mostly utilized lingua franca today, English has long gained a prominent role and status worldwide (Crystal 2003; Graddol 1997, 2006). It is now a widely recognized medium of communication in the international arena with specific reference to business, science, politics, and academics. The role and status English has gained in the fast globalizing world, especially in the field of higher education, is outstanding due to the increase in demand for English speaking graduates. Although there are opposing views about the status of English, arguing that there is a commercial rationale behind English-medium

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higher education, and cultural and political dimensions (Coleman 2006; Phillipson 2003, 2008), the global status of English is a motive for its adoption in education; at the same time this use of English in education is boosting its global spread (Coleman 2006). The situation regarding the English-medium higher education across Europe today is a result of the Bologna Process and the Erasmus programme, which have greatly contributed to Englishization of higher education in Europe (Coleman 2013) with varying levels of English-medium policies and programmes in different national and institutional contexts (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013). Considering the demand for English-medium higher education, it is not difficult to see the same process happening in the Turkish context, as is evident in the increasing number of universities offering English-medium programmes (Sert 2008). However, the current situation vis-à-vis English-medium education at the Turkish tertiary level education settings poses some serious issues. Despite the growing interest in and positive attitude towards English, and despite the continuing policies on behalf of the governments to support and encourage EMI at secondary and higher education, learners' poor level of academic accomplishment in English-medium courses has been a major issue of controversy (Kilimci 1998; Yediyıldız 2003). Such disparity exists because in spite of its widespread use in most higher education contexts, little is known about the effects of English-medium instruction on student learning (Kırkıcı 2004; Sert 2008). In most primary and secondary education settings in Turkey and North Cyprus, English is taught merely as a foreign language, except in a few elite private schools. Then in the university context, there is a sudden shift to English-medium instruction (EMI). Hence the effects of such a sudden shift in the instructional language require careful observation and examination as the situation may cause trouble for students when learning disciplinary content.

Similar concerns regarding the process of EMI have also been voiced at the only state university in North Cyprus, where the study was conducted. A report published by Eastern Mediterranean University and Institutional Review Programme of the European University Association (EUA-EMU Evaluation Report 2007), stated that many of the students faced challenges in coping with the requirements of English-medium courses due to their limited skills in English. Their major weaknesses were in expressing themselves, especially in academic speaking and writing. Following the publication of the report, the researchers of the present study conducted a university-wide survey (using a questionnaire of perceptions, adapted from Tarhan 2003), as part of a doctoral study. The survey was given to undergraduate students studying at the five major faculties in order to evaluate their attitudes towards and perceptions of English-medium programmes. The findings showed that, while the participating students perceived

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EMI as having positive impact on improving their language skills and contributing to better professional and academic career prospects, they also stated that it caused difficulties in their disciplinary learning. Some difficulties they mentioned were limited classroom participation and difficulty following the content due to their limited language skills, increased study load, memorization and surface learning of disciplinary content, all of which result in limited test performance and course achievement. For it would be difficult to judge the extent and depth of problems from responses to a survey of perceptions, we decided to look into the process of EMI in-depth through a case study in the light of the following research question:

What characterizes a typical English-medium university lecture in terms of

i. instructor lecturing behaviour, and
ii. student participation and comprehension of disciplinary content?

2 Theoretical background

Discussing the vast spread of EMI, Coleman (2006) refers to content and language integrated learning (CLIL), stating that it is thought to have an important influence on the higher education institutions in adopting EMI. For this reason, there is a need to take a closer and more detailed look at the concept of CLIL. In broad terms, CLIL refers to "a dual-focused educational approach in which an additional language is used for the learning and teaching of both content and language" (Coyle, Hood, and Marsh 2010: 1). The term CLIL was coined and officially adopted by the European Network of Administrators, Researchers and Practitioners (EUROCLIC) in 1996 (Marsh 2002). Explaining the reason why the term CLIL was chosen by the EUROCLIC representatives, Marsh (2002: 63) states that "it placed both language and non-language content on a form of continuum, without implying preference for one or the other. Thus it was considered suitable as a generic term to bring together parties which were interested in the method from the point of view of either language development, or non-language subject development, or both." Since its official adoption, CLIL has become a trend across Europe, "gradually becoming an established teaching approach" (Perez-Cañado 2011: 2), as it retains an important advantage over traditional teaching approaches, providing more contact time with the target language, offering learners more opportunities to practice language skills and applying the knowledge acquired in the language classroom (Coyle, Hood, and Marsh 2010). Also, what makes CLIL different from immersion programmes in North American contexts is that within the context of CLIL, learners start learning in

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a second/foreign language at a later age and thus are much less exposed to instruction in the target language; content to be taught is taken from academic themes rather than from everyday life; and more importantly, there is much less research into its effects, as opposed to immersion or bilingual programmes (Perez-Cañado 2011). Different terminology is used to describe models in different contexts depending on the emphasis given to either the subject-based component or the language of CLIL (Coyle 2007), such as *language-led CLIL*, which highlights language development, and *subject-led CLIL*, which excludes explicit language teaching, depending on how countries and institutions choose to realize CLIL due to their specific sociocultural settings and educational policies. Therefore, the EMI approach in the context of Turkish higher education may be interpreted, in rough terms, as a subject-led CLIL. It assumes language development alongside the process of disciplinary learning, but it may not overtly address the language needs of learners, as learners are assumed to be ready for receiving disciplinary content in EMI, after a year or so English preparation programme.

There is a growing number of CLIL and EMI research studies in Europe looking into different aspects of the issue, such as evaluating perspectives of learners and instructors (Aguilar and Rodriguez 2011; Ball and Lindsay 2013; Hellekjær and Westergaard 2003; Klaassen 2001; Kurtan 2003; Sercu 2004; Tatzl 2011), and comparison of L1 versus English-medium learning of disciplinary content (Airey 2009; Airey and Linder 2007). The results of the studies largely reveal that while the lecturers and the students favour EMI, there are also reported challenges such as difficulties for instructors adopting their pedagogical approach and methodology in communicating and explaining the disciplinary content in a foreign language, and problems for the students grasping the content due to limited language skills. Some research studies have specifically focused on the analysis of English-medium lectures investigating the possible differences in lecturers' teaching behaviour in their L1-medium and English medium courses, and how such differences in the lecturing behaviour would affect student comprehension of disciplinary content presented (Crawford Camiciottoli 2005; Dafouz-Milne and Llinarez-Garcia 2008; Thøgersen and Airey, 2011; Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998). The common finding in these studies is that a change in the teaching language seems to lead to a corresponding change in the lecturing behaviour of instructors, which may have negative consequences for student learning.

Nevertheless, in the Turkish context, there is limited research investigating the issue in depth. The studies conducted so far have revealed more negative results than positive (Akünal 1992; Kırkgöz 2005; Kılıçkaya 2006; Sert 2008). Using largely quantitative measures, these studies investigated perceptions of

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stakeholders in the university context, i.e. students and teachers; the common finding is that while English-medium education is perceived positively in regards to language development, it negatively affects disciplinary learning. A recent review of the literature revealed a few studies at the master's level investigating perceptions of university students and teachers in regards to EMI, and presenting similar findings as above (Atik 2010; Derintuna 2006; Güler 2004) There is only one study at the doctoral level (Doyuran 2006), which looked into the differences in the lecture discourse in Turkish- and English-medium university lectures. The study found that while information is carefully organized in most of the English-medium lectures prior to its presentation, in the Turkish-medium lectures the discourse was more interactional and planned less carefully. The study highlights that its findings might help university lecturers and lecture audience, i.e. students, to raise awareness of the differences that are likely to occur when the medium of instruction changes from L1 to English.

3 The study

The case study was carried out in two stages, first through lecture observations in which a total of four lectures at the Business Administration (BA) department were videotaped, and then through follow-up semi-structured interviews with the students who attended the lectures. The BA was selected because the results of the survey indicated that the perceived difficulties related to comprehension of English-medium lectures seem to be serious in social sciences majors, and also because the faculty showed willingness to take part in additional research. Compared to the other study contexts where the impact of EMI can be observed through comparison with mother tongue instruction since the same course is offered both in English and in the local language (see Airey and Linder 2007), the context in this study did not allow us, the researchers, to conduct a similar research design because all the courses are taught in English only, except the ones offered to Turkish-medium only programmes, e.g. Turkish teacher education. Thus, for the purposes of this study, a parallel-lecture design was constructed. The lecturer of the observed course agreed to design and conduct a series of lectures in English and Turkish. To that effect, announcement was made in class informing the students about the purpose and design of the study, and 16 students volunteered to participate. All the participating students had Turkish as their L1 because the international students (about 15 in a class of 45) would not be able to follow the Turkish-medium lectures. The course offered by the lecturer was a 3rd-year undergraduate course, Human Resources Management

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(MGMT 301). The lecturer and the researchers agreed on two new topics from the course-book that was yet to be covered in order to minimize the learning effect. The lecturer explained the selected topics were of importance for the aims of the course. Prior to the lecture observations, a semi-structured interview, adapted from Airey (2009), was held with the lecturer on his views about the lecture content and possible problems regarding student participation and learning of lecture content. The lecturer conducted a total of four lectures, each lasting 50 minutes. Each topic was covered in English in one lecture, and then repeated in Turkish in another. For the first topic, half of the students attended the first lecture in English; the same topic was repeated in Turkish for the other half in a second lecture the next day. The second topic was covered the following week in a third lecture. Those students who attended the first lecture in English attended this one in Turkish; the same topic was repeated the next day in a fourth lecture in English for the other half. All the lectures were video recorded. Ten students who attended all of the lectures were approached and all accepted to be interviewed.

3.1 Participants

Although it is a high profile international English-medium university with students coming from different countries (mostly from the Middle East, Africa and Iran), the majority of students (about two thirds) come from a Turkish first language (L1) background (from Turkey and North Cyprus), and most learned English as a foreign language at primary and secondary education. In order to start their departmental studies, the students have to pass an in-house English proficiency test with a minimum score that is equivalent to 5.5 on the International English Language Testing System (IELTS). Those who cannot pass the proficiency test attend a one-year intensive English programme at the English Preparatory School (EPS). After completing one year of general English study at the EPS, the students take the proficiency exam again in order to start the coursework at their departments. While there are some native-speakers of English, the majority of the content instructors are non-native speakers and most are Turkish native speakers. For this reason, all the participating students and the lecturer in this case study were chosen among the Turkish native speakers. All the ten students who participated in the interviews speak Turkish as their native language. Two were Turkish Cypriots and eight were from Turkey. None of the students had CLIL but had English as a foreign language at secondary education, except for Student 1 (he took science courses in English for three years) and Student 9 (he had science courses in English for one year). Eight of the

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students wanted the interview to be in Turkish. Student 1 started in English and later switched to Turkish. Student 3 started and completed the interview in English. The lecturer was also a native Turkish speaker. He completed his undergraduate and master's degrees in the US, and his PhD degree in an English-medium programme in Turkey. Although a non-native speaker of the language, he said he was comfortable teaching in English as he taught in English for more than 10 years. He also had experience in teaching in Turkish because he conducted courses in the Turkish language for the local community offered by the EMU Continuing Education Centre. Considering the interaction and participation of Turkish students in lectures, he said, "There's the usual group that's always responding or asking questions… that might be five students out of 30 and unfortunately, a big proportion of the students just shut off during the lecture". In order to help students follow the lecture more easily, he said, "I try to be conscious of what words I'm using. I will often rephrase something and put them in a different word and say one more time".

3.2 Tools for data analysis

A total of six (three from each lecture) excerpts of 5–10 minutes of lecturer talk were selected for analysis of lecturer speech. The sections selected were the least interrupted presentations of a subject topic in full-length; each section was clearly marked with the lecturer signalling the start by introducing the topic and finishing the presentation by wrapping up, signalling a move to the new topic or calling for questions. For comparison, the same was done for the lectures in Turkish, resulting in 12 sections to be analysed and compared. The following were the topics and the subtopics covered in each lecture (both in English and Turkish):

Topic 1: Performance Management and Appraisal
- Performance evaluation versus management
- Realistic versus soft appraisal
- Defining goals (SMART goals)
- Four tools for measuring performance
- Topic 2: Money and Motivation
- Maslow's theory of needs and Herzberg's Hygiene factors
- Job characteristics model
- Expectancy theory
- Flow and intrinsic motivation theory

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Both quantitative and qualitative measures were applied for analysis. For quantitative analysis, a similar methodology used in Thøgersen and Airey (2011) was adopted. The analysis of the lecturer's speaking rate in the lectures was conducted using SPS (syllables per second) and MLR (mean length of run, i.e. the number of syllables produced between pauses) counts. Pauses between utterances were observed with the help of the speech analysis software, *Praat* (Boersma and Weenink 2009). Qualitative analysis of the lectures addressed the use of content redundancy by the lecturer, as it has been highlighted as an important strategy together with reduced pace of speech, to help non-native listeners comprehend content subject (Lynch 1994, 2011). Redundancy is the repetition of what has been said and can be observed in the form of exact repetition, repetition with one or two words changed, or complete reformulation or paraphrase (Lynch 1994; Dafouz-Milne and Llinarez-Garcia 2008). For the analysis, Tannen's (1989, as cited in Dafouz-Milne and Llinarez-Garcia 2008) *Conversation Analysis Framework* was employed. The transcripts of the targeted sections of lecture content (six in English-medium lectures and six in Turkish-medium versions) were analysed for instances of the lecturer's self-repetition (i.e. repeating what is said by himself) and allo-repetition (i.e. repeating what is uttered by the students). Instances of allo-repetition were categorized as interactional repetitions (used to encourage the students' participation and turn-keeping) and pedagogic repetitions (positive or negative evaluation of student utterance on content and/or form) (Dafouz-Milne and Llinarez-Garcia 2008). The interviews were conducted individually, using a semi-structured interview protocol, and through a stimulated-recall technique, adapted from Airey (2009). For stimulated recall, the students were shown a series of short video-clips from different stages of the video-recorded lectures (e.g. when the lecturer is explaining a new term or concept or asking questions). They were asked to reflect on each of these stages prompted by questions such as: what they were thinking or doing at that stage, if they were with the lecturer, what helped or inhibited their understanding, etc. All the interviews were audio recorded and were fully transcribed for analysis.

4 Data analysis and findings

4.1 Quantitative findings

The first step in the data analysis process was to identify pauses in the lecturer's talk; precise identification of pauses was essential for the correct calculation of mean length of runs (MLR), which is the speech uttered between two pauses. For

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identifying pauses, Airey (2009) used intuition, i.e. he listened to the recorded speech and marked what he experienced as a meaningful pause in the speech production. Thøgersen and Airey (2011) separately computed MLR also using an intuitive approach and then compared their calculations for inter-coder reliability. However, they found that some of the pauses they identified were longer than .25 seconds, a common limit used in research; therefore they decided to use the speech analysis programme *Praat* for a more objective calculation. In this study, we used the same software, instead of using an intuitive, qualitative approach. Setting the lowest limit at .25 seconds, we identified the pauses in the lecturer speech. In a Microsoft Word document, each utterance was identified with a pause at the end, .25 seconds or longer; the new utterance started on a new line and each of the lines were numbered so as to calculate the MLR values as a next step.

Another step in the process was to calculate the syllables per second (SPS) values, which would yield information about the lecturer's speech rate. The first phase in the SPS calculation was to divide each word in syllables and then get the sum in all the speech. The reason for counting syllables rather than words as a measure is that the two languages, Turkish and English, come from different language families and have different structural typologies; i.e. the orthographic systems of the two languages show differences and thus make the comparison at word level biased (Hincks 2005; Thøgersen and Airey 2011). Thus, we conducted the quantitative analyses on a syllable level, as syllable division revealed a similar pattern (see Table 1 below illustrating the reason for syllable instead of word count). Dividing the syllables in the Turkish transcript was done intuitively as the rule is straightforward; for the syllables in the English version, we referred to a monolingual dictionary as a check.

Table 1: Reason for syllable count

(En) *Extrinsic reward, the material that somebody gives you* = 8 words	(Tr) Başka birisinin size vereceği dışsal ödül = 6 words
Ex-trin-sic re-ward, the ma-ter-ial that some-bod-y gives you = 15 syllables	Baş-ka bi-ri-si-nin si-ze ve-re-ce-ği dış-sal ö-dül = 16 syllables

After the data were prepared for analysis, we calculated the SPS and MLR values. For the SPS values, the total number of syllables in the section was divided by the total lecturer talk time. And for the MLR, the total number of syllables was divided by the total number of utterances as marked by numbered lines. Table 2 below shows the results gathered from the quantitative analysis of the three sections of the first parallel Turkish and English lectures. When the comparative data were analysed, we observed that on average it took the

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lecturer 9% more time to present the same content in English. When studied closely, we saw that while it took the lecturer much longer to cover Section En2 (approximately 3 minutes longer), it took him slightly longer to present Sections Tr1 and Tr3. The reasons for this were investigated in qualitative analysis. We also observed that the lecturer spoke more slowly, producing on average 33% fewer syllables and 43% shorter runs, or utterances, in the lecture given in English.

Table 2: First lecture: Quantitative differences between Turkish and English lectures (Turkish is used as baseline)

	Sections in Turkish lecture				Sections in English lecture				
	Tr1	Tr2	Tr3	Mean	En1	En2	En3	Mean	Difference (%)
Time (in seconds)	378	312	372	354	315	514	328	386	+9.0
Runs	143	123	133	133	144	238	133	172	+29.3
Syllables	1451	1215	1351	1339	749	1281	888	973	−27.3
SPS	3.84	3.89	3.63	3.79	2.38	2.49	2.71	2.53	−33.2
MLR	10.15	9.88	10.16	10.06	5.20	5.38	6.68	5.75	−42.8

Tr1/En1: Realistic vs. soft appraisal; Tr2/En2: Appraisal goals; Tr3/En3: Appraisal tools

Table 3: Second lecture: Quantitative differences between Turkish and English lectures (Turkish is used as baseline)

	Sections in Turkish lecture				Sections in English lecture				
	Tr4	Tr5	Tr6	Mean	En4	En5	En6	Mean	Difference (%)
Time (in seconds)	458	280	402	380	394	406	486	429	+12.0
Runs	187	113	162	154	148	160	206	171	+11
Syllables	1707	924	1519	1383	978	1070	1170	1073	−22.4
SPS	3.73	3.30	3.78	3.60	2.48	2.63	2.41	2.51	−30.3
MLR	9.13	6.95	9.38	8.49	6.61	6.69	5.68	6.33	−25.4

Tr4/En4: Maslow's theory of needs; Tr5/En5: Herzberg's two-factor model; Tr6/En6: Flow

Table 3 presents the results gathered from the quantitative analysis of the three sections of the second parallel Turkish and English lectures. According to the figures, the lecturer spent on average 12% more time to present the same content in English and spoke more slowly, as revealed in 30% lower SPS and 25% fewer MLR measures. The only section he spent more time in the Turkish lecture was Section Tr4, where it took him one extra minute to finish presenting the topic. When the data in the two tables were closely analysed, it was interesting to find that the SPS and MLR values were considerably and consistently different in all the sections compared, supporting the interpretation that the lecturer did actually speak more slowly in the lectures in English, i.e. he produced fewer syllables and shorter utterances while presenting the same content than he did in the Turkish-medium lectures. Finally, looking at all the sections, we observed that on average it took the lecturer 11% more time to present the same content in the English-medium lectures (see Table 4 below). It seems this was because in the lectures in English, his speaking rate was considerably slower (32% in SPS; 35% in MLR values). The quantitative analysis presented above shows that the lecturer's speaking rate considerably reduced while giving the same presentation in English. And it seems such a change in the speaking rate required more time to cover the same content. However, the findings gathered from the quantitative analysis alone may not provide enough information about why the lectures in English took more time and were delivered more slowly. For a better understanding of the reasons that led to such quantitative differences, a qualitative analysis of the differences in content was necessary.

Table 4: Mean differences between the Turkish and English lecture sections

	Turkish	English	Difference (%)
Time (seconds)	367	407	+11
Runs	144	172	+19
Syllables	1361	1023	−25
SPS	3.70	2.52	−32
MLR	9.28	6.04	−35

4.2 Qualitative findings

Although we found in the quantitative analysis that the content presented in the English-medium lectures took more time on average than in the Turkish lectures, there were three sections that were exceptions: Sections Tr1, Tr3 and Tr4. Section Tr1, where the lecturer presented the topic *realistic* versus *soft appraisal*, took one minute longer than its English counterpart. When the content in the two parallel sections were compared, we observed that in the Turkish lecture, the lecturer presented and discussed two anecdotes from the Turkish legal system as examples to illustrate the appraisal system. The two examples took about four minutes. These examples were not given in the lecture in English; thus it explains why it took longer. In Section Tr3, presenting a number of appraisal tools, the lecturer took less than one minute longer. When the transcripts were compared, we saw that the lecturer presented an extra tool, *management by objectives* (MBO), which he could not present in the English lecture as he ran out of his 50-minute lesson time. In fact, after closer analysis, we observed that in the English-medium lecture, the lecturer spent most of the lecture slot explaining the first three of the appraisal tools so he did not have time left to explain the last tool, MBO. In the Turkish lecture, he covered all the tools, including MBO (spending 190 seconds explaining the tool), and still had 4 more minutes to the end of the 50-minute lecture, where he gave a summary of the material presented and answered the students' questions. Finally, the analysis of the last Turkish section, Tr4, which took about 60 seconds longer than the English section, revealed that in Tr4, the lecturer had a lengthy discussion on Maslow's theory, interacting with the students and answering their questions; this interaction did not happen in Section En4. In short, the initial qualitative analysis revealed that in the three seemingly longer lectures in Turkish, the lecturer actually had opportunity to illustrate what he presented with further examples, covered all the planned material on time and still had time for wrap-up and student questions. To put it another way, in the lectures in English, the lecturer did not have enough time to provide extra examples, to cover up all the material that was supposed to be covered, and to give time for student questions and discussion. This initial finding seems to support the interpretation that these problems may have occurred due to a slower speech rate and thus requiring more time.

As a second step in the analysis, all the sections analysed by quantitative measures were analysed again with a qualitative measure, looking specifically into teacher repetitions. Considering the data in all the three sections in the first and second lectures (see Tables 5 and 6), we observed that allo-repetitions were much less frequent than self-repetitions, which seems to show that the instructor adopted a lecturing style, rather than elaborating the lecture on the students' contributions.

Table 5: Lecture 1 (English): Instructor repetitions in three sections

Lecture: Performance Appraisal	Self-repetition	Allo-repetition	
		Pedagogic	Interactional
Section 1: Soft appraisal	31	5	2
Section 2: Goals	46	3	–
Section 3: Tools	26	–	1

Table 6: Lecture 2 (English): Instructor repetitions in three sections

Lecture: Performance Appraisal	Self-repetition	Allo-repetition	
		Pedagogic	Interactional
Section 1: Maslow	17	7	3
Section 2: Herzberg	32	4	–
Section 3: Flow	32	–	–

Overall, the instructor tended to use self-repetitions most of the time. As is shown in the example below, the instructor repeated himself (bolded words and phrases), by using exact repetitions or ones with variance and paraphrasing, to clarify and highlight the meaning of the concept *soft appraisal* in an effort to ensure the students understand it. This finding confirms that he deliberately employs repetition as a strategy as he also stated in the interview. With regard to allo-repetitions, the data reveal the instructor tended to employ more pedagogic repetitions (those in bold, italic and underlined) than interactional; i.e. by repeating the students' contributions, he not only confirms the students' contribution but also aims to make sure the subject content is comprehended.

Example 1 – Lecture 1: Soft appraisal
We call this, soft, motivation for **soft** appraisals. **Soft** means, instead of being realistic **you sugar coat it**, **you make it taste better**, **instead of saying**, you know, I don't know if they still do it in lycee or elementary school, but, for a bad student the teacher gives comments; **the teacher wouldn't write** "this student is not very good", but **they would write** "the student tries, **tries** hard, **gayretlidir** [tries hard]", **instead of saying**, you know, **he cannot do it right**, the **student tries hard**, you know. So, it is difficult to, to be very honest about appraisals, so, uhm, you know maybe people are not willing very low appraisals, **very low evaluations to the people they evaluate**, whether it is the students, or whether it is the chairman, **the chairman thinks**, you know, this person is my colleague, I don't want to give **a poor evaluation** to this person, so instead of **giving something very low**, you give them something near the middle. That's the reason, but what does this lead to? **As a result of this**, **As a result of this niceness**?

(unrealistic??)

<u>***Unrealistic***</u>. And what happens to these, you know, people that get, ehm, good evaluations, even though their performance is not very good?

(they won't try hard)

<u>***They won't try hard***</u>.

(if there is any need for improvement, they won't do that)

<u>***They don't improve themselves***</u>, they think, "Eh, I'm good, you know. The students give me a good grade. I must be doing an excellent job, you know, why should I change anything, everything is good".

However, the data in the Turkish lectures are characterized by more instances of interactional repetition; this may be, although not raised in the interview, because the lecturer did not have much concern with ensuring the meaning is comprehended by the students as the medium of instruction is in their L1. In conclusion, considering the quantitative and qualitative analyses of the data presented above, it seems that the lecturer shows considerable effort to ensure

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the subject content is comprehended by reducing his speech rate and by employing repetition. The essential question to ask here is what impact these efforts have on the students' understanding of disciplinary content. The final step of data analysis needs to be taken into consideration for an answer to the question of disciplinary learning in EMI.

Findings from student interviews

The content analysis of the transcripts of the student interviews revealed a number of emerging issues, namely reduced attention span and frequent gaps in following the lecture due to limited language skills, increased study load, and limited test performance due to inability to express ideas in written English. However, the most striking finding from the stimulated recall sections of the interviews was the risk of limited comprehension and even misunderstanding of disciplinary content. Two of the topics highlighted by the lecturer as important concepts were *Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs* and *Herzberg's two-factor model*. What makes looking into these two topics more important than the others is that both of them were covered earlier, in first and second year courses, in English. As part of the design of the study, these topics were also explained for the first time in Turkish. Therefore, it was important to listen to the students' experiences on the matter. In Maslow's hierarchy of needs, physical needs come first. According to the theory, only after this need is fulfilled, it is followed by other needs, i.e. safety and social needs. The top need in the hierarchy is *self-actualization*. It was revealed in the interviews that some students, including Student 1, who was observed to be the one with better language skills compared to the others, realized that they had failed to get its meaning correct in the previous courses; it becomes clear only in the Turkish-medium lecture.

> There was one thing I could not understand before: Kendini Gerçekleştirme (self-actualization); I understand that concept clearly now in this [Turkish] lecture. The other steps in the hierarchy I got them correct in English in the earlier courses, but this concept [self-actualization]… One thing that the instructor said about its meaning [in Turkish], 'You get to know the real meaning of life, and start seeking the absolute truth and values within…' In the previous courses, from neither what I listened in the lecture nor what I read from the book, I did not understand the meaning fully (Student 1).

> I thought it would mean: you are full, feel safe [needs in the lower end of the pyramid]; you take care of your social needs, you've got money to watch a movie; like you have got a bit of everything and you achieve all your needs ultimately at the top level [of the pyramid] (Student 2).

> Yes, but it does not match with what we learned here about its meaning now… I thought it was like, when you have satisfied all your needs and achieved a position you earn the respect of people; you become a respected person after achieving a certain status and position… However, it actually means realizing your self-being, your existence. I learned it now [in the Turkish lecture], in my third year (Student 4).

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A similar problem was observed when some of the students came to realize that they misunderstood *Herzberg's two-factor model* in the previous courses.

> Look [pointing to the video excerpt of the lecture in Turkish, used for stimulated recall] here the lecturer clearly explains where the term hygiene comes from, why these factors are called hygiene. I've seen the same concept before in the previous three courses I took earlier but I could not understand why it is called hygiene factors… Look [pointing to the screen], he [lecturer] is going to explain the term hygiene [explanation in Turkish is watched]… here I felt I fully understood the concept and its relation to motivation… I think this is a very important concept for my profession in the future; I would have been very upset if I hadn't learned its real meaning [in this Turkish lecture]. I feel very sad to have learned this concept this late; this would be useful for me in the other courses, as well. But I'm happy to have learned it before starting a job, before having to need it in practice in my profession (Student 1).

> We've covered this [hygiene factors], too, before. We've seen this many times as well; I thought it was like you need a clean work environment; you need to provide a healthy, safe and clean environment for your workers to motivate them better. I kind of associated it with hygiene, and memorized it that way. This was how I defined and explained the term in the exams, or I could not explain enough I don't know, I don't remember exactly (Student 4).

Due to the design of the parallel lectures, some students missed the lecture in Turkish where Herzberg's two-factor model was covered, i.e. they listened to the lecture in English only. During the interviews, it seems that the concept could not be comprehended fully by some of the students.

> I don't mean I don't remember at all; I mean maybe that day I understood, or maybe I forgot; or maybe I wasn't listening that day… I think I couldn't get the meaning in class, but now [after watching the excerpt] I got it; I would have remembered what it meant if I'd got the meaning in class (Student 7).

> I guess it should be something related to being clean, but it seems it has a different meaning? After watching it [the excerpt] now… well I asked myself the same question that day in class, but I still don't know the answer (Student 8).

To sum up, the findings gathered from the student interviews are parallel to the arguments raised in the university-wide survey that the process of disciplinary learning through EMI is not friction-free. In fact, it seems to be adversely affecting the task of content learning by increasing the study load, limiting active participation in class, causing frequent gaps in listening, resulting in limited comprehension and surface learning, and even causing misunderstanding, as was revealed by the stimulated recall sessions comparing comprehension of the same content in parallel lectures.

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5 Discussion of findings

The findings gathered from the quantitative analysis of the recorded lectures revealed that when compared to presenting the same content in Turkish, it took the lecturer on average 11% longer to present the subject material in English for he delivered the content at a much slower speaking rate, i.e. producing 32% fewer syllables per second and 35% shorter utterances on average. These findings are in line with previous research on lecturer speech which also observed slower speaking rate and more time to cover content (Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998; Thøgersen and Airey 2011). The question here is whether the lecturer's reduced rate of delivery was due to his lack of fluency in L2 or a deliberate adjustment of his speech to listeners, as found in Crawford Camiciottoli's (2005) study. In the interview before the observations, the lecturer did not specifically mention that he would accommodate his speech rate although he said he is conscious of the students' level and thus gives more waiting time for responses, is careful with what words to use, etc. This might also imply a subconscious effort in speaking at a slower rate to help the students follow the lecture.

The qualitative analysis looked further into these differences by comparing the content in the parallel lectures presented. Firstly, the three sections which took longer in the Turkish-medium lectures were analysed. It was found that the lecturer spent time illustrating the content with further examples, covered all the planned material which he could not in the English section, and still had time for wrap-up and student questions. What is more striking, the lecturer managed all this despite the fact that more time was spent within the Turkish-medium lectures for questions, comments and interruptions from the students. In other words, although there was less student participation, and fewer questions and supporting examples in the lectures in English, the lecturer still needed more time to cover the same content. Secondly, we found that in the lectures in English, the lecturer employed more repetition and rephrasing, as he acknowledged during the interview, in a conscious effort to help comprehension. These findings are also in line with the results of previous research that repetitions may be a strategy lecturers employ to assist their students with limited foreign language competence to follow the lectures (Dafouz-Milne and Llinarez-Garcia 2008) and using more confirmation checks and display questions (Dafouz-Milne and Sanchez-Garcia 2013). The findings gathered from this section of the study are believed to contribute to the relevant literature, answering the question raised by Airey (2009), who called for research wondering whether lecturers speak more slowly when lecturing in English, and whether there is risk that they may actually cover less material as they would need

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more time delivering content. The results of the present study reveal such risk. In short, based on the findings from the quantitative and qualitative analyses, it can be concluded that lecturing in a foreign language, i.e. English, tends to show distinctive characteristics when it is compared to lecturing in L1. As is also raised by Thøgersen and Airey (2011), the important question here is what impact these features have on student learning. From a negative point of view, it might be argued that slower delivery speed and need for more repetition would mean less time for the lecturer to provide further examples and discussion and even risk not covering intended material, thus leaving less time for the students for questions and interaction. From a positive viewpoint, one might argue that slower speed of delivery, shorter utterances, more repetition and paraphrases would help the students follow the content better. Considering the results of the student interviews, it seems that despite the efforts of the lecturer, the students still had problems following the lecture and understanding the lecture content. The major interpretation of the findings is that the concerns raised by Dalton-Puffer (2007) regarding foreign language use impact on the students' ultimate knowledge of disciplinary subjects may still prevail; that is, instruction in the foreign language may slow down the instruction process so that less content material is covered, and that limited language proficiency of learners may result in reduced cognitive complexity of the subject matter presented and learned.

6 Conclusion

In the light of previous research and the findings of the present study, the first thing that must be taken into consideration is the fact that the instructional process in the native language and in a foreign language (i.e. English) is significantly different. Considering that mastering academic content is challenging enough even in the first language (Cummins 2000), there is no doubt that the process yields even more challenges in EMI. The major concern emerging in EMI is the need to address the language needs of the learners so that they can follow content more successfully. As is revealed in this study and much of the earlier research (Airey and Linder 2007; Atik 2010; Hellekjær and Westergaard 2003; Sercu 2004), many non-native students in EMI settings face challenges in comprehending the lecture content and engage in classroom discussions due to limited language skills. Therefore, one important implication is that both content instructors and students should be aware of the differences when disciplinary content is presented through the medium of English (Airey and Linder

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2007). Such awareness might help lecturers plan and conduct their lessons in a more careful and conscious way, taking the language needs of their students as well as their content-related needs. Students, on the other hand, should be informed about the demands and challenges of learning disciplinary content in a foreign language.

Of course, some major issues to address are whether students have enough proficiency in English to cope with EMI in their departmental studies, and whether the language and content can be integrated successfully (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013). Considering the English language instruction in the context of the present study, English support is basically provided in two ways. The first is intensive English preparatory courses offered by the English Preparatory School of the university, and the second is English support courses offered by the Modern Languages department, providing English for academic purposes. However, it seems the language support provided is insufficient for the requirements of the English-medium programmes. A parallel argument is also brought forward by Hellekjær and Wilkinson (2003), who concluded in the light of their findings that students' achievement in their departmental courses depends on the extent the language support is relevant to language requirements of content courses, rather than their achievement in general English for academic purposes or general English prep courses. Gürtaş (2004) reached a similar conclusion finding no positive relation between the students' high proficiency exam results in English prep school and their success in the departmental courses. An immediate implication of the case would be a revision of the English language support programmes so that the immediate disciplinary language needs of the first and second year students can be addressed. This could be done by a thorough analysis of needs and requirements of disciplinary courses, with close communication and collaboration between language and content teachers. However, leaving the responsibility to address students' language needs to the language teachers only would not be sufficient. Therefore, a more important implication would be a reconsideration of the role and responsibility of content teachers, suggesting that they, as well as language teachers, take responsibility for addressing the language needs of students.

As mentioned above, switching to EMI may have different consequences for higher education, so it is important to adopt an effective pedagogical tool which will help improve disciplinary content learning. Hellekjær and Wilkinson (2003: 90) underline that such a tool should include "letting the language aspect influence teaching and course design", clearly implying a move from EMI to CLIL for better results in dealing with language in content courses. Remembering Coyle's (2007) argument of why the term CLIL needs to be considered as a distinct concept with its specific focus both on language and content, it could be

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argued that the adoption of the label, CLIL, is a crucial step to take in addressing the issue of disciplinary learning through a foreign language medium, as it is an integrated approach addressing both language and content needs of learners. As is highlighted in Coyle, Hood, and Marsh (2010), CLIL will clarify the question of whether to focus on content or language; it will dictate content teachers that it is fundamental to address the both. Such a shift on part of the content instructors would require reconsideration and possible revision of curricular content and methodological approach; that is to say, in order to highlight and address the language needs of their learners, course instructors would have to reorganize their course content, considering the key role language has in the process of content learning. With this realization in mind, collaborative planning and delivery of a cross-disciplinary curriculum might take effect, especially in the first two years of undergraduate study where the language needs are more pressing. An example of such a design would be collaboration between content and language instructors (Cots 2013; Tatzl 2011; Wilkinson 2013) covering similar materials in the disciplinary and language support courses; while the language teacher addresses the academic language needs of the learners, the content instructor employs the strategies suggested above in order to help their students better cope with the content and language requirements of the course. Evaluation and assessment of coursework could also be done collaboratively where content and language instructors consider both content mastery and language improvement of the students.

To conclude, addressing the argument brought by Sert (2008), which claims that CLIL has not been thoroughly examined in the Turkish higher education and so it does not seem to be practical to train CLIL lecturers unless there is more in-depth qualitative case studies exploring the unique features of particular academic situations, this study argues, based on its findings, that it is time to leave the EMI approach and adopt CLIL, so as to maintain a balance between effective foreign language and disciplinary content instruction. For such a policy change to be successful, however, policy makers and educators must seriously consider that CLIL would require a serious investment in teacher training (both content and language), and that it would need to be developed as part of an explicit, comprehensive and coherent language policy for educational institutions (Holdsworth 2004; Hüttner, Dalton-Puffer, and Smit 2013). Investigating CLIL and EMI is a complex process and it strongly depends on the contexts in which they are applied. Clearly, there has to be more in-depth analysis and understanding of the processes and outcomes of the programmes adapting CLIL or EMI. CLIL is a recent phenomenon, and despite its rapid spread, research evaluating its impact is still very much limited (Coyle, Hood, and Marsh 2010; Perez-Canado 2011). Further research must continue to critically

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evaluate CLIL and its impact. Much of the CLIL and EMI research has been concentrated in Europe; there is clearly need for more critical and comprehensive evaluation of the approach in other contexts (Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013), including the Turkish context, before any claims are made for its success over other approaches. Considering the flaws of the present study, in order to better validate the results, further research is recommended in the following areas. Longitudinal, rather than cross-sectional studies should be conducted, incorporating pre-, post- and follow up-tests and interviews. Also, homogeneity of the participating sample should be ensured, taking some important variables into consideration, such as gender, socio-economic background, level of English, time of exposure to English in and out of formal school context, as well as linguistic competence of the course instructor (Perez-Cañado 2011: 18–19). There is also need for further research looking into performance in disciplinary learning in English and Turkish-medium instruction.

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Joyce Kling

9 "You try with a little humor and you just get on with it": Danish lecturers' reflections on English-medium instruction

Abstract: This study reports on the reflections of 10 Danish experienced applied natural science lecturers about their perceptions of effects of teaching in an English-medium instruction (EMI) setting. The study utilized a multi-method approach to delve into the university lecturers' reflections. The analysis drew on the lecturers' comments and concerns related specifically to their thoughts when teaching outside their mother tongue in a multicultural, multilingual graduate setting. The results show evidence that experienced non-native speaker (NNS) natural science EMI lecturers do not find that the identified challenges of teaching in a foreign language affect their sense of themselves as teachers. While these lecturers express confidence and security in the EMI context, the findings confirm the instructional and linguistic challenges identified in previous EMI research. Overall, the lecturers highlight teaching experience and pedagogic content knowledge as factors that are at the core of their perceptions of themselves as teachers.

Keywords: English-medium instruction; teacher cognition research

1 Introduction

Rapid internationalization of European higher education has resulted in a considerable increase in the number of English-medium instruction (EMI) degree programs currently being taught at all levels of instruction, though with considerable variation between disciplines and graduate and post-graduate level (Hultgren 2013). While this change of medium provides increased academic opportunities for all university stakeholders, the use of English by non-native speakers for teaching and learning in non-Anglosphere countries necessitates consideration of the ramifications of EMI. This paper describes a study that was motivated by the growing discussion of the challenges of English-medium instruction confronting lecturers for whom English is a foreign language (FL).

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This paper presents a case study that investigated how 10 experienced lecturers of applied natural sciences at the University of Copenhagen (UCPH) perceive themselves and their teaching when shifting from Danish-medium instruction to English-medium instruction (EMI).[1]

Thus, the context of this study is EMI in tertiary education in Denmark. It is important to note that, given the implementation of the Bologna process and the advent of international student exchange programs such as ERASMUS, EMI courses in the natural sciences have been taking place for more than two decades in Danish higher education. The University of Copenhagen's Faculty of Life Sciences (LIFE), as it was known at the time, where this study was conducted, was proactive in addressing concerns about potential adverse consequences of a broad, sweeping EMI policy for graduate studies at the faculty. They placed great importance on establishing a quality assurance plan that included elements specific to language development and assessment. In their language policy, LIFE included specific measures for language training in English and Danish for students and staff, as well as certification of lecturers' English for teaching. In 2010, in an effort to ensure that EMI at LIFE was at an equivalent quality level as Danish-medium instruction, the Faculty decided that all lecturers teaching EMI courses were to have their English language assessed. To achieve this goal, between 2010 and 2012, approximately 250 lecturers from LIFE were required to take the Test of Oral English Proficiency for Academic Staff (TOEPAS) offered by the Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use (CIP) at the UCPH.

CIP, founded in 2008, is the University of Copenhagen's language resource center. The center develops UCPH's strategy for the enhancement of language skills and functions both as a research and training center. CIP's primary aim is to develop a research-based strategy for the enhancement of Danish and English language skills among various stakeholders at the University. The objective of this strategy is to contribute to the UCPH's international profile by supporting employees and students in meeting language-related challenges. To achieve this, CIP carries out target group specific needs analyses and diagnostic language tests which leads to research-based language courses in Danish and English that are tailored to the individual's professional requirements, existing language skills, career development, teaching and mode of academic publication.

One of CIP's early initiatives was the implementation of an oral proficiency test for teaching staff, the TOEPAS. This language assessment tool was developed

1 I would like to acknowledge and thank the Danish Agency for Science, Technology and Innovation, the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Copenhagen, and TIRF – International Research Foundation for English Language Education for their support in connection with conducting this research.

for internal use at UCPH. The TOEPAS is administered to university lecturers who teach in English-medium master's degree programs. The overall purpose of the test is to certify the lecturers' English language skills by assessing whether they have the necessary foreign language skills to cope with the communicative demands of teaching in EMI programs. More specifically, the test aims to assess whether the teachers have an adequate level of oral proficiency for lecturing and interaction with graduate students in English in a university setting (Kling and Stæhr 2011). The leadership at LIFE opted to assess the oral English skills for teaching of the teaching staff after the shift to large scale EMI programming at the Faculty in 2010.

2 Literature review

This study, embedded in a teacher cognition research paradigm, considers the effect of switching the medium of instruction from the teachers' first language (L1) to second language (L2) for experienced academic lecturers. Teacher cognition research seeks to investigate pre- or in-service teachers' self-reflections, beliefs and knowledge about teaching, students, content, and awareness of problem-solving strategies endemic to classroom teaching. This may include the study of teachers' thoughts and considerations during the planning stage, interactive thoughts while teaching, attitudes about students, education, learning, and reflections about their own performance and decisions (Borg 2006; Calderhead 1996). Basically, teacher cognition studies attempt to describe the 'mental lives' of teachers (Borg 2006; Clark and Peterson 1984), i.e., what they know, think, and believe, and how these relate to what they do (Borg and Burns 2008; Woods and Çakır 2011). Teachers are "active, thinking decision makers who make instructional choices by drawing on complex, practically-oriented, personalized, and context-sensitive networks of knowledge, thoughts, and beliefs" (Borg 2003: 81). Studies within mainstream educational research on teachers' thought processes comprises a range of topics, including teacher planning, teachers' interactive thought processes, decisions and teachers' theories and beliefs, as well as the teaching planning process. As a field of study, teacher cognition research tries to better understand how teachers' mental constructs are related to how they teach (Borg 2006; Woods 1996). In regard to teacher cognition studies and L2 users, much of the literature has focused on NNS language teachers, related particularly to two curricular areas in language teaching, namely grammar teaching and literacy (Borg 2003). The EMI teacher cognition research described here investigates not NNS language teachers but NNS mainstream content teachers who teach through a FL.

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Along this line, some of the rapidly expanding research about English-medium instruction and teachers in higher education has focused, in particular, on general attitudes toward EMI, lecturers' language and literacy knowledge and skills, teaching procedures, compensatory strategies, and lecturers' reflections on practice, identity, and expertise (Airey 2011; Airey 2013; Ball and Lindsay 2013; Hellekjær 2007; House and Lévy-Tödter 2010; Jensen and Thøgersen 2011; Jensen et al. 2011; Jensen, Stæhr, and Thøgersen 2009; Klaassen 2001; Preisler 2008; Tange 2010; van Splunder 2010; Vinke 1995; Westbrook and Henriksen 2011; Wilkinson 2005). As more and more university lecturers across Europe have to teach in a language which is not their mother tongue, some of the research findings seem to indicate that this change in the language of instruction may have implications for teaching. These may include challenges related to an increased heterogeneity of the students, the need for new pedagogical skills, and an increased focus on intercultural communicative competence (Klaassen 2001; Tange 2010; Vinke 1995; Wilkinson 2005). Therefore, because of these challenges, lecturers' proficiency in English is under scrutiny and universities are developing internal language assessment procedures, e.g., the TOEPAS, for quality assurance (Ball and Lindsay 2013; Haines, Meima, and Faber 2012; Klaassen and Bos 2010; Kling and Stæhr 2011). However, although these issues are starting to be made more explicit in university language policies, the trickle-down effect on the lecturers themselves may be minimal. Dimova (2013) found that lecturers who have undergone assessment tend to gloss over their results. In addition, few of the lecturers discuss their language proficiency level with colleagues or department heads, or seek out language training.

Although lecturers state that their FL skills are sufficient to teach their subjects in English (Airey 2011; Jakobsen 2010; Jensen and Thøgersen 2011; Klaassen 2001; Vinke 1995; Wilkinson 2005), a recurring theme in the research is the perceived challenges that a foreign language lends to the act of teaching EMI. For example, some of the "challenges" that have been reported are lecturers' own perceptions of lack of nuance (both lexical and grammatical) and precision, reduced ability to use humor and storytelling in teaching, reduced ability to draw on cultural examples, slower production, as well as increased workload, both in terms of preparation and physical energy (Airey 2011; Hellekjær 2007; Vinke 1995). Regardless of the perceived and reported challenges, the lecturers do not perceive significant differences in their overall teaching performance. However, researchers have observed reduced redundancy, reduced speech rate, and limited expressiveness, clarity, and accuracy of expression of lecturers when they teach in English as a foreign language (Airey 2011; Thøgersen and Airey 2011; Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998). For example, Thøgersen and Airey found that the lecturer (Danish L1) in their case study spoke more slowly and

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used a more formal style when teaching in English compared to when he taught in Danish. Additional studies report lecturers' concerns that their teaching overall is negatively affected and that there is a greater need to focus on pedagogical skills in the multicultural classroom (Hellekjær 2010; Jakobsen 2010; Klaassen 2001; Lehtonen and Lönnfors 2003; Tange 2010; Vinke 1995; Wilkinson 2005).

As noted above, some researchers have focused directly on the opinions and attitudes of academic staff about EMI. In general, these studies have described teachers' surface considerations and reported experiences with reference to teaching, i.e., attitudes about the concept of language policy shift to teaching through EMI, concerns for language proficiency for teaching, and the need to reconsider how one teaches. To a limited extent, researchers have engaged EMI teachers in dialogue through interviews and case studies. These teacher cognition studies have given the lecturers an outlet to reflect on what it means for them on a more personal level to teach their subject in English (Airey 2011; Airey 2013; Hellekjær 2007; Tange 2010; Westbrook and Henriksen 2011), and their concerns about both national language identity (van Splunder, 2010) and professional identity (House and Lévy-Tödter, 2010). Results from these prior studies show that lecturers' opinions, attitudes, and reflections about teaching English-medium instruction are quite similar. While research has identified a range of challenges for some lecturers (Airey 2011; Hellekjær 2009, 2010; Vinke, Snippe, and Jochems 1998; Westbrook and Henriksen 2011), the lecturers tend to be generally positive toward EMI (Airey 2009; Bolton and Kuteeva 2012; Jensen and Thøgersen 2011; Jensen, Stæhr, and Thøgersen 2009) and cope and manage better over time with experience (Jakobsen 2010; Klaassen 2001).

Five qualitative studies conducted in Scandinavia between 2007–2011 investigate lecturer's attitudes and perceptions about EMI. Hellekjær (2007) conducted an exploratory case study of 10 Norwegian lecturers. Overall, this study reported that the informants claimed that teaching in English differed very little from teaching in Norwegian. Those lecturers with extended experience in English (e.g., extended stays abroad) had far fewer difficulties teaching in English. In addition, those teachers with less experience in English found teaching more taxing and time-consuming. Because of gaps in their general language skills, these lecturers found less formal teaching (i.e., groups and seminars) more difficult than, e.g., lecturing. In general, Hellekjær found a general lack of awareness of consequences, both positive and negative, of EMI for students and teachers.

In a similar study in Denmark, Tange (2010) conducted a series of semi-structured interviews at three Danish universities. In response to questions related to experience with the internationalization of Danish higher education, Tange reported four core themes of concern for lecturers: language, culture, knowledge, and organization. Overall, the lecturers in this study considered the increase of EMI in Danish higher education to be positive. However, they reported greater job satisfaction when they were involved with university language policy and educational decision-making. Regarding classroom interaction, the study highlights lecturers' considerations in relation to two areas in particular: language and culture. Like Hellekjær, Tange reported that although teachers expressed concerns about their use of English as the language of instruction, for the most part they felt confident about their proficiency in controlled situations in domain specific areas, with less confidence in less formal contexts. More notable, however, were the lecturers' concerns with the cultural diversity present in the EMI classroom.

In a wider study, in 2009, the Centre for Internationalisation and Parallel Language Use (CIP) at UCPH conducted an attitudinal survey among all academic/scientific staff at the university to investigate the strength of the public statements that were circulating about EMI attitudes at Danish universities (Jensen and Thøgersen 2011; Jensen, Stæhr, and Thøgersen 2009). In this survey, the university's academic staff was asked to react to a number of statements related to five themes focused on EMI and knowledge dissemination, teaching and learning, Danish domain loss, increasing international competitive capacities, and university decision making autonomy. The results of this broad scale quantitative survey that are relevant to this discussion mirrored those of Vinke (1995) and Klaassen (2001). The 1,104 respondents at the University of Copenhagen generally considered their own English proficiency to be very high. Those with heavier EMI teaching responsibilities tended to assess their English as strong, as did the younger respondents.

As an extension to the larger UCPH study, Jakobsen (2010) conducted a small scale qualitative study to investigate lecturers' attitudes and feelings towards lecturing in English. Jakobsen's results echoed the CIP survey results in regard to lecturers' general confidence and perceived English proficiency for teaching. Jakobsen's lecturers expressed the same challenges as Tange's in regard to the variety of cultural backgrounds the international students bring to the Danish university classroom. Another recurring theme that Jakobsen reported is the lecturers' perception that they experienced a learning curve and that they found teaching EMI to be a dynamic process that improves with practice (see also Hellekjær 2007; Klaassen 2001; Vinke 1995). And again, as noted in other surveys, lecturers express concern that due to the differences in student abilities (linguistic, academic, knowledge base), there are tendencies for the level of instruction to drop when accommodating for the students' weaknesses in linguistic or disciplinary background.

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The final study in this grouping is Airey's (2011) investigation into the reflections of inexperienced Swedish university lecturers about teaching EMI. As a follow-up to a training course for teachers who teach their subject in English, Airey collected comments from 18 Swedish course participants via an online discussion forum and interviews with 12 of those participants about their reactions to their own performances lecturing in both Swedish and English. Airey's findings replicate the studies described above with one notable addition. Compared to other studies, Airey's informants commented specifically on concerns about their weaknesses in English proficiency. It is suggested that this is due to the lecturers' inexperience as EMI teachers.

3 EMI teacher cognition study

This exploratory study was carried out in 2010-2011. As a teacher cognition study, the goal here was not to evaluate the lecturers' competences, neither their English language proficiency nor their pedagogical skills, but to consolidate their reflections about their professional expertise, professional authority, and professional identity in relation to a shift in language of instruction.

3.1 Participants

Ten associate- and full professors from LIFE participated in the study. The selection of participants included specific criteria including professional status, teaching experience, mother tongue (Danish), and a minimum result of 3/5 on the Test of Oral English Proficiency (TOEPAS) at UCPH. This criterion was chosen to establish a baseline language proficiency level of the participants. With a result of 3 on the TOEPAS, the participants had been certified as (low) advanced level speakers of English. A score of 3, the cutoff level to achieve certification, was a preferable score as a selection criterion, as it was hypothesized that lecturers with a result of *3 – good*, as opposed to *4 – excellent*, would have more thoughts about teaching in a foreign language.

Of the 10 participants, three were female and seven were male. They had an overall average of 17 years of teaching experience, with an average of 8.7 years of experience teaching through the medium of English. Table 1 presents an overview of the 10 participants. For the sake of participant anonymity, the names have been replaced with randomly chosen pseudonyms.

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Table 1: Overview of the participants

Name	Gender	Position	Age	Number of years teaching	Number of years teaching in English	TOEPAS result
Inger	F	Senior Researcher	52	13	10	3
Otto	M	Associate Professor	48	18	10	3
Elias	M	Associate Professor	39	7	5	3
Nicholas	M	Associate Professor	42	18	6	3
Jon	M	Associate Professor	40	13	3	4
Thomas	M	Professor	62	30	6	3
Jacob	M	Professor	57	30	20	3
Bodil	F	Associate Professor	40	12	10	3
Lise	F	Associate Professor	41	10	7	3
Tobias	M	Associate Professor	48	20	10	3

Approximately 50–60 lecturers at the LIFE were invited to participate via personalized electronic invitations. Ten lecturers qualified under the selection criteria and agreed to participate. One main reason for not qualifying for selection was that lecturers were not currently teaching EMI courses.

3.2 Instruments

This study has a multiple case study design (Stake 2005). In order to gain greater access into the participants' teacher thoughts and reflections and overcome the weaknesses that arise from the use of self-report surveys to collect thoughts and perceptions, a multi-method approach was utilized. This approach comprised classroom observation of graduate level lectures, stimulated recall of these teaching events, and individual semi-structured interviews with the lecturers which included a review of their results and subsequent test feedback from an internal UCPH language proficiency test, the TOEPAS. The observations and stimulated recall served as a scaffold on which the interviews were built. In addition to questions directly focused on their perceptions of themselves as teachers, the interviews also included two card sorting activities as elicitation devices. Analysis of the interviews drew on the lecturers' comments related specifically to their underlying thoughts about professional expertise, professional authority, and professional identity when teaching outside their mother tongue in a multicultural, multilingual graduate setting.

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The interview consisted of three parts:

1) Questions related teaching and the profession
2) Two card sorting activities
3) Questions related to English language proficiency (TOEPAS result) and teaching in EMI classes

Throughout the interview, the participants were asked to relate their responses to three prompts: professional identity, professional authority and professional expertise. The participants were asked to define these terms and to express their perceptions of themselves in regard to these concepts when teaching in English as compared to teaching in Danish. Since teaching experience is mentioned in several studies in the EMI context (Airey 2011; Jakobsen 2010; Klaassen 2001; Lehtonen and Lönnfors 2003; Preisler 2011; Tange 2010; Vinke 1995; Westbrook and Henriksen 2011; Wilkinson 2005), the participants were also asked to discuss notable changes that had taken place over the course of their teaching experiences, as they shifted from one language to another.

All the interviews took place, in Danish and/or English, in the participants' offices at their convenience and were digitally recorded. Each interview was transcribed and translated into English (when necessary) by the researcher using a using a denaturalized transcription process (Bucholtz 2000). Utilizing Nvivo10, the data from the interviews were coded and analyzed using grounded theory and thematic analysis (Saldaña 2009). As a result, three overarching themes emerged from the data:

- My relation to the code: Not a language issue
- I don't know what they know: Different frames of reference
- The secret to my success: Experience and growth

These overarching themes comprise several sub-themes, some of which are exemplified below through selected interview extracts.

4 Results

The results presented here both replicate and challenge findings from previous EMI studies conducted with content lecturers in other higher education settings. Through reflection, the participants describe how they believe their outlook and approaches to teaching have altered and developed, especially as the educational context around them has changed. However, while these NNS lecturers of applied natural science in EMI acknowledge some of the same challenges as those noted in the previous EMI literature, they do not perceive these identified challenges as a language issue. In the following, reflections of the Danish participants in relation to teaching through the medium of English are presented.

4.1 Of course there are challenges, but I just get on with it

The participants in this study claim to be comfortable teaching in EMI settings. Consistent with the findings in previous attitudinal studies, the participants noted challenges related to language deficiencies i.e., lack of nuance, limitations of vocabulary, grammatical inaccuracy, and the like, and cultural and educational diversity. However, the participants do not believe that these limitations hinder their performance in the classroom. The lecturers in this study express little to no frustration with regard to any restrictions caused by lapses in their oral proficiency. Instead, they just get on with their teaching.

The reflections related specifically to the language of instruction for all 10 participants were quite similar. While they tend to acknowledge that teaching through English is not without its challenges, these challenges do not appear to be detrimental to the participants' perceptions of themselves as teachers or their perceptions of their own performance in the EMI classroom. The participants claim, for example, to simply ignore the identified challenges, and push ahead with their teaching using compensatory strategies to avoid the issue. For instance, Tobias says, "but generally, the language, if something goes wrong and you can't remember, then you try with a little humor and you just get on with it"(Tobias).

For the participants, teaching the content of their course is dominant in their considerations. They maintain that they do not focus on weaknesses in their oral English proficiency when teaching. Lise explains her thoughts about making mistakes in English when she teaches:

> Of course I have had experiences where I am trying to say something . . . and thinking, did I use that correctly? I don't think I will try to correct it. I might try to use the same phrase or word later on and then try to use it the right or correct way. But of course, I make mistakes. But when I am standing there teaching, I don't think about that – to be honest. I am actually thinking more about what am I teaching. . . . But it is just I think, no, for the overall picture; the message is the important part (Lise).

Thus, the delivery of information is at the forefront of Lise's concerns. She thinks about dealing with course content first, regardless of the medium. Until someone comments on the weaknesses of her language skills, Lise is not anxious about her L2 proficiency: "I have never experienced anyone who has

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corrected or complained or anything, so ... no it doesn't bother me" (Lise). Bodil reiterates this in her reflections on challenges and weaknesses in the L2.

> Ooh, my grammar is so awful that it is embarrassing, and I just can't do anything about it. Sometimes in my head I am saying, 'is, are? But it isn't a big problem. When this happens and I get stuck, I can just get on with it. I just think as long as the discipline specific terms are OK, I am fine (Bodil).

If the disciplinary content knowledge and vocabulary are in place and can be disseminated to the students, the structural mistakes made in the L2 are not a concern. When mistakes happen, they just get on with it.

When reflecting on their teaching, the participants react most often about language to four specific prompts: 1) explain new terminology, 2) use appropriate tempo, 3) accommodate to students' language proficiency, and 4) stimulate students to ask questions. In their responses, the participants comment on both the challenges and the advantages of using English in the classroom. However, for the most part, the participants claim that these are elements that they consider when teaching regardless of the medium of instruction; for example, Tobias states, "[b]ut I think that most of these are for general teaching like this one, explain new terminology ... I have just continued, I think. Of course, I think that is basically... who are these people sitting there? We can't do very abstract things if we don't have the basic terminology" (Tobias).

With regard to the explanation of new terminology, the participants explain that while there can be difficulties clarifying discipline specific words, they draw on compensatory strategies such as teaching notes in their L1 or an extensive use of visual aids for support. Otto, for example, explains, "[y]es ... that is one of the areas I have particular problems with – problems with terminology in my field. So, remembering the names of the parts of a plant in English..., I write them up on my slides to help myself! So this I would not have done in Danish, of course.... yeah, it can be a challenge" (Otto). However, of all the participants, Otto was the only one who used the word challenge in regard to explaining terminology. For the others, the use of English as the language of science provides a more global domain specific vocabulary that appears to be less challenging than if the teaching was in Danish:

> to some extent easier in English because it is the scientific terminology is in English (Jacob).

and

> Well, actually, I think that often explaining new terminology might be easier in English because the words are often derived from English literature and they make sense in English, whereas they may not always make as much sense in Danish. So it could be actually a little more challenging to explain it in Danish than in English (Jon).

Similar to the findings in previous research, tempo or rate of speech is also discussed by the participants in this study. For example, Inger describes the challenge of teaching through English and the resulting slowing of speech rate due to, in particular, her lack of nuance and search for vocabulary:

> Inger: Not in English, no. I can't. It slows me down. Because I fumble and because, of course, I cannot speak as fast in English as I can in Danish. . . .
>
> Interviewer: Do you have concerns about covering the material?
>
> Inger: No. I don't because I think usually anyway, when you plan teaching, you usually tend to cover too much. So I think it doesn't matter. So, I am not afraid of not covering everything because I think the most important thing is that you have your main points. . . . But it is irritating because it isn't that fluent and it becomes slower than I usually would speak. Maybe it is OK for the students?

While she is not concerned with the change in her rate of delivery of material, she is annoyed by her lack of fluency. Regardless, she rationalizes that this element of her production may be to the benefit of her students' listening comprehension skills.

Interestingly, other participants who commented on this in regard to their teaching all note that they purposely monitor their speech rate and try to slow down when teaching in English. They claim to be fully conscious of their focus and do this to make themselves more comprehensible: "I am very much aware of that. Earlier I have been told that I speak too quickly. And I definitely do that in English" (Thomas). In most cases, the participants express concern that if they maintained their 'normal' tempo, the students might not be able to follow everything in their FL both because of their listening comprehension skills, but also because of the nature of the English the participants produce when teaching:

> I have a tendency to speak too fast. And I have to be more careful in English simply because, one thing is that my English way of building sentences is not as good as it is in Danish. So there is a higher risk that . . . the message is simply not transmitted because I am speaking too quickly with too little attention to really give it the right wording and nuance (Jacob).

Thus, the language proficiency of both the lecturers and the students plays a role in use of a slower speech rate in the EMI setting.

However, accommodating to the students' language proficiency appears to be a contentious area for lecturers teaching to students who also use English as a FL. The prompt generated comments from seven of the 10 participants. Those who responded delineate their role as content instructors from that of language

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instructors in their reflections. This result mirrors Airey's (2013) findings from his discussion with lecturers in Sweden who do not see themselves as language teachers. Here, for example, Nicholas is very direct about student responsibility when it comes to linguistic proficiency and accommodation. He notes, "[y]eah, but, I will say, if they don't understand, I will try to rephrase it. But on the other hand, the course is taught in English. So, if they don't understand English … at least I feel that if you basically, if you cheated on you TOEFL it is not my problem!" (Nicholas).

There is an assumption that concerns about language proficiency are the responsibility of others prior to the students getting into classes. Thus, Bodil does not see the need to change her teaching for students with limited proficiency. She states, "accommodate students' language needs: that we don't do – I just assume their English is good enough" (Bodil). Still, some of the lecturers do claim to consider the students' competence at times. For example, Jacob explains that although he is not focused on making specific accommodations for the students, he promotes discussion among the students in class to compensate for weaknesses in vocabulary (both the students' and his own). In reaction to the prompt, 'student language', he responds, ,"[s]tudents' language? I don't care about it. I try to do the other way around. If there is something you don't understand – ask. Ask your neighbor. And sometimes when I miss a word, I also ask 'what is this called in English? I may ask in Danish and get the Danes to help me, or whatever" (Jacob). In general, like Nicholas and Jacob, the participants note that although they make accommodations for the students, they do not consider language teaching to be part of their professional expertise.

Seven of the ten participants responded to the prompt 'stimulate students to ask questions' in relation to the change of medium. All seven note this is a fundamental element of their teaching regardless of language. However, the participants comment that the students' linguistic proficiency makes this element of teaching more challenging. Otto mentions that the EMI setting does require a little more focus in this area: "yeah, that happens a little more now. This has a lot to do with that the students often have difficulties with the English, that's obvious" (Otto). Like Otto, Jon is aware of the students' struggles with the language, but finds it difficult to change his teaching style to stimulate the students beyond his standard methods. Jon explains, "[i]t is usually very difficult and especially difficult to get Danish students to ask questions when the class is in English compared to when they are in Danish and … I don't think I spend any energy on trying to stimulate them. … it is not something that I have been doing" (Jon).

Thomas specifically notes the link to language challenges and delivery of content, highlighting the fact that although it is easier for him to dig himself out of a hole in his L1; lack of proficiency in the L2 is only a stumbling block. When he is confronted by a complicated student question that he may struggle to answer because of a lapse in domain knowledge, he may find himself feeling at a loss. The limitations of his L2 proficiency may then compound this problem, but they are not the focus of his energy:

> I think there is a little difference in relation to the two languages. If I have a situation where I cannot express what I want to, and this is in relation to a student's question, when I will try to describe something that is very complicated that I haven't tried to do before, . . . then, I can feel dumb. But that is in relation to the concept that I have difficulties explaining what I want to. And this is something I experience – in Danish can I just talk my way out of it, right. Words can be used where I can differentiate (Thomas).

However, he goes on to say that his limitations in English make him more conscious of his word choice and how he expresses his content knowledge. Instead of talking his way out of it, Thomas uses the challenges of the L2 in the EMI context to improve his teaching. He believes that when using English as the medium of instruction, he is more conscious and aware of the words he uses and this need to think more about how he expresses himself enhances his performance.

4.2 English: the Language of Science and Academia

Reference to English as the language of science and a natural medium for the courses was repeatedly made. In this respect, the participants claim that despite the challenges that might arise due to any weaknesses of proficiency in English, they feel more confident teaching through the medium of English than the medium of Danish. For example, although Elias recognized challenges in using English, he claims a stronger comfort zone due to the use of English in his field. He states, "I think it is stronger in English, actually . . . because it is going on in English – also in my discipline. . . . it is almost always in English. . . . When we write articles, it is almost odd to write in Danish. All the domain specific is in English – the stuff can be harder in English, but otherwise . . ." (Elias).

The use of English as the language of science appears to be second nature for these academics. For Otto, this has been an ongoing practice. In regard to English in his field, responds: "I think that it is completely natural to use English at the university level because it has been the language of science, language of publication for years. In that regard, it is completely natural . . . it is all in English. . ." (Otto). Jacob also states that he finds it difficult to separate his perception of himself as a teacher in his field from the use of the English language, regardless of the challenges. He says, "to some extent, it can be easier to have this professional attitude when speaking English because we present seminars in English. We hardly present a real scientific seminar in Danish because there are always some foreigners listening, so this is normally in English. So it is hard to compare" (Jacob). Although Danish is used for teaching at the undergraduate level at LIFE, these lecturers claim that English is the language of their domain and the language they use for disseminating knowledge.

5 Discussion and conclusion

While the results of this exploratory study corroborate previous findings with regard to the challenges related to teaching in an FL, the question arises as to why the participants claim to discount the role of their personal weaknesses in proficiency in the EMI setting. The lecturers repeatedly express that they do not believe that their linguistic limitations, such as those weaknesses identified in their own language from, e.g., their proficiency test (TOEPAS) results, influence their notion of themselves as teachers when teaching EMI courses. In the following I discuss four possible explanations for this: teaching experience, the lecturers' perceptions of their current L2 proficiency, the dominance of English in the natural sciences, and the shift toward English as a lingua franca.

Similar to those in Vinke's (1995) study, these lecturers report they hardly notice any differences in teaching in their L1 or L2; however, at the same time they do admit to having developed compensatory strategies to assist them in their teaching. Overall, the participants' statements tend to describe broad, general about themselves, their teaching strategies, and the initiatives they take for EMI. Comments about the perceived challenges that are repeatedly mentioned in the EMI literature, e.g., lecturers' own perceived lack of nuance in English (both lexical and grammatical), less precision, reduced ability to draw on cultural examples, as well as increased workload, both in terms of preparation and physical energy, are voiced, but to a lesser extent. Whereas the participants note the effects that their personal weaknesses in proficiency have on their oral production, there is a general agreement that it does not cause them to reconsider how they perceive themselves as teachers. In addition, several of the key elements that have received a great deal of attention, e.g., reduced ability to use humor and narrative, slower production, etc., are considered to be individual personal characteristics that do not, according to the participants, change from one language to another. For example, in their comments about tempo and rate of speech, the participants in this study explained that they

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purposely monitor their rate of speech in both languages in order to be more comprehensible when lecturing. In particular, they expressed personal concerns for speaking too quickly in English because this could be detrimental in EMI class settings since they are aware of the differences in linguistic proficiency of both themselves and the students. So, although slower production has been observed (e.g., Thøgersen and Airey 2011), it appears that this change may be strategic.

The participants in this study were experienced lecturers who regularly teach in English. And, consistent with Klaassen's (2001) and Jakobsen's (2010) results, these experienced teachers report that with time, they find the challenges of teaching through a foreign language less and less challenging. Not surprisingly, connected to the number of years of teaching experience (calculated by the number of years of teaching), age appears to be a key factor in the equation.

The age of lecturers has been a discussion point in surveys that focused on attitudes about the implementation of EMI. Confirming their hypothesis that younger academic staff would be more positive toward English at universities than older academic staff, the results from UCPH's university-wide survey showed a very clear pattern: The younger the respondent to the survey, the more positive their attitudes were to the increasing use of EMI (Jensen and Thøgersen 2011). Similarly, van Splunder 2010 noted that older lecturers reported a self-perceived lower level of academic English in comparison to their L1. He also reported that the younger lecturers in his study associate English with a sense of freedom, while the older ones report the opposite. The older lecturers convey an awareness of less spontaneity, humor and dynamics in their English when teaching.

In contrast, the participants in this case study appear to show opposite tendencies. The two oldest professors of the cohort, Jacob (57 years old) and Thomas (62 years old), convey very positive attitudes to EMI. From their comments, it appears that they have the greatest confidence and the least concern for the switch in medium. However, although none of the participants report that the challenges of the switch to EMI cause them pause in relation to how they perceive themselves, the younger participants do mention the challenges of the language more often than the older professors. In addition, in discussing the challenges, they tend to focus on their growth and experience in relation to their professional expertise. For example, Elias, the least experienced teacher in total number of years, reflects on his content expertise, pedagogic knowledge, and pedagogic content knowledge to help him develop himself as a teacher. Elias believes in his disciplinary content knowledge expertise. His insecurities lie in his lack of experience as a teacher. Elias is a work in progress. He states: "secure – not always – more with time – sometimes." He acknowledges that experience provides with a great sense of security. One explanation for these

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findings, compared to previous studies, may well be due to data collection methodology. With the opportunity to speak in-depth in an interview setting, the participants were able to elaborate on their thoughts about EMI in relation to their amount of teaching experience.

The results also suggest that lecturers are willing to discount their own language related weaknesses based on positive feedback in regard to their current L2 proficiency for teaching EMI. Building on their teaching experience, the lecturers' prior success in the EMI classroom has confirmed for each of them that they possess the necessary language skills for teaching. In addition, their personal results on the TOEPAS (a minimum of 3/5) may have also played a role in the participants' ultimate reflections about their teacher identity in their L2.

The overall goal of LIFE's implementation of a mandatory language testing policy for lecturers was to ensure that those in need of support could be identified and assisted, if necessary. The interest was to provide feedback for remedial purposes, for those with weaknesses. There was little discussion about possible positive affective results, i.e., positive (or beneficial) washback, of such a test. The results here, however, suggest that positive washback from the testing program may play a meaningful role. Since all the participants in this study had a minimum result of 3/5, they were certified to teach graduate level courses at UCPH. They all received confirmation from an external source that they have the minimum language proficiency necessary to teach. However, the overall result comes with a caveat: the examinees receive a profile documenting linguistic weaknesses (i.e., errors) and suggestions for development and improvement. Regardless of suggestions for improvement, the TOEPAS result of the participants provides a baseline indication of proficiency that fulfills the minimal requirements for teaching, or in other words, knowledge of English language use in this context. For the participants, it appears that the most important element is the overall result, i.e., 'certified' or 'not certified.' The TOEPAS results affirm a level of proficiency necessary to teach in English. Having their English 'certified' on the TOEPAS, regardless of the overall result, may in itself be a factor that allows the participants dismiss their acknowledged challenges.

The participants' reflections must also be viewed in light of their disciplinary placement in the natural sciences. The results here highlight the role the relationship of domain structure and language has on the perceptions of language proficiency needs on the part of the lecturers. Starting with domain, the courses in the natural sciences are highly structured with an emphasis on facts, principles, and concepts. This is in contrast to disciplines such as the humanities or the social sciences that traditionally have more open course structures that emphasize broad, general knowledge, creativity, and verbal argumentation (Neumann

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2001). The difference in emphasis of the disciplines has manifested itself in theories about knowledge structures and language use. The natural sciences have been described as having a hierarchical knowledge structure. This structure builds on and integrates knowledge in a pyramid fashion, building on general propositions and theories to construct new knowledge (Bernstein 1999). Kuteeva and Airey (2012), as well as Bolton and Kuteeva (2012) and Jensen, Stenius Stæhr, and Thøgersen (2009), report that lecturers who teach in these structures tend to be more positive toward EMI compared to those who teach in the soft disciplines. As is apparent from the data, the results reported in this study are consistent with these previous findings. As mentioned above, the participants in this study describe English to be the language of science, and the language they relate strongly to their own disciplines. However, in relation to their use of English, the participants tend to comment specifically on their ability to use discipline specific language, e.g., technical/specialized terminology. In general, they underplay their limitations in general linguistic proficiency, for example searching for general or academic vocabulary, basic grammatical errors, or pronunciation issues.

For this population in their community of practice, their perceptions of themselves as teachers are supported by a level of accuracy in relation to discipline specific language. This links to one's disciplinary content knowledge and subject specific expertise. The structure of the discipline, in this case, the natural sciences, appears to determine their relationship with the discourse. This suggests that they do not feel the need to push themselves to improve general L2 proficiency. The way they use language in their domain community dictates this relationship. At the end of the day, it is about teaching the disciplinary content, and the language, the medium, is secondary as long as the domain specific vocabulary is in place.

Lastly, it appears that in EMI, the players interpret their proficiency needs through an English as a lingua franca (ELF) lens. The lecturers are users of English in NNS-NNS interactions and do not put a great deal of emphasis on native speaker norms for communication. This interpretation allows them to discount any language related weaknesses. On the contrary, as members of the ELF community, they can choose to use their weaknesses to their advantage in the classroom. For example, for an experienced lecturer like Thomas, language flaws make him human and perhaps more approachable as a teacher. This is apparent in his comments: "I think that it is a very positive thing because it is also a way to engage the students. To tell them that 'I am not an expert here' It doesn't change my identity. Everybody knows that I am not a native speaker so, no, no, I often use that almost as an educational tool" (Thomas).

Thomas' proficiency limitations provide him with a tool for relating to and engaging with the students. This value set falls in line with the philosophy of

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the ELF community. As ELF lecturers, the participants accept and acknowledge their personal ways of using English as NNSs of the language. They use English as a lingua franca, as members of the ELF community, in their classes with their students. They do not worry about prescriptive rules of the language as a medium of instruction, but focus more on course content and communication. In doing so, they can focus less on the language and literacy perfection of their L2.

Thus, while the participants openly concede to weaknesses in their oral English production, their reaction to these tends to follow a three step plan. First of all, the lecturers appear to acknowledge and accept the language weaknesses that have been identified in their oral production, e.g. pronunciation, grammatical accuracy, word choice, etc. Next, the lecturers claim that they do not really care that much about particular aspects of accuracy in their production. They are willing to accept these aspects of their language proficiency as long as their content specific vocabulary is in place. And finally, the lecturers find that with experience, they can rely on compensation strategies to overcome any problems that might arise that can lead to a breakdown in communication. With this three step approach in place, and a strong sense of their disciplinary expertise, the lecturers do not view the weaknesses in their English proficiency to be a problem.

These findings contribute to the quickly expanding body of research focused on the effect of English-medium instruction in higher education in non-Anglosphere countries. One of the main challenges in conducting this study was to draw out previously unconscious thoughts from experienced, university lecturers about their perceptions of themselves as teachers and any difficulties they may face when teaching their courses in a foreign language. The lecturers were requested to reflect on and discuss aspects about knowledge that they may or may not have been aware of when teaching. The use of in-depth interviews in this context, thus, could have permitted the participants to elaborate on the integrated role of general teaching experience and language proficiency in the EMI classroom, an aspect which might be obscured in previous questionnaire surveys. The findings presented here support the experimental nature of teacher cognition studies and give the research community the opportunity to build theory from this paradigm.

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10 From tool to target language: Arguing the need to enhance language learning in English-Medium instruction courses and programs

Abstract: The findings from the studies reported here suggest that Nordic institutions of higher education need to pay greater attention to improving their students' English skills, in part by enhancing language learning in English-Medium courses, and in part by offering occupationally relevant language and communication courses. These arguments draw upon analyses from a study of English use and needs in Norwegian government ministries and of how these are reflected in ministerial job advertisements. The former builds on a survey of 846 ministerial staff by Hellekjær (2010), and the latter on a follow-up survey of 485 ministerial job advertisements. They examine general education levels, degrees and backgrounds in English and compare these to the kinds of general education and English qualifications the advertisements require. The first survey shows that staff are highly educated, 95% with graduate or undergraduate degrees, and that 89% of these use English regularly at work. However, only 18% of the English users have followed courses or taken degrees in English in higher education. The advertisements examined invariably asked for staff with professional degrees, often in combination with English skills, but only 31% of the advertisements explicitly require such skills. Whether this is because English skills are taken for granted, or because few institutions of higher education offer relevant English courses in combination with professional degrees, is a central point in the discussion. The authors argue that the lack of provision of such courses amounts to a failure to adequately prepare students for future careers.

Keywords: English-Medium instruction, needs analysis, higher education, occupational English, job advertisements

1 Introduction

Due to the Bologna agreement, as well as increasing outside competition, Nordic universities have a strong focus on internationalization. This involves research

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cooperation, international staff and student recruitment, and the offering of English-Medium instruction (EMI) courses and programs to foreign and domestic students (Marginson 2006: 21). However, in the Nordic as well as other European countries, to the extent there has been a focus on using EMI for language learning purposes at all, this has at best been of "secondary importance" (Smit and Dafouz 2012: 3). Indeed, as Airy (2012: 64) puts it, the predominant attitude among for instance Swedish EMI content lecturers is that, "I don't teach language".

In a study of EMI lecture comprehension, Hellekjær (2010) argues that paying systematic attention to language, to the learning of key terms and concepts in particular, is important for content learning. By focusing on language aspects of EMI programs, as well as to supplement these with communication courses, one will also prepare students for future careers. This is the focus of the present study, in which we draw upon data from recent needs analysis studies (NAs) of foreign language use and needs in Norwegian business (Hellekjær 2007, 2012), in government ministries (Hellekjær 2010), and of the language skills required in job advertisements.

These NAs of foreign language use and needs in Norwegian business and government, as well as a recent study of language skills required in job advertisements (Vold and Doetjes 2012), have led to increased focus on the use of, and need for occupationally relevant language skills. One salient issue has been the under-use of second foreign languages such as German, French or Spanish (L3), which is examined in greater detail elsewhere by Hellekjær and Hellekjær (2015). The NAs also confirm that English has become indispensible for business managers and government bureaucrats. They also reveal the uneven level of Norwegians' occupational English second language (L2) skills, here understood as the knowledge of English special terminology and domain-specific genres required in different professions. The lack of these, and of the more general communication skills needed in for instance negotiations or sales, can explain why many have to rely on upper secondary school English in occupational contexts. Of course staff may also have improved their skills through in-service courses, or by having studied or worked in English speaking countries (Hellekjær 2010). Still, this is a clear indication of occupationally relevant English courses not being given priority in Norwegian institutions of higher education.

One reason for this neglect might be the very success of Norwegian English as a foreign language (EFL) instruction (Simensen 2010), supported as it has been by extensive media exposure to English (Rindal 2010). This success may well have led institutions of higher education, in the face of crowded study programs and limited resources; to decide that additional, occupationally relevant language courses are not necessary.

Indeed, international comparisons show that Norwegians, as well as Swedes, Danes and Finns, who have comparable educational systems, have become quite proficient in English in comparison to other countries (Bonnet 2004; Education First 2013). In fact, the position of English in Norway and the other Nordic countries is so strong that Graddol (2007) argues that it is close to becoming a second language. In other words, current high levels of English proficiency may well have led to such skills being taken for granted, which can be one explanation the fairly infrequent mention of English skills in job advertisements (Vold and Doetjes 2012). It might also explain the neglect of occupational English courses in higher education.

Alternatively, the infrequent mention of English skills in job advertisements may have a quite different explanation, since the above-mentioned NA studies showed that inadequate language skills cause problems in business as well as governance. Duchêne and Heller (2012: 333) argue that current managerial approaches to language vary between making explicit requirements, which may induce higher costs, and on the other hand, offering them minimal recognition, in practice taking them for "granted by constructing them as 'natural'". Another view is that the neglect of advanced occupational English skills in higher education may simply lead to employers not expecting applicants with relevant English skills. In such a situation, Grin, Sfreddo, and Vaillancourt (2010) point out that employers tend to avoid complicating the hiring process and increasing costs by explicitly requiring English skills. In other words, low supply may well lead to low demand and to a situation in which well-educated employees must rely on upper secondary school English.

This brings us to the present study, where the aim was to investigate the gap between the occupational use of English, staff education in English and the mention of English in job advertisements, and thereby highlight the unmet need for occupationally relevant English courses in higher education. To be more precise, the aim is to:

– compare general educational backgrounds, reported English use, and English qualifications among current ministry staff
– compare this with to what extent, and how, English is required in the job advertisements and
– discuss possible reasons for lack of present and required English qualifications and the implications this can have for higher education, including the use of EMI courses for language learning purposes.

We start by presenting key data on staff education and language use in government ministries from Hellekjær (2010), and compare these with a follow-up study comprising 448 ministerial job advertisements during the 1 January to

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31 June periods of 2012 and 2013. The second collection period was added to enlarge the study. Then we examine in which contexts English is mentioned, and the frequency of mention. The study goes on to discuss possible explanations for the patterns found and the implications for institutions of higher education with regard to providing occupational English courses. It concludes with a brief indication of the role EMI might play in meeting student needs for occupational English skills.

2 Needs analyses and relevant studies

For the present study we define NAs as "the processes involved in gathering information about the needs of a particular client group in industry or education" (Brown 2009: 269; see also West 1994). The first NAs investigating language needs focused on "discrete language items of grammar and vocabulary" (Dudley-Evans and St. John 1998: 122). Starting with Munby (1978), Richterich and Chancerel (1978) and Richterich (1983), NAs have used performance-oriented analyses to identify language functions and situations for language use (Dudley-Evans and St. John 1998; Huhta et al. 2013; Hutchinson and Waters 1987; Long 2005).

More recently there has been an increased focus on enhancing the validity of NA data in order to ensure that these are reliable decision-making tools (e.g. Dudley-Evans and St. John 1998; Long 2005). Long (2005) argues for the use of a mixed-methods research design (Teddlie and Tashakkori 2009) that utilizes multiple sources and methods to provide better quality data (e.g. Jasso-Aguilar 2005).

2.1 Business NAs

There are a number of NA studies that examine the role of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and Business English as a Lingua Franca (BELF), e.g. Jenkins, Cogo, and Dewey (2011), or English for Business Communication (Bhatia and Bremner 2012), or in engineering Huhta (2010). The BELF NAs for the most part examine the use of English for business communication purposes by non-native speakers (see Charles 2006; Ehrenreich 2010; Jenkins et al. 2011; Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen 2010; Kankaanranta and Planken 2010; Lehtonen and Karjalainen 2008; Louhiala-Salminen, Charles, and Kankaanranta 2005; Nickerson 2005; Rogerson-Revell 2007, 2010; Sweeney and Hua 2010).

These NAs are more or less unanimous about English – in combination with first language (L1) skills – being an absolute *must* in business (Charles 2006; Ehrenreich 2010; Rogerson-Revell 2007). Furthermore, the language skills needed must be in combination with a professional degree: "language skills without the necessary professional profile are not sufficient" (Ehrenreich 2010: 417).

Most of the Norwegian NAs that have been carried out since 1973 have been quantitative surveys of language needs in business (e.g. Hellekjær 2007; Hellum and Dypedahl 1998; Norges Handelshøyskole 1973; Lie and Skjoldmo 1982). Two studies, by Kvam and Schewe (1984) and Vold and Doetjes (2012) have examined job advertisements. There has also been a qualitative study from Norwegian subsidiaries in Belgium (Gundersen 2009). These studies show a strong decline in the overall use of the L3 languages since the 70s, and a strong and increasing reliance on English exclusively. The job advertisement NAs show much the same development. Vold and Doetjes (2012) found that employers frequently specify English skills when advertising positions, although less frequently than it might have been expected given the nature of the jobs described. In accordance with earlier research by Kvam and Schewe (1984), these recent studies have found that English and/or L3 skills are invariably required in combination with a professional degree such as engineering, business administration, economics or law.

2.2 Public sector NAs

There are few international NA studies from the public sector, and those from the US often focus on the needs for languages other than English (e.g. Brecht and Rivers 2005; Clifford and Fischer 1990; Lett 2005; Winn 2005). A few more recent studies examine language needs in a post 9/11 security perspective (e.g. Herzog 2003; Tare 2006).

In addition to the present study there have been two public sector NAs in Norway: Hellekjær's (2010) quantitative survey from government ministries and Fairway's (2011) qualitative follow-up study from government directorates. They show that ministries and directorates, as well as businesses, also lack staff with the advanced English proficiency needed to master many demanding communication situations such as negotiations, meetings, and press conferences. Conversely, Fairway's (2011) study includes interviews with two respondents whose careers had benefited from their advanced English skills.

A recent Danish study by Andersen and Verstraete-Hansen (2013) used the same questionnaire as Hellekjær (2010), and surveyed the same kind of respondents, i.e. 675 of 1,217 staff in Danish government ministries (a 56% response rate). Its findings were also largely comparable to those of Hellekjær (2010).

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3 Method

The present study draws upon data from two quantitative NA studies that are triangulated. The first, Hellekjær (2010) used a quasi-experimental, one-group, post-test research design (Shadish, Cook, and Campbell 2002: 106–107). It was an online survey of 845 employees in 18 government ministries and the Prime Minister's office. The questionnaire comprised 76 items about educational and language backgrounds, reported language use, and any difficulties encountered when using English in work-related situations. There was also a final open-ended question. Out of the initial, randomly selected, sample comprising 1,551 of about 4,225 ministerial employees, 845 answered the online survey. This gave a 55% response rate, and a sample comprising 19% of the ministerial employees. Table 1 provides an overview of the sample according to ministry and language use.

This overview shows the distribution of the sample according to ministry, and includes information on language use that we return to below.

The second and main study was designed as a follow-up of Hellekjær (2010), a study that was to examine which categories of jobs were advertised and whether English skills were specified or required. It was based on 485 job advertisements from the Norwegian government ministries advertised between 1 January to 31 June periods in 2012 and 2013. These were almost all of the job advertisements from government ministries that first appeared in *Aftenposten*, Norway's largest newspaper. Relevant supplementary information was then downloaded from the online version of the job advertisements (see http://www.regjeringen.no/nb/aktuelt/ledige-stillinger-i-departementene.html?id=451314).

The resulting 485 advertisements comprise slightly more than 10% of approximately 4,225 ministry positions. An overview of the advertisements according to the ministry is provided in Table 2.

The 262 positions advertised in 2012 represent about 6% of the total staff, and the 233 in 2013 about 5%. Key data, such as position, ministry, qualifications, inclusion of languages skills specifications, and the degree of international relations were coded in SPSS. For language in particular the coding was sometimes difficult due to the prevalence of somewhat vague formulations referring to communication skills or language skills in general. Only when English skills were explicitly required was this coded as such. At times the advertisements could also be somewhat ambiguous with regard to the qualifications needed, sometimes even mentioning alternative areas or degrees, which meant using rather wide categories, such as Economics, that subsume various specialties.

With the above-mentioned coding difficulties in mind, we would argue that a sample representing almost all of the ministerial positions advertised over two

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Table 1: Overview of respondents according to ministry and language use (*N = 846*) (Hellekjær 2010)

Ministry	All	Users of Norwegian only	English users
Ministry of Labor	68	8	60
Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion	30	3	27
Ministry of Finance	59	5	54
Ministry of Fisheries and Costal Affairs	21	0	21
Ministry of Government Administration, Reform and Church Affairs	35	6	29
Ministry of Defense	76	7	69
Ministry of Health and Care Services	47	6	41
Ministry of Justice	60	11	49
Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development	43	11	32
Ministry of Culture	36	6	30
Ministry of Education and Research	81	13	68
Ministry of Agriculture and Food	39	4	35
Ministry of the Environment	45	2	43
Ministry of Trade and Industry	48	3	45
Ministry of Petroleum and Energy	25	1	24
Ministry of Transport and Communications	33	3	30
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	96	5	91
The Office of the Prime Minister	4	0	4
Total	846 (100%)	94 94 (11%)	752 (89%)

six-month periods should be able to provide useful information in relation to the types of positions advertised, and about the main trends in how and to what extent English skills are, or are not specified. In combination, the intention is to use these studies to compare general educational backgrounds with reported English use and English qualifications, compare this with to what extent English is required in the job advertisements, and use this data to discuss possible reasons for lack of mention of English qualifications. It will also discuss possible implications for higher education, one of which being the use of EMI courses for language learning purposes.

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Table 2: Overview of positions advertised from 1 January to 30 June in 2012 and 2013, according to ministry (*N = 485*)

Ministries	Number of positions advertised 2012	2013	Total and percent
Ministry of Labor	11	18	29 (6%)
Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion	14	9	23 (5%)
Ministry of Finance	10	5	15 (3%)
Ministry of Fisheries and Costal Affairs	11	5	16 (3%)
Ministry of Government Administration, Reform and Church Affairs	24	18	42 (9%)
Ministry of Defense	11	18	29 (6%)
Ministry of Health and Care Services	12	8	20 (4%)
Ministry of Justice	33	30	63 (13%)
Ministry of Local Government and Regional Development	20	20	40 (8%)
Ministry of Culture	7	8	15 (3%)
Ministry of Education and Research	23	9	32 (7%)
Ministry of Agriculture and Food	8	8	16 (3%)
Ministry of the Environment	16	27	43 (9%)
Ministry of Trade and Industry	28	9	37 (8%)
Ministry of Petroleum and Energy	7	10	17 (3,5%)
Ministry of Transport and Communications	13	3	16 (3%)
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	10	14	24 (5%)
The Office of the Prime Minister	4	4	8 (2%)
Total	262	233	485 (100%)

4 Results

In this section we start by presenting key findings from Norwegian government ministries from Hellekjær (2010), followed by the job-advertisement data.

4.1 The ministerial data

Table 1 above provides an overview of the respondents according to department along with data on language use. The latter shows that 751 (89%) of the respondents used English at work while 94 (11%) used Norwegian (L1) only.

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One of the latter respondents mentioned in response to the open-ended question that while English was irrelevant for his or her current position, it might be necessary to use English in a different job. Nevertheless, in the following analysis we decided to focus on the 751 English-using respondents. Table 3 below provides an overview of their educational backgrounds.

Table 3: General level of education among the English-using ministerial respondents (*N = 751*) (Hellekjær 2010)

General education	Respondents	In percent
Primary and secondary education	25	3
Undergraduate courses or degrees	92	12
Graduate courses or degrees	621	83
In-service education	13	2
Total	751	100

As can be seen, 95% of the English-using ministerial respondents have university or college degrees, the great majority (83%) at the graduate level.

With regard to language skills and education, business NAs found that professional degrees often do not include English modules, so employees are often forced to rely on their upper secondary school language courses. To elicit more information about this Hellekjær (2010) included items about formal and informal English qualifications, and the answers about English qualifications are provided in Tables 4 and 5.

Table 4: An overview of the respondents' formal qualifications in English (*N = 751*) (Hellekjær 2010)

English qualifications/ education	Respondents	In percent
Primary education	7	1
Upper secondary education	599	80.5
Undergraduate/Graduate courses or degrees	138	18.5
Missing	7	1
Total	744	100

Table 4 shows that the great majority of the ministerial respondents who use English at work, 80.5%, do so on the basis of their upper secondary school English courses. Only 18.5% have formal qualifications from higher education. However, table 5 shows that quite many respondents may also have in-service courses, or for example have studied in English speaking countries.

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Table 5: Other qualifications in English (*N = 751*) (Hellekjær 2010)

Other qualifications in English	Respondents	In percent
In-service courses	201	27
Language courses abroad	132	18
Non-language, university level courses taught in English	223	30
6 months or longer stays in English speaking countries	257	34
English is my mother tongue (L1)	4	<1

Formal degrees or not, the data in Table 5 shows that many of the respondents may have in-service courses, and/or stays and studies in English speaking countries to supplement their upper-secondary school courses. The main conclusion that can be drawn from Table 4 is that the great majority of respondents lack English courses from higher education.

With regard to language use, the respondents used English in a variety of work-related situations and tasks, from informal situations such as telephone calls, conversations or e-mails, to formal, specialized and linguistically challenging tasks such as negotiations, presentations, discussions and press conferences. Figure 1 provides a more detailed overview.

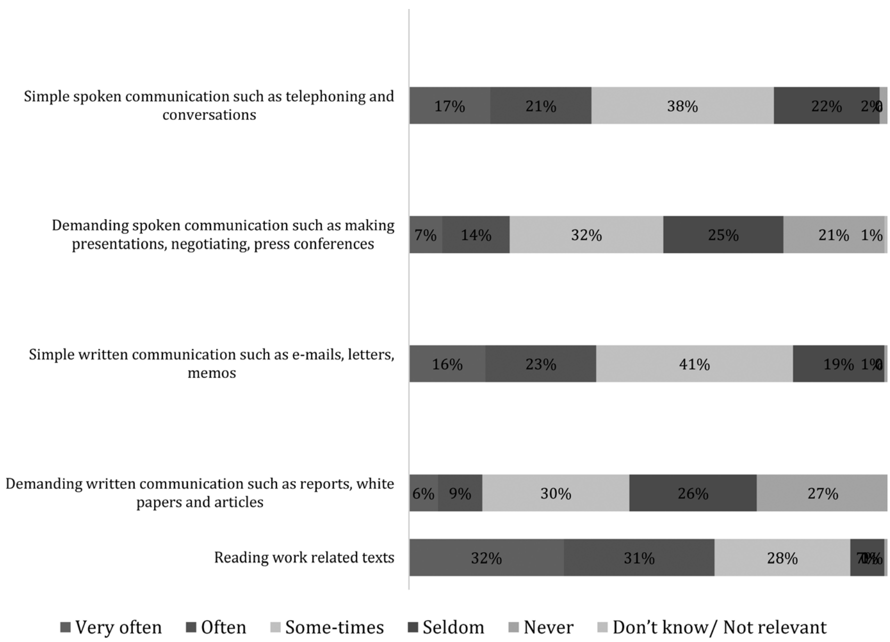

Figure 1: How often do you use English, orally or in writing, for the following situations and tasks? (*N = 751*) (Hellekjær 2010)

This overview clearly shows that the respondents use English regularly and frequently. Reading work-related English texts is by far the most frequent activity, followed by simple oral communication. The more formal and demanding communication situations and tasks occur less frequently and involve fewer persons. Indeed, some respondents only rarely or never take part in such communication or tasks – either for language reasons or because it is not part of their purviews. Still, the overall impression is that many of the respondents use English for demanding work-related situations and tasks. A number of comments in the open-ended questions in this study, as with some of Fairway's (2011) informants, mentioned that the respondents all-too-often lack the English skills needed to master many of these situations. They specifically mention the need for knowledge of relevant domain-specific vocabulary and texts, and the advanced proficiency and knowledge needed to handle more general but still demanding communication situations such as meetings and negotiations. Some also mention cultural knowledge, as issue that for reasons of scope might be better addressed in a separate study.

4.2 The job advertisements study

The study of ministerial job advertisements that is presented below was designed to examine what backgrounds are required, to what extent English is explicitly required, and, if possible, if there is a systematic pattern in such requirements. An example of the latter would be a consistent mention of language skills for jobs involving international relations.

The first step in the analysis of the 485 job advertisements was to see the levels of education they required, and whether these reflected the pattern found in Hellekjær (2010), or if there had been any changes. An overview of the levels of education required in the government ministries is presented in Table 6.

Table 6: General level of education required in government ministry job advertisements (*N = 485*)

Level of education required	Advertisements	In percent
High school diploma	8	2
Undergraduate courses or degrees	31	6
Graduate courses or professional degrees/PhD	418	86
Not specified	24	5
Missing	4	1
Total	751	100

The overview shows that the overwhelming majority of positions, 92%, require a degree from higher education, 86% at the graduate level or in one case a PhD degree. This is more or less comparable to the levels of education for the ministerial respondents presented in Table 3.

One of the key questions in this advertisement study was about which areas of expertise that were required. That is to say, whether language degrees are mentioned, or whether they focus on non- language or professional degrees, as has been found in BELF studies and in Norway by Kvam and Schewe (1984). As already mentioned, the advertisements could at times be vaguely worded, or indicate alternative qualifications. At times we therefore had to use best judgment within the team when categorizing and grouping the answers.

As can be seen in Table 7, the pattern is quite clear in that the ministerial advertisements consistently ask for professional degrees, in for instance Economics, Law, or Administration. These are degrees in which the institutions in question may or may not decide to include English modules. Judging by the 80.5% of the English-using respondents in Hellekjær (2010) who only had formal English qualifications from upper secondary school, the majority of these do not.

Table 7: Overview of advertisements according to area of expertise, and of those mentioning English skills (*N = 485*)

Area of expertise	Advertisements	Number of advertisements mentioning English	Percent of advertisements mentioning English
Computing	33	10	2
Communications	23	9	2
Economics	60	19	4
Social sciences	19	5	1
Languages	4	3	<1
Law	104	34	7
Natural sciences	11	6	2
Technical	5	1	<1
Administration	63	24	5
Leadership	98	29	6
Research/information	4	2	<1
Human resources	19	0	0
Education	2	0	0
Security	2	2	<1
Other areas	23	5	1
Not specified	15	3	<1
Total	**485**	**152**	**31**

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The next issue was to find out to what extent and how language skills are specified in the advertisements. Coding for this caused difficulties, since the advertisement format seemed to vary from ministry to ministry, and there was great variation in how language skills were specified. For example, 197 (68%) advertisements simply mentioned communication skills without specifying language, while 16 (3%) simply mentioned language skills in general, which could mean Norwegian, English and/or L3 skills. Just 152 (31%) of the advertisements mention English skills explicitly. Of these, 112 (24%) specified good English skills, while 37 (8%) required particularly good English skills. Since we have not been able to find any systematic definition of these two categories, we have chosen to merge them into one single category. The number of advertisements mentioning of English skills are displayed in the second and third columns in Table 7.

Table 7 shows that government ministries almost without exception require language in combination with a professional degree, as is also the case in BELF studies that almost invariably show that "language skills without the necessary professional profile are not sufficient" (Ehrenreich 2010: 417).

It also reveals the gap between the 89% of the respondents who use English on a regular basis found in Hellekjær (2010) compared to the 31% of the advertisements that explicitly request language skills. That English skills can be subsumed under communication skills or general language skills should be kept in mind. It can be mentioned that it was almost unexpected that it is in "Law" (traditionally a national area) where one finds the highest percent and total number of advertisements mentioning English. This might well have to do with the need to relate to international law, or international organizations, but we find this an interesting issue for a separate, follow-up study.

One way of investigating how systematically the requests for English are made was by examining whether the advertisements that specified taking part in international activities or organizations, such as the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), the European Union, the United Nations or the European Economic Area were more explicit with regard to language skills. Our expectation was that for such positions advanced English skills would be consistently required.

However, a comparison of the requirement for English with the mention of international activities only partially confirmed the expectation that English skills would be mentioned when it considered particularly necessary. It showed that English was explicitly required for 56 (64%) of these positions. Of these 37 (42%) of the 88 specified good skills and 17 (19%) particularly good skills. Still, there were 32 (36%) positions for which English skills were not specified. The main trend, however, seems that English is usually, but not invariably, mentioned when considered particularly important for the job in question.

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5 Discussion

5.1 Main findings

From a language as well as educational perspective, perhaps the most important finding from the job advertisement data is that English skills are, almost without exception, required in combination with a non-language, professional degree (see Table 7). This finding is also evident in international and Norwegian NAs.

The next finding is that 80.5% of the 751 English users surveyed in Hellekjær (2010) had no formal English qualifications beyond upper secondary school courses. Given that the ministries almost without exception require language stills in combination with a professional degree, the most direct interpretation is that few Norwegian institutions include such modules in their programs.

Third, the comparison of the two studies shows that the need for English skills is not made clear enough in job advertisements. This is apparent in the gap between 89% of the ministry staff using English at work compared to English being requested in only 31% of the job advertisements. The same pattern of under-communication was also found in Vold and Doetjes' (2012) large-scale advertisement study. This finding gives rise to questions about the extent of which this is a problem, why it happens, and whether there are any practical implications.

5.2 English needs and mention in job advertisements

One of the main findings of the present study is, as already noted, the gap between actual English use (see Table 1 and Figure 1) and its mention in job advertisements. While 89% percent of ministerial staff use the language at work on a regular basis, only 31% of advertisements explicitly mention English (see Table 7). While the percentage rises to 64% for positions that involve extensive international activities, this means that English skills are still not mentioned for the remaining 36%. The low priority given to language skills in the advertisements stands in contrast to the numerous comments in the open-ended questions in Hellekjær (2010). In addition, Fairway's (2011) interview study from Norwegian state directorates also gives a number of unfortunate examples of inadequate English and cultural skills making it difficult to safeguard and promote Norwegian interests. This in turn makes the question as to why English skills are under-communicated in job advertisements even more salient.

Of course, one explanation might be that such instances of miscommunication are few and far between. In fact, the respondents in Fairway's study all mentioned that they for the most part "managed" to communicate in English, with non-native speakers of English in particular. Communicating with native speakers could be more problematic, however, since they often used their linguistic and cultural knowledge to dominate.

Another reason for the lack of mention might well be that there are enough applicants who have lived, worked or studied in English speaking countries (e.g. Table 5) to meet the needs for advanced skills. Yet another possibility is that employers simply take English skills for granted, and if necessary, send staff to in-service courses. Indeed, this is a view argued by Duchêne and Heller (2012). Their point is that " ... workers' communicative competences are always valued in the light of what they offer companies. Their skills are only minimally recognized and mostly companies take these skills for granted by constructing them as 'natural'" (Duchêne and Heller 2012: 333).

As a corollary, management will tend to avoid emphasizing language skills because this will "induce more cost", for instance because it could lead to higher wages.

Duchêne and Heller's arguments dovetail with those of Grin et al., who claim that when employers decide to specify, or not to specify language skills in a job advertisement, this is a highly conscious decision (2010: 123–134). Just like Duchêne and Heller they argue that this is because introducing an additional requirement when hiring, such as English skills in combination with a professional degree, can reduce the number of applicants, and/or increase hiring costs. Consequently, if employers do not expect many applicants with advanced proficiency or formal qualifications, as is indicated by the 80% of English users with upper secondary school English courses only in Table 4, they will not require it in job advertisements unless it is absolutely necessary. This can probably explain why only 31% of the 485 ministerial job advertisements require English, and why English skills are not mentioned for 36% of the positions involving international activities and institutions. In other words, the data supports the contention that employers tend not to specify language skills in advertisements to avoid increasing hiring costs, most probably because they expect the supply of skilled English users with relevant qualifications to be quite limited. This in turn puts the focus on Norwegian higher education.

As can be seen in Table 7, the overwhelming majority of positions advertised in the Norwegian ministries require professional degrees, in for instance in Law, Computer Science, Economics or Administration. Furthermore, it also shows that when English skills are required, this is invariably in combination with such a degree, as has also been found in other Norwegian and international studies. It is our impression that few Norwegian institutions of higher educations include

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relevant English modules in professional degrees, since as mentioned, upper secondary school English courses are by many considered sufficient. In any case, that few offer English modules is supported by the data in Table 4, which shows that 80.5% of the ministry staff has upper secondary school courses as their highest formal qualification in English. We would contend that upper secondary school General English courses, even in Norway, cannot provide adequate preparation for linguistically and culturally demanding, high-stakes situations in occupational contexts. These situations require knowledge of relevant specialized terminology and texts along with knowledge of, and training in handling the most common professional communications situations, and such courses belong in higher education. To be polemic, to the extent Norwegian institutions of higher education are failing to provide courses or modules in their professional degrees, they are also failing to adequately prepare their students for future careers in which English is a vital tool.

5.3 Validity

Before continuing, the validity of the findings and conclusions of the present study needs to be addressed. The main sources of data come from two fairly large-scale surveys. The first comprises about 19% of the staff, 846 randomly selected employees in Norwegian government ministries (with a 55% response rate). The second is a follow-up study with 485 job advertisements, almost all the ministerial job advertisements from the first six months of 2012 and 2013. With the caveat that the survey is to some extent based on self-reported data only, we would therefore argue that these provide useful and reasonably valid information on staff qualifications, about the use of and need for English in Norwegian ministries, and about how these are reflected in job advertisements.

Next, the main findings are likely to be relevant for other sectors as well, this because they reflect those found in other studies, first and foremost from business. In Norway, the most important would be Hellekjær's (2007) survey of language use and needs in business, and Vold and Doetje's (2012) large-scale study of job advertisements. The international studies mentioned above also show the same trends.

We would therefore argue that our findings are highly relevant to Norwegian as well as other European institutions of higher education outside English speaking areas, that is to say, for those who are presently neglecting to take their students' need for occupational English proficiency into consideration.

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6 Conclusions

6.1 Further research

A number of questions arise from the present analysis. One is the need to find out more about the underlying reasons and decisions behind the mention, or non-mention of English skills in job advertisements, and on how language issues impact on hiring decisions.

Another project would be to expand on Fairway's (2011) study with interviews about English use with respondents in government ministries, if possible supplemented by observation. This should include ascertaining what communication skills and kinds of English that are needed, and the extent to which the lack of cultural is a source of difficulty.

Finally, a study of which Norwegian, and perhaps Scandinavian institutions offer relevant English modules or communication courses could also prove useful.

6.2 Implications and ways forward

The most important implication of the present NA study is that Norwegian institutions of higher education need to actively cater to their students' need for adequate occupational English and communication courses in combination with professional degrees.

For the institutions of higher education, this means that time and resources will have to be devoted to occupational English courses, as well as to more generic communication courses such as making presentations, running meetings and handling negotiations. This will of course have to come at the expense of the content subjects, and will for that very reason probably prove controversial in the face of crowded timetables and limited resources. A perhaps less controversial solution could therefore be to systematically utilize the language learning potential of the many EMI courses in higher education.

Using EMI courses for language learning would offer the opportunity to integrate the teaching of learning of a subject with a focus on its special terminology and knowledge of domain-specific texts without a major diversion of time and resources. Still, this would require going beyond incidental language learning through exposure to English by making the language aspect a far more salient part of the course. An example of this would be requiring the students to use the language actively as part of the course, for instance to make presentations and write papers in English. Part of the process could also be to offer support

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and instruction from language as well as content specialists, and language learning could be made even more salient by requiring tasks and examinations to be graded for language quality as well as for content.

The more generic English communication courses could then be offered to students independent of department and faculty, for instance by a language center. For oral communication these could comprise training in tasks and situations such as meetings, negotiations, giving talks, and debating. With regard to writing these could comprise learning to write the most common documents as well as bringing in translation and terminology.

How to best integrate language learning goals into EMI courses would of course be one issue in need of further development, as well as further research on how to best enhance language learning as part of such courses. But, the most difficult and most important decisions will have to be made in the different departments and faculties concerning the integration of English modules into professional degrees, at least if the institutions of higher education, in Norway as well as in other countries, consider it their responsibility to adequately prepare their students for future careers.

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III Policy and Ideology

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Josep Soler-Carbonell

11 Language policy in Estonian Higher Education: Internationalisation and the tension over English

Abstract: This chapter offers an analysis of Higher Education policy documents in Estonia, with a focus on language and sociolinguistic matters. Although the dominance of English as an international language in the fields of science and academic research has been amply documented in recent years, Estonia appears to be still under-studied in this matter. However, because of historical reasons it provides a context that may yield interesting insights into the question under study. In barely two decades, the country has moved from a Communist regime to a neoliberal economy, from being a Soviet republic to recovering independence and then joining other supra-national units (the EU and NATO). By conducting a content analysis of key Higher Education policy documents, the paper shows some key tensions and contradictions arising from them in relation to the position of different languages in the domain of Higher Education. I conclude that in the analysed context, an ill-defined notion of English may cause us to poorly grasp who in fact benefits from such policies, and this, indeed, has to be a key and very central issue in language policy design and research, since it can potentially have important consequences for all involved.

Keywords: English, Estonia, Higher Education, language policy

1 Introduction

On 10 October 2013, the Language Forum, organized by the Estonian Language Council, took place in Tallinn. It was a one-day conference event dedicated to examining the implementation of the *Development Plan of the Estonian Language 2011-2017* (Estonian Language Council 2011). A particular emphasis was put on the question of the Estonian language in Estonian science policy, and judging by the title of the concluding round table discussion ("Estonian language – friend or foe of innovation?"), one gets the impression that the topics discussed were all but neutral and problem-free. Moreover, the fact that

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the opening of the event was an address by the Estonian President Toomas Hendrik Ilves adds to the understanding that this conference was given great symbolic importance and that the matters discussed there were also of major relevance. Next to that, the following day, the University of Tartu organised another one-day conference in Tartu, this time, however, to celebrate the 20th anniversary of the first English-taught programme at the university and, indeed, in the country. In this case, the focus was rather on the English language and its decisive role for the internationalisation process of the country's universities, with a particular focus on the University of Tartu, naturally. Key and top-level government officials also took part in that conference, including an opening address by the Minister of Education and Research, Professor Jaak Aaviksoo, and a closing speech by the rector of the University of Tartu, Professor Volli Kalm.

These two contrasting examples are particularly revealing of an increasing discussion in the country regarding language and Higher Education (henceforth HE) issues (Tensing and Vihman forthcoming). They neatly offer the two approaches that, while perhaps contradictory, need to be effectively combined: the need to incorporate a growing use of English for HE purposes, while at the same time maintaining a significant space for Estonian. In particular, the fact that these two conference events took place consecutively, one day after the other, adds to this sense of revelation.

In this chapter I undertake a content analysis of HE policy documents in Estonia, with a focus on language and sociolinguistic matters. Estonia provides a context that may yield interesting insights into the question under study: how does English affect the language ecology of Estonian academic research and HE? More specifically, I aim to show how HE policy documents frame a particular notion of the languages at play (mainly English and Estonian) and simultaneously shape a particular relationship between them. In short, while English is defined as a necessary tool for the internationalisation of the country's HE, it appears surprisingly erased from the analysed policy documents, i.e. they avoid explicitly mentioning English and prefer the more unspecific notion of 'foreign language(s)'. I return to this and to the possible explanations why this is so in the discussion section of the paper (Section 4).

In my analysis, I investigate some of the linguistic tensions and contradictions arising from the examined HE policy documents. In order to better understand such tensions, I read them in light of Duchêne and Heller's (2012) theoretical framework of 'standardisation' and 'variability' (or 'Taylorism' and 'flexibility') as competing strategies in language policy making at the workplace. Briefly put, according to these authors, the conditions of the new economy place language at the centre of economic production, turning it into both the means and

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the ends of economic processes. In turn, this entails a push-and-pull of forces derived from 'standardisation' and 'flexibility' strategies that companies apply in their language policymaking. Duchêne and Heller (2012) suggest that this can be clearly seen in places such as the call centre industry or tourism, where language is not just the means to contract the business transaction, but the ends too. In the analysis presented here, I suggest that this model can be applied also in the internationalized university (see also Hultgren 2014a for a similar analysis of HE policies within this theoretical framework).

The chapter is organised as follows: Section 2 offers a brief background of Estonia's sociolinguistic context and its Higher Education policies; in Section 3 I expand more on the theoretical framework of the paper; Section 4 contains an analysis and discussion of the data; and finally some concluding remarks are provided in Section 5.

2 Background: Estonia's sociolinguistic context and Higher Education policies

Similarly to other post-Soviet countries (particularly Latvia), Estonia's demographic composition experienced significant changes during the nearly half century of Soviet occupation, provoked by the large influx of labour migrants who arrived from other parts of the Soviet Union (mostly Russia, Belarus and Ukraine). The impact of those changes can still be felt today, and Estonia can be considered a multiethnic and multilingual society, even though the rate of newly arrived immigrants is very low. In terms of self-declared ethnicity, the latest Population Census of 2011 indicates that from the approximately 1.3 million inhabitants of Estonia, 68.7% are Estonian, 24.8% are Russian and 1.7% Ukrainian (Statistics Estonia n.d.).

From the perspective of language policy and planning, during the Soviet period important inequalities between speakers of different languages were created (Skerrett 2010). Although Estonian continued to be used in some important domains (such as education up to the university level), the status of Russian increased rapidly (Rannut 2004), which produced an asymmetric bilingualism between members of different first languages (L1s). The profound socio-political changes in 1991 led to important modifications in the legal and educational spheres so as to revert that situation. To a significant extent, one can talk about the successful reversal of a language shift (Fishman 1991; Hogan-Brun et al. 2007; Skerrett 2012). From the language political point of view, the 1992 Constitution establishes Estonian as the sole official language of the country and

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declares all languages other than Estonian to be foreign languages. Language legislation in the country is deeply regulated: there are over 400 laws and lower legal and normative acts (Rannut 2004). The Language Act (passed initially in 1995 and renewed recently in 2011) features most prominently among such laws, as it regulates linguistically all the state apparatus, including the language of public administration, language rights, requirements of proficiency in Estonian, etc. It also regulates the State supervisory authority, the Language Inspectorate, which (among other competencies) has the right to monitor the use and knowledge of Estonian and foreign languages. In terms of HE, the Universities Act (Ministry of Education and Research 1995) is the general state law that regulates all the activities and developments of Estonian HE.

Turning to HE matters more specifically, it needs to be emphasised that in contrast to other countries, important developments and reforms in the Estonian HE system have had to be subsumed in a relatively short period of time, particularly since re-independence in 1991 (Saar and Mõttus 2013). Moreover, in the context of globalization, objectives of internationalisation have also been incorporated by Estonian universities and education authorities (Huisman et al. 2007). Even if later than in other countries (see, for instance, Wilkinson's [2013] analysis of Maastricht University's internationalisation policies, undertaken since the 1980s), policy documents have been drafted in order to make Estonian academic research and HE attractive to foreign students and scholars, as well as help local institutions grow and become more competitive in the international arena. Regarding HE policy documents, Kroos's (2013) analysis provides a very useful point of departure in order to grasp an essential feature of them: their fragmentation. Indeed, by the time of his analysis (2010), HE and research policy documents "were spread over 500 pages" (Kroos 2013: 27). This author offers a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the main policy documents active at that time (12 in total), which had 22 different goals, 37 sub-goals, 34 measures and 193 activities. All in all, he concludes that HE and research policy documents in Estonia need to be made more systematic and structured. Several of the documents reviewed by Kroos constitute also part of the data for the analysis in this chapter. For that reason, similar observations may very well be expected in the present analysis.

3 A holistic approach to LPP analysis and the internationalisation of Higher Education

In this chapter I consider language policy and HE policy documents as social artefacts that do not necessarily provide a neutral description of the reality they

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aim to modify and describe, but rather co-construct this reality, shape it, and redefine it (Saarinen 2008). That is, I take the analysed policy documents as nodes of complexity that discursively project a particular image of reality which incorporates and encompasses a particular stakeholder's representation and ideology about reality. Since my focus is on sociolinguistic matters in Language Policy and Planning (LPP) and higher education policy documents, it is useful to incorporate Hult's (2010) approach to the language ecological analysis of LPP. More specifically, I aim to uncover the relationships among different languages reflected in policy documents (Hult 2010: 8); in this case, the languages at play will be essentially (but not exclusively) English and Estonian. In Hult's words (2010: 9): "Language policies are, after all, 'cultural constructs' that develop through the same social process that shape all human activity ... As such, language policies are part and parcel of the discursive social contexts of the societies for which they are crafted rather than decontextualized objects".

Of course, such a holistic approach to the study of sociolinguistic reality poses important methodological challenges; namely that, as a researcher, one cannot observe everything, everywhere, every time, and thus one has to be selective about the focus of analysis (Hult 2010). To mitigate this challenge, Hult proposes the use of the methodological lenses of nexus analysis (Scollon and Scollon 2004) combined with Blommaert's (2007, 2010) notion of 'scale'. Here, however, I need to depart from Hult's suggestion, since my data does not allow me to access the interactional sphere. That said, I do incorporate a historical look into my analysis with "the analytical objective ... to seek out the discourses within a historical body that are most relevant to a particular action taken within a specific nexus of practice" (Hult 2010: 12). In this chapter, this particular action can be conceived of as the drafting of the specific policy documents that will form the bulk of the data to be analysed.

3.1 English, the internationalisation of higher education and the 'new economy'

As universities have entered the 'post-national' era (Mortensen and Haberland 2012) and are increasingly becoming more active agents of neoliberal economies (Piller and Cho 2013), the growing presence of English in the field of HE has become a widespread phenomenon, especially, but not exclusively, in Europe. As a result, there coexist two different views on this phenomenon: a more positive one, arguing that this strengthens ties and collaborative initiatives between institutions and organizations from different countries (the notion of 'international English' proposed by Bull 2012), and a more negative one, which places more emphasis on the levelling and homogenizing effect that this may have, which translates into a more reduced usage of each country's language in favour of English, Bull's (2012) 'global English'.

In countries where English is not natively spoken, the combination of English and the local (national) language in academia is a question that can be a source of heated debates. The key question is how to find a balance between the need to incorporate an effective use of English for scientific purposes and the capacity for their languages to find a niche in this particular context, with the appropriate lexical tools for each academic field. In the Estonian context, this is coupled by already existing ideological tensions around the role of English, which is perceived both as the language leading more decidedly towards European integration, the country's 'return to the Western world' (Lauristin and Vihalemm 1997; Kasekamp 2010), and a homogenising tongue, a threat to the sustainable existence of Estonian language, culture and identity (Liiv and Laasi 2006). Among adolescents, several studies have pointed repeatedly to English being positively regarded in instrumental terms (and specifically for attaining education in this language), while Estonian is valued emphatically as an identity marker (Ehala and Niglas 2006; Tammemägi and Ehala 2012).

Regarding the context of policymaking in HE, the complex relationship between English and Estonian also arises in the policy documents that will be analysed later on in this chapter. Furthermore, the conditions of the 'new economy' and globalization trends may have enhanced such tensions even more, as depicted by Piller and Cho (2013): in their article, they show a strong correlation between the rise of English-medium instruction in a Korean university and the internationalisation efforts and pressures felt by that institution and its members, be they students, professors or administrative staff. Piller and Cho's (2013) claim is that neoliberalism acts as a source for covert language policies in HE, and that this ideological construct paves the way for English to be seen uncritically as the natural means for universities and local authorities to establish their internationalisation strategies. Indeed, although there is more diversity in HE settings than simply homogenisation through English (Haberland and Mortensen 2012), English seems to enjoy a clear hypercentral position (De Swaan 2001) in this context. In Mortensen and Haberland's (2012: 191) words: "we are currently witnessing the emergence of a new 'logic' in which it is 'natural' to assume that universities 'obviously' need to introduce English in order to fulfil their societal role". The quotation marks in "logic", "natural" and "obviously" indicate the critical stance taken by the authors in relation to these terms, and I believe it is the duty of LPP research to contribute to this critical view as suggested by Mortensen and Haberland (2012).

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Central in this debate is the notion of the commodification of language and identity in the 'new economy' (Heller 2003, Heller and Duchêne 2012). In 'late-modern' societies, language has become a key element in the economic production, increasingly becoming both the means (how) and ends (what) to "generating new forms of surplus value" (Duchêne and Heller 2012: 326). As we shall see, several of the analysed documents frame the role of universities as the drivers of society's progress and development, since they are in charge of generating new knowledge in all areas. In their turn, universities acknowledge that they are responsible for forming free, educated and (economically) competitive citizens for their society. In the majority of cases, this implies educating them to some extent in a foreign language (English), offering them the possibility to attain a certain degree of international mobility and providing them with the tools and skills to become competent in intercultural settings.

3.2 Standardisation (or Taylorism) and variability (or flexibility) in LPP and higher education policy documents

Looking at it from the economic point of view, Duchêne and Heller's (2012) analysis of language policy in the workplace can be fruitfully integrated here. If we view universities as institutions (or even companies) trying to increase profits and, by extension, their research and teaching staff as their employees and their students as their clientele, then this perspective may further illuminate particular issues. As noted above, in the case of academic research and teaching, language may also be seen as a tool to generate new forms of surplus value, or added value. In their analysis, Duchêne and Heller highlight a key issue that can also be applied to what we may observe in the field of the internationalisation of HE and academic research: "Simply put, workers in the new economy must navigate linguistically a heightened tension between standardization and variability" (Duchêne and Heller 2012: 326). Standardisation (or Taylorism) emerges from the belief that in order to achieve a particular objective, one needs to follow a clear and rational set of steps and regulations, one after another, "In the globalised new economy, the aim to maximise the efficiency of production through means of divided and standardised work processes remains salient" (Duchêne and Heller 2012: 329). In contrast, variability (or flexibility) is the capacity to adapt to new and unexpected situations, to find 'niche markets' and offer different forms of 'added value' to marketable commodities.

In our case, the 'workers' that need to navigate this linguistically heightened tension are researchers and teaching staff, but also administration staff,

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as well as policy makers. Standardization emerges when the uncritical questioning of the belief in conducting almost everything in English (as in the analysis by Piller and Cho 2013) is favoured and enhanced, linked with the idea that it will promote institutions' attractiveness and competitiveness and raise their positions in HE rankings. In fact, LPP and HE policy documents are already in and of themselves a form of standardisation. They are documents that try to regulate a particular area of social reality, establishing clear aims, objectives and actions to be taken by particular stakeholders in order to shape reality in a specific way and achieve certain results. Internationalisation objectives tend to bring with them also different forms of standardisation: university rankings, for instance, can be considered one such form, as detected also by Piller and Cho (2013), since they are clear and 'objective' documents that promote a vision of competition and a scale against which one can measure a particular university's performance (see also Hultgren 2014b).

By contrast, variability entails attempting to effectively engage with a complex and multifaceted reality, while promoting diversity as a means of creating added value. In our case, this would translate into promoting effective multilingualism and a diverse range of languages at the level of HE, particularly local and national languages alongside English (and possibly other languages) as an international language. Flexibility is usually framed as the capacity of institutions to combine their national and international sides effectively and with minimal upheaval. It is also constructed in terms of offering enough room to manoeuvre in order to successfully adapt to each student's needs and expectations, promoting a student-centred orientation. In this way, institutions can present themselves as attractive destinations to almost any student, thus contributing to the attainment of HE with added value. On a different scale, it is hoped that this will also contribute to development at the national level in many different ways: most decidedly economic and human.

From a different perspective, the issue of variability in the field of HE also arises and is further complicated by the many realities it encompasses: different areas (humanities, social sciences, natural sciences, medicine, etc.), different departments and faculties, different universities and geographical realities, all of which necessarily have an impact on the activities of those agents involved in them. Applying a standard policy that takes this variability into account seems an important challenge. Such a tension is quite evident in the several documents drafted by the Estonian government and its Ministry of Education and Research. This is what I now turn to.

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4 Data

4.1 Methodology

A content analysis of Estonian HE policy documents was conducted with an emphasis on: (1) those documents containing relevant goals and measures related to language(s) and the internationalisation of HE; and (2) an analysis of the "position of languages" in them (Saarinen 2012). According to Kroos (2013: 32), Hogwood and Gunn (1981) set apart different kinds of (i) policy studies and (ii) policy analyses. The former can contain studies of policy content, of policy process, of policy outputs and of evaluation, whereas the latter may include analysis of evaluations, information for policy-making, process advocacy and policy advocacy. Arguably, the present study is circumscribed in the area of policy content. However, given the holistic approach advocated for in the previous section, I aim at offering an inclusive analysis where the content is not the only focus of the investigation, but the process and outputs are too. In fact, these documents are in and of themselves the result (output) of the process that led to their conception. Even if the focus here is on the documents as the result of such processes, one could also argue that by looking at their result, one is at the same time indirectly studying the process that enabled their inception.

In selecting the sample, the following criteria were taken into account: (1) accessibility of the documents, (2) comprehensibility and (3) validity. In relation to (1), I made sure the documents were easily accessible and that they could be found online from reliable sources (directly from the Ministry of Education and Research's website or from a relevant institution's webpage). Regarding (2), I also made sure that the English version of the document was readily available (not infrequent in Estonian policy documents), and that the analysed text was a trustworthy translation from the original one in Estonian. Finally, with respect to (3), all the documents included in this study had to be valid at the time this analysis was conducted (December 2013). There is only one exception to the latter point: the Development Strategy of the Estonian Language 2004–2010. However, I decided to include this policy document for two main reasons: first of all, its foreword contains relevant data for the present study (as will be shown later on), and secondly, it includes a section on language and HE. As said, the latter is the central concern of this analysis. Including the Development Strategy 2004–2010 allows us to see longitudinally how such issues have evolved in the country and how policy documents have framed the analysed questions.

4.2 Sample

The following Table summarizes the data for analysis in this chapter:

Table 1: Documents analysed in this chapter and methods used

Title	Abbreviation	Author	Methods used
Estonian Higher Education Strategy 2006–2015	HE Strategy 2006–2015	Ministry of Education and Research	Content analysis of passages relating to language and sociolinguistic matters
Strategy for the Internationalisation of Estonian Higher Education over the Years 2006–2015	Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015	Ministry of Education and Research	
Agreement on Good Practice in the Internationalisation of Estonia's Higher Education Institutions (Effective since 2007)	Agreement	Estonian Universities' Council of Rectors	
Development Strategy of the Estonian Language 2004-2010	Development Strategy 2004–2010	Estonian Language Council (in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Research)	
Development Plan of the Estonian Language 2011–2017	Development Plan 2011–2017	Estonian Language Council (in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Research)	

The Estonian Ministry of Education and Research is responsible for the authorship of the *Estonian Higher Education Strategy 2006-2015* (henceforth HE Strategy 2006–2015) and its daughter document, the *Strategy for the Internationalisation of Estonian Higher Education over the Years 2006–2015* (hereafter Internationalisation Strategy 2006-2015). The *Development Strategy of the Estonian Language 2004–2010* (henceforth Development Strategy 2004–2010) and its subsequent *Development Plan of the Estonian Language 2011–2017* (hereafter Development Plan 2011–2017) have both been composed by the Estonian Language Council, in collaboration with the Ministry of Education and Research. The *Agreement on Good Practice in the Internationalisation of Estonia's Higher Education Institutions* (hereafter referred to as the Agreement) is a pan-institutional document that was enabled by the Estonian Ministry of Education and Research,

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the Estonian Rectors' Conference and the Archimedes Foundation. It entered into force on 6 December 2007. It was initially promoted and signed by the Rectors of the six public universities in the country, but since then, other institutions of HE, private and public, have been included as signatories to this document. As of February 2011, up to 19 HE institutions had signed this agreement.

4.3 Analysis

In his analysis of Estonian HE and research policy documents, Kroos (2013: 41) highlights the existing fragmentation in such documents. Indeed, this is also the case here, particularly regarding that "even the style and structure of the different parts of the same policy paper may vary a great deal (like for instance in the case of the Estonian Higher Education Strategy)". However, this is to an extent mitigated by the fact that there are fewer documents reviewed here than in Kroos (2013). In particular, he writes that the "documents not only use the preferred terminology style and structure of the authors of the different policy papers, the documents do not use any referencing system, which would allow one to identify how the goals, measures, or actions relate to other strategies" (p. 41). Nevertheless, there exists some cross-referencing in the documents analysed here, mainly in relation to the Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015. Since this paper can be considered the master document regarding internationalisation strategies in the country, many other documents refer to it. The Development Strategy 2004–2010 and the Development Plan 2011–2017 are also referred to regarding measures to reinforce the role of Estonian in the field of HE (terminology, publication of research results, writing of dissertations, etc.). Finally, one last feature of the documents revised here that differs from those reviewed by Kroos (2013) is the time span of their validity. Although they do diverge in terms of the year they were approved or entered into force (from 2006 to 2011), they tend to have a homogeneous expiry date (2015). Only the Development Plan 2011–2017 does not conform to that date, with the Agreement not having a specified date of expiration. Again, the more reduced sample of documents examined here allows for a more coherent and homogeneous analysis. In this section I present the highlighted passages from each of the analysed policy documents, paying particular attention to sociolinguistic matters and to the relationship between the different languages presented in them.

4.3.1 The Estonian Higher Education Strategy, 2006–2015

This eleven-page document provides some general guidelines for the development of Estonia's HE over the years 2006–2015. In its introduction, it highlights the role of HE in shaping societal progress, particularly in knowledge-based

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economies. Point #4 of this introduction is particularly relevant to the analysis here, as it frames HE in the context of economic competitiveness, as a public and private good in a worldwide open market, something that requires flexibility by institutions and their people: "[t]he supply of higher education takes place in conditions of a worldwide open educational market and resulting competition, leading to a mandatory requirement for personal and institutional flexibility at all organisational levels of society. Education, and higher education in particular, is therefore both a public and private good" (HE Strategy 2006–2015: 1).

In language terms, however, the document barely mentions that: (1) Estonian language teaching materials, textbooks and software will be developed, as established by the Development Strategy 2004–2010 (HE Strategy 2006–2015: 6); and (2) English-language doctoral studies will be promoted in order to enhance student mobility and bring doctoral candidates from abroad (HE Strategy 2006–2015: 9). Mobility is, therefore, a central issue in the chapter dedicated to the internationalisation of HE, something that is the single focus of the Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015.

4.3.2 The Strategy for the Internationalisation of Estonian Higher Education over the Years 2006–2015

This is a daughter document of the HE Strategy 2006–2015 and it outlines more specifically Estonia's plan for the internationalisation of its HE. The document is founded on six main principles, from which I highlight the following two:

(1) The traditional elitist role of higher education has changed, and the provision of higher education has increasingly become a transnational commercial activity. Higher education has become an important export article that forms a considerable proportion of countries' economic activities, in which contemporary information and communication technologies and marketing play an important role.

(2) One of the most important fundamental rights of citizens of the European Union – the right to live and work in another Member State – and the globalisation of the world economy have created an international labour market in which language proficiency, the knowledge of other cultures and tolerance are vitally important. More than ever before, graduates of institutions of higher education must be prepared to come into contact with other cultural contexts in their work life (Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015: 1).

As can be observed, emphasis is placed on HE as an economic activity (a commodity) and on the importance of language and intercultural skills for the

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future in order to enhance the competitiveness of graduates. From the revised documents, this is the one that contains more relevant data for the analysis in this chapter (and consequently, it will be more thoroughly analysed), clearly stating from the beginning that:

> Over the past nearly one hundred years, there has been no period in which Estonian-language higher education has faced such simultaneously immense possibilities and potentially perilous challenges: the possible departure of top-level specialists from Estonia, the arrival of international specialists in our institutions of research and higher education, the preservation and development of the Estonian language as a language of science, the increasing volume of study in foreign languages and the increasing proportion of international students (Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015: 1–2).

We note here the abovementioned tension between an increased need to introduce the use of a foreign language (i.e. English) in the domain of HE while maintaining some quality space for Estonian in that field. However, interestingly enough, English is not explicitly mentioned, but rather avoided, throughout the document, something recurrent in the majority of the analysed papers in this chapter. Even when discussing the need to enhance professors' language skills to teach in an international environment, the mention of English is avoided:

> All professors must be able to lecture in an international environment. The short-term professional development of the academic staff will also to a limited extent be funded by the state. Intensive language study and the acquisition of skills required for working in an international cultural environment will be an integral part of the preparatory training of all members of the teaching staff at institutions of higher education (Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015: 9).

Indeed, out of the 6,124 words in the paper, "English" appears only three times, whereas "foreign language(s)" is mentioned nineteen times. Saarinen (2012) has found similar results regarding the Finnish context, and I shall return to this question in the discussion section below.

There are four pervading principles in the implementation of the strategy, from which two can be highlighted: (1) the development of the Estonian language, and (2) the added value that HE represents to society:

> In opening up Estonian higher education and introducing the international dimension into every curriculum, we must ensure the preservation of the Estonian language as the primary language of teaching and research at institutions of higher education. . . .
>
> State funding for the promotion of internationalisation shall be guided by the premise that the activities supported will bring added value to Estonian society (Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015: 2).

However, one gets the impression that throughout the document, more emphasis is placed in enhancing the use and presence of a foreign language, which is expected to bring about student and staff mobility. Speaking about mobility, the document explicitly mentions the use of standard, internationally recognised tests as assessment tools to prove their language skills during their application process: “Internationally recognised tests will be used to assess the language skills of student candidates applying to study programmes taught in a foreign language. Minimum acceptable scores will be established at the national level” (Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015: 6).

The question of language, added value, and mobility intermingle in the document in a complex manner. Firstly, international staff is considered a “considerable asset” for the country: “International academic staff is also a considerable asset in developing international relations and motivating international students to come to study in Estonia” (Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015: 6). Moreover, later in the document we are told that:

> The presence of international students and academic staff members adds to the attractiveness of every living environment. It is very important that local government bodies become more aware of the significance of this factor, and take it into consideration. In cooperation with the local authorities, institutions of higher education will also try to facilitate the emergence of an international environment off campus. The goal is to provide foreigners with all essential information and access to community services and medical care in English, to help them to integrate their professional and personal lives (schools, kindergartens, student clubs) etc (Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015: 9).

This is one of the only times where English is explicitly mentioned, and in this formulation it gives the impression that Estonian authorities would like to establish the conditions for foreigners to be able to live in an English-only bubble, detached from any Estonian language input or need in their everyday lives, also outside campus. However, contrary to that, the next paragraph seems to offer a sense of balance in that respect:

> Institutions of higher education and the national government will cooperate to provide elementary language training to foreigners, to ensure they have a sufficient knowledge of Estonian to manage in everyday situations. Each international student and academic staff member must have the opportunity to participate prior to or during the study period in free courses on the Estonian language and culture. (Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015: 9–10).

Nevertheless, the country’s history, the Estonian language and the fact that it is the language of instruction at HE is presented negatively and as an obstacle to overcome in the internationalisation process of Estonia’s HE and its promotion in marketing terms: “Our historical experience, geographic location and the rather limited number of speakers of Estonian (which is the local language of instruction) work against Estonia becoming a place of study that would attract large numbers of international students” (Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015: 10).

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In sum, although the need to promote and preserve Estonian in the field of HE is explicitly acknowledged in the Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015, in combination with the need to incorporate a greater use of foreign languages at that level, not much is said throughout the document as to how to achieve that. Moreover, the preferred vague form of talking about 'foreign language(s)' instead of named languages (particularly English) adds more complexity to it and makes it more difficult to identify how to achieve the set goals. Finally, we observe an implicit establishment of a hierarchy between English and Estonian: English is pictured as *needed* to help foreign scholars and their families integrate into Estonian everyday life, while they should be given *the opportunity* to learn Estonian. In a sense, English comes first, and Estonian comes later, as an optional choice. Interestingly, it is noticeable that while the document overtly places emphasis on Estonian at the beginning (it says it should be preserved as the main language of teaching), it later on implicitly contradicts itself by awarding more importance to English in order to attract foreign scholars, and Estonian is presented as an obstacle for the internationalisation of the country's HE.

4.3.3 Agreement on Good Practice in the Internationalisation of Estonia's Higher Education Institutions

The objective of this document is to further specify the tasks and duties of HE institutions in Estonia regarding internationalisation goals. The Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015 already noted explicitly the need for such an agreement to be devised in order "to harmonise the internationalisation objectives and processes, to ensure the equal treatment of all students and academic staff members and to simplify the immigration policy" (Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015: 10). That is, in the case of this document, its standardising role is made even more explicit. However, although it contains up to 33 specific items, from general provisions to more specific duties, it remains rather vague, particularly in the field of language matters. It states that the institutions shall give the opportunity to its members (students and staff) to learn Estonian language (items #18 and #27) and that institutions "shall provide additional English language training and instruction on cultural differences to all members of its teaching staff whose courses are in English, and to members of support staff who advise international students, researchers and teaching staff" (item #31). Nevertheless, no more details are given as to how these courses shall be structured, for how long or for what purposes. Moreover, planning them for the staff whose courses are already in English seems unlikely to benefit those who might need them more, i.e. those whose courses are not yet in this language.

Finally, even though the Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015 stated that standard tests would be used to assess students' language skills in foreign languages during their application process, nothing about that is mentioned in the Agreement. Interestingly, however, item #20 specifies that the institutions "shall ensure that academic staff involved in the curricula of programmes taught in foreign languages have the necessary linguistic competence in those languages". Again, the more vague label "foreign languages" is preferred, and no mention of "internationally recognised tests" is made here.

4.3.4 Development Strategy of the Estonian Language 2004–2010

This document constituted the first policy plan of the Estonian language, covering all major areas of language use. For the purposes of this chapter, some of the most interesting data can be found in the Foreword of the Development Strategy. In it, we find an institutionalised statement of the 'authenticity' value of Estonian (see also Soler-Carbonell 2013): "People keep their language, but without the Estonian language the Estonian people would not be what they are". Further on "the Estonian state has first and foremost to take care of the maintenance and the development of the Estonian language" and "[b]y maintaining and developing our mother tongue for ourselves at home, we will at the same time contribute to the permanence of a European Europe" (Development Strategy 2004–2010, p. 3–4). Regarding the context of HE, interestingly enough, there is only one page dedicated to it (p. 34). In it, the authors note that "internationalisation has been accompanied by an increase in the proportion of teaching through the medium of foreign languages and the number of students and university teachers whose proficiency in Estonian is inadequate". For that reason, among the main set objectives, we find: "to essentially retain Estonian-medium teaching, and to publish the major research results also in the Estonian language, avoiding full use of foreign languages in any field of science". Once again, we note here the explicit avoidance of using named languages and the preference for the vague 'foreign languages'. In short, already in 2004 the necessity to establish a framework of protection for the Estonian language at HE was already noted by policymakers, but only vaguely so at that time.

4.3.5 Development Plan of the Estonian Language 2011–2017

The protectionist tone on the maintenance of the Estonian language noted in the Development Strategy 2004–2010 is to be found also in the Development Plan

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2011–2017. Here, however, there is no foreword making explicit the authenticity value of the Estonian language. The Development Plan 2011–2017 contains a more lengthy treatment of the situation in HE and the challenges facing Estonian in that area (four and a half pages). One of the main focuses in this document seems to be on doctoral dissertations and their language(s). Indeed, it notes that there is a significant proportion of dissertations written in a foreign language (meaning English almost exclusively) that do not contain an Estonian-language summary. Elsewhere I have already documented the preference for English over Estonian to write one's Ph.D. dissertation in areas other than the Humanities (Soler-Carbonell 2014). For the sake of developing academic Estonian, to generate a wealthy pool of specific terminology, and to devise teaching materials in every field of knowledge at all education levels, it certainly seems that this is an important challenge facing policymakers and institutions alike. As opposed to the only four actions in the area of HE included in the Development Strategy 2004–2010, the Development Plan 2011–2017 envisages fourteen such actions. In relation to the abovementioned challenges, two of them can be highlighted: (1) "to set a requirement that a bachelor's, master's, or doctoral dissertation has to be supplied with an exhaustive summary [in] Estonian; in the case of a doctoral dissertation its scope should correspond to that of a research article in the respective field" and (2) "to supply specialties with terminological dictionaries and study literature in the Estonian language" (Development Plan 2011–2017: 55).

The Development Plan 2011–2017 refers to the Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015 somewhat negatively when it mentions that it "diminishes the role of Estonian-medium education further by removing the requirement of the existence of Estonian-medium education from doctoral education" (Development Plan 2011–2017: 53). Indeed, the objectives of the Development Plan 2011–2017 are, first of all, to ensure a high level of Estonian-language proficiency among graduates at all levels, at the same time also supporting opportunities for instruction in other languages; and secondly, that major research results will be published also in Estonian, avoiding complete transition to a foreign language in any branch of science (an objective already present in the previous Development Strategy 2004–2010).

5 Discussion and conclusions

This chapter has analysed the relationship that current HE policy documents in Estonia frame between the different languages in that domain. The basic

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question I set out to answer was to examine how English and Estonian were portrayed in those documents. In view of the data, the most relevant findings from this study can be summarized as follows: (1) the analysed documents explicitly note the need to preserve Estonian in the domain of HE, and (2) the documents avoid mentioning English overtly and prefer using the vaguer label ‘foreign languages’. In this final section I discuss some possible explanations as to why is this label preferred and what ideological tensions this may hide.

In order to do so, the proposed theoretical framework of ‘standardization’ and ‘variability’ (Duchêne and Heller 2012) can be fruitfully integrated. As mentioned above, the analysed documents are in and of themselves a form of standardisation, an attempt to regulate and set a series of specific goals to be achieved by the relevant stakeholders. Nevertheless, in language terms, the reality of HE in contemporary societies is of a very complex nature, and the need for flexibility is also explicitly noted in the documents analysed in this chapter. Central in this tension is the increasingly pressing question (certainly not exclusive to the Estonian case) of how to effectively combine the promotion (or protection) of the national language next to other international languages for HE purposes. As in other societies, this is leading to public debates among policymakers and HE officials, as reported by Tensing and Vihman (forthcoming).

Consequently, it would seem that focusing solely on English as the only means towards internationalisation (i.e. applying a Taylorist approach) is something that the analysed policy documents try to avoid. This could be why the use of the more imprecise label ‘foreign languages’ instead of named languages (and in particular English) is favoured. However, not unlike Saarinen’s (2012) interpretation of it, there are many other reasons that come to mind for understanding this preference. Firstly, using such a label is a means of fostering flexibility and variability in the HE context. Indeed, Estonia is already a multilingual country, and by not naming any single ‘foreign language’ in particular the door is left open for several of them to be effectively integrated. However, this remains more an ideal than a practical reality, because of a lack of resources. Moreover, not mentioning English or Russian explicitly could be also interpreted as a way to erase those languages that seem to exert a higher pressure on Estonian’s maintenance and sustainability.

As a consequence, the use of the ambiguous ‘foreign languages’ has both advantages and disadvantages. It has the advantage of not having to compromise to any single specific ‘foreign language’ in particular. However, to name but one important disadvantage, this label’s vagueness does not allow us to properly define which languages, for what aims and at what levels they should be introduced for HE purposes. This, in turn, may lead to increased obstacles when it comes to identify who can actually benefit from the devised policies and how. Of course, policy documents need to contain a degree of vagueness to allow for flexibility and adaptability. Nevertheless, a more conscious effort to reflect upon and delimit these issues could result in more effective strategies for the benefit of a wider range of stakeholders. To that end, conducting needs-based analysis (as proposed by Muñoz and Gilabert 2012) seems an appropriate direction to take in order to better understand what the most pressing needs and demands by students and staff, in particular, are.

In short, neither professors nor students may clearly benefit from the use of the more ambiguous 'foreign languages' label. In conclusion, it is my interpretation that it serves the Ministry of Education and Research and its policymakers to save their face (i.e. their public image). Given the importance that Estonian has as an identity marker for Estonian speakers (Soler-Carbonell 2013), and considering the country's sociolinguistic composition and geographic location, placing emphasis on some named foreign languages (either English or Russian) would put public officials at risk of general criticism. Additionally, the fact that these policy documents are not accompanied by any form of evaluation guidelines can be taken as further proof that they are to be understood more as 'cultural constructs' aimed at shaping reality in a given way (Hult 2010). That is, they are supposed to 'stand alone', since they do not carry with them any means of evaluating their impact and implementation. This underscores the fact that they are elements shaping their context, rather than tools to act upon reality.

Moreover, a more nuanced reading of the analysed policy documents reveals some important tensions arising from them. As we have seen, all the documents align themselves with the notion of preserving Estonian in the HE domain. However, some place more emphasis on it than others: those authored by the Estonian Language Council, naturally, adopt a stronger stance in relation to protecting Estonian. In addition, the Development Strategy 2011–2017 refers negatively to the Internationalisation Strategy 2006–2015 (by the Ministry of Education and Research), arguing that it diminishes the role of Estonian in the area of teaching at HE. The latter, as we have seen, favours indeed a more active presence of English in that domain, although hiding it behind the 'foreign language' label.

Interestingly, unlike Hultgren's (2014a) contrast of state authored and institutional policy documents, we see here that even state level policies can work towards trying to shape reality in different ways. In short, Hultgren (2014a) finds that state authored documents foster (more implicitly than explicitly so) a more important role for Danish in Denmark's universities. In parallel, institutionally authored documents seem to portray a bigger role for English. In the analysis I have presented here, it is different state level authorities that show seemingly opposing views on the question of languages at higher education. Depending on their agenda, they adopt more emphatically a protectionist stance towards Estonian (as in the documents by the Estonian Language Council) or a more favourable point of view towards English, at least implicitly (as in the documents by the Ministry of Education and Research).

This perceivable tension is indicative of the fact that an effective combination of English and Estonian in the HE domain is a complex matter. Policy-makers, if only implicitly, seem conscious of it. Nevertheless, adopting more specific and more clearly defined policies at that level would be helpful in order to avoid the paradox that internationalisation forces seem to pose (Risager 2012, Saarinen 2012) and to prevent this from driving the system towards language homogeneity, rather than plurality. On seeing the question more optimistically, this might lead to an increased variability and an enhanced degree of plurilingualism among HE students and staff, with richer and more heterogeneous language repertoires.

Acknowledgements

The research presented in this paper was supported by the European Union through the European Social Fund (Mobilitas Grant number GFLEE322MJ). The paper has benefited from feedback received after being presented orally in several fora, including the Yale Conference on Baltic and Scandinavian Studies (Yale University, March 13–15 2014) and the IX Annual Conference of the Estonian Association of Sociology (University of Tartu, April 25–26 2014). I am thankful to the editors of the volume and the two external peer-reviewers, whose comments have also greatly enhanced the chapter's final version. Of course, persisting errors and shortcomings are my own.

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Francesca Santulli

12 English in Italian universities: The language policy of PoliMi from theory to practice

Abstract: In Italy the decision of the Politecnico di Milano concerning the exclusive adoption of English in all MA and PhD courses starting from 2014 gave rise to a heated debate and triggered a lawsuit. The paper examines the arguments put forth by the advocates of the decision as well as the claims of the opponents, and analyzes the conclusions of the Court which judged the case, ruling against PoliMi. It then focuses on PoliMi's website, with a view to verifying how the policy of the institution is practically implemented. The overall structure of the site is described, with special attention for the different language versions, and then a small sample of texts concerning the presentation of courses is analyzed. The comparison between the Italian and the English versions of the texts aims to investigate the relationship between them, highlighting differences that reveal how language choices discursively reflect and construct different ideological attitudes.

Keywords: language policy, Politecnico di Milano, website, parallel text

1 Introduction

Unprecedented processes of globalization have enhanced the role of English as a *lingua franca* not only in economic and scientific contexts but also in the mass media and in popular culture all over the world (e.g. Graddol 1997; Brutt-Griffler 2002; Crystal 2003; House 2003; Coupland 2010). Historical reasons combine with economic power to make this language prestigious and pervasive, to the point that it is often seen as the expression of a form of imperialism (e.g. Phillipson 1992, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas 2001; Dalby 2003; in a discursive perspective, Pennycook 1994; from a Marxist point of view, Holborow 1999).

The domain of science has been specially hit by the spread of English, above all in written communication. The winning models of the Anglo-Saxon scientific culture have marginalized other language traditions and led to the

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decline of important European languages – like French, German or Italian – which used to enjoy high status and prestige (Ammon 2001; Truchot 2001; Gardt and Hüppauf 2004; Calaresu 2011). The internationalization of science has turned into an overwhelming process of Anglicization, which has gradually extended from research proper to academic contexts in general, involving specialized communication as well as instruction and training (Kruseman 2003; Béacco et al. 2010). The use of English in higher education has become a transnational problem (e.g. van Leeuwen and Wilkinson 2003; Ritzen 2004; Ninnes and Hellstén 2005; Coleman 2006; Phillipson 2009; Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra 2013; van der Walt 2013).

In 2012 the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* devoted a whole issue to the topic "Language and the international university" (Haberland and Mortensen 2012a), considering the matter mainly under the perspective of student and staff mobility. Published in the wake of a conference held in 2008 in Denmark, the issue is direct evidence of the state of the debate in Nordic countries, which had traditionally been willing to adopt English as a teaching language in their university courses. In their introduction, the editors pointed out that all discussions concerning sociolinguistic implications of university internationalization invariably focus on the role played by English in the process: nevertheless, it should be clear that internationalization is more than "mere Anglicization" (Haberland and Mortensen 2012b: 1). Rather, the choice of English as an academic *lingua franca* hinders the development of a truly multicultural environment and fosters uniformity, promoting a global marketplace of knowledge, characterized by what Naidoo and Jemieson (2005) call "the commodification of teaching and learning".

The trend towards Anglicization has more recently emerged also in Italy (Gazzola 2012). *Internazionalizzazione* is now a key word in university policy, emphasizing the importance of an international profile as an essential component in the quality of an institution. As a consequence, all the initiatives aiming to promote a wider use of the international language *par excellence*, i.e. English, are encouraged by the University's governance. This policy is however controversial. In particular, the language policy of the Politecnico di Milano (PoliMi), which can be considered a leader in the adoption of English as academic language in Italy, has had unexpected and unprecedented judicial consequences.

After a brief survey of the Italian situation aiming to single out the rationale that lies behind the decisions, the paper examines the resolution taken by PoliMi's academic authorities in 2012 (2.1.). The main arguments put forth in the debate triggered by this decision will be summarized (2.2.); the discussion will then focus on the legal action taken against the resolution and on the judgement pronounced by the Administrative Court (2.3.). The second part of the paper aims

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to show actual problems emerging when language policies have to be implemented. Taking account of translation studies and of the discourse analytical framework, the analysis will focus on PoliMi's website, to verify how English and Italian are used. The survey will consider the overall structure of the site, and then focus on a small sample of texts concerning the presentation of courses and teaching syllabuses (4.). In the Conclusions (5.), the arguments of both adversaries and advocates of the English option will be discussed against the results of the analysis of the examples and under the wider perspective of worldwide trends and debates.

2 Language policies in Italian Universities

2.1 General outline

Italy has long lagged behind in the process of internationalization, but in recent years there has been an unprecedented acceleration in this direction, which has involved the Ministry for Education and Research with its official, *ad-hoc*-created agencies as well as academic authorities in individual institutions. As in Italy internationalization is tantamount to adopting English in teaching and in research, the push to go international in the Italian academia spells Anglicization, and boils down to a competition among universities to start new programmes taught in English.

Focusing on Italian universities from the point of view of both research and teaching, Gazzola (2012) emphasizes that a new system of public funding, in which a share of resources can be allocated on a competitive base, has obliged individual institutions to try to comply with the requirements, improving their "performance indicators". Needless to say, internationalization ranks high among these indicators, affecting the evaluation of both research and mobility, with special emphasis on the capacity for attracting foreign students. In fact, increasing the international student population has been a priority for many universities: to academic authorities the obvious solution and pre-requisite to a policy of foreign students' enrolment has been the adoption of English as the language of teaching, to the point that the dramatic increase in the number of programmes taught in English has become the most evident feature of the new course.

In the last few years, the process has accelerated impressively. Gazzola (2012), on the basis of a survey carried out by the Conference of Rectors of Italian Universities (CRUI) on 2007 data, reported that only 13 (or 18%) of Italian universities offered at least one MA program taught entirely in English. However, the most recent official figures now available on the website of CRUI, referring to the academic year 2011–2012, show that the number jumped from 13 to 42 (in four years!)[1]. This trend actually reflects the recommendations of CRUI itself, which in its 2009 report invited to at least double the total number of BA and MA programmes in English by 2015 (Calaresu 2011: 102).

Bernini (2012) comments on the data gathered by CRUI, and points out that the adoption of English can actually follow three different patterns: (1) English is used only for some disciplines, with total freedom of choice on behalf of the students; (2) English and Italian are both used for the teaching in parallel courses, and students can choose where to apply; and (3) English is the exclusive language of teaching, and there is no possibility of choice. While some universities have chosen a policy of gradual introduction of English by adopting the first and the second pattern, others (especially polytechnic institutes) have preferred a more radical option, by starting courses where English has a totally predominant position, with no alternative in Italian. This approach has been taken to the extreme by PoliMi.

PoliMi was one of the first institutions to launch programmes entirely taught in English, which started as early as 2004, with MA programmes in engineering. However, the radical turn in its language policy came in December 2011, when the University Senate approved the strategic plan for the 2012–2014 period, which was hinged on the qualification of PoliMi as an International University – involving, among other things, the recruitment of foreign teaching staff and the expansion of mobility. In this context, the guidelines established that, starting from 2014, all MA programmes and PhD courses would be taught exclusively in English with the parallel development of a language training programme both for teachers and students.

This decision immediately triggered a heated debate within the institution itself, and was discussed outside the academic context both by language experts and laypeople. The main arguments put forth by advocates and by opponents are summarized in the following paragraph.

2.2 PoliMi's resolution: advocates and opponents

PoliMi's resolution took for granted both the advantages of internationalization and its interpretation as Anglicization. The arguments in favour of the decision put forth by the Rector and Pro-Rector and by other professors outside PoliMi,

1 The report is available on the CRUI website (http://www.crui.it/HomePage.aspx?ref=2094), with a full PDF version in English to download.

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who have tried to implement similar policies in their universities, can be synthesized in three main points.

(1) Students' mobility, or the importance of attracting foreign students and, at the same time, contrasting the dispersion of Italian students (after BA, a growing share of them tends to move to foreign universities). Advocates of the decision considered English a means to make Italy "accessible" to foreigners and at the same time a means to encourage Italians to stay at home, offering them the opportunity to practice the English language, which is essential for their future job opportunities.

(2) The relationship between the adoption of English as official MA language and a possible change in teaching methods, including innovation in didactics and renewal of course planning. This argument makes it clear that a change in language is not simply instrumental nor a mere question of makeup; rather, it affects the organization of teaching profoundly, fostering foreign models and quickly making local approaches obsolete.

(3) A third, less frequent but highly interesting argument was based on a linguistic motivation. According to the dean of the Faculty of Medicine at the Università di Pavia, the ever growing importance of English in scientific contexts cannot be a mere consequence of the economic and scientific supremacy of the English-speaking world. The reasons must be purely linguistic, as English "seems to have been conceived for the purpose of describing 'facts' and to give ideas the status of 'facts'" (Del Canton 2012: 195 [translation mine]). These words echo the famous observations made by Halliday (1993) about modern scientific discourse, which developed coherently with the shift from deductive to inductive logic: the linguistic solution to the problem of relying on previous findings, presenting them more concisely, was nominalization, by means of which processes could be systematically reconstructed as nouns. This syntactic feature emerged as early as in Newton's *Optiks* (Hallyday 1993), and was functional to the construction of taxonomies as well as to repackaging previous pieces of information in order to organize them in a coherent sequence of logically connected moves. From the point of view of language ideology, this argument implies that language is by no means a neutral instrument, and that the exclusive use of a language equals the acceptance of the fundamental features of the scientific paradigm adopted by the corresponding culture.

The voices against PoliMi's decisions mostly came from scholars and language societies, *Crusca* first and foremost. The Accademia della Crusca is the oldest language society in Europe, aimed to protect and foster the Italian

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language. In its 430-year history, Crusca has actively contributed to the development of Italian as a standard language, and in recent times has promoted, alongside its traditional areas of research, investigation of modern trends and uses. Against this background, it seems obvious that reactions to PoliMi's language policy quickly emerged from within the academy, which decided to foster a wider debate. In the words of Crusca's President, Nicoletta Maraschio, "the Accademia della Crusca has decided to participate in this debate to encourage a comprehensive and accurate analysis of this delicate question, which certainly affects other countries and in the opinion of many has crucial political, juridical, cultural and social implications" (Maraschio 2012: v [translation mine]). To contribute to an open and critical discussion, the academy has devoted a section of its website to this theme, publishing the opinions of some of its members, and collecting the comments of ordinary people in a blog. Moreover, Crusca organized a round table on 27th April 2012, giving the floor to representatives of all the parties involved: PoliMi, the Ministry for Education, legal experts, and Italian and foreign language scholars. It then decided to gather the presentations in a book published in cooperation with a popular publisher, in order to favour its wide circulation (Maraschio and De Martino 2012). The editors also asked other experts and intellectuals for their opinion, aiming to give an even more detailed picture of the situation. As stated in the Introduction, most participants in the debate were in favour of a double track option (Maraschio 2012: ix).

The arguments against PoliMi hinged on the 'abolition' of Italian, emphasizing that the *exclusive* use of English spells *exclusion* of Italian from MA and PhD curricula. No-one denied the importance of English and its prominent role on the international scene, but for language experts this cannot lead to the total elimination of Italian in a whole sector of education. Language is essential for the construction of a national identity and is a fundamental component of the cultural and historical heritage of a nation, and should therefore be defended. Experts focused on the risks for both the Italian language and the Italian speakers: on the one hand, they highlighted the negative consequences for the language in terms of domain loss; on the other, they pointed at the risks for Italian students, who have to abandon their mother tongue and therefore may have difficulties in developing and controlling logic and argumentative structures.

Linguists, however, did not stand alone against PoliMi's policy. Scientists also feared its effects on Italian, which would disappear from some important areas of scientific communication. Domain loss, in its turn, would widen the gap between scientists and laypeople, with serious consequences for the dissemination of science. In her last interview, the late Italian astrophysicist Margherita Hack affirmed that she was "shocked": in her opinion, the mother tongue should not be abandoned, as it is essential both for the learning process and

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for the dissemination and popularization of science (Patria Europea 2013). In a discourse analytical perspective, Hack's remark calls to mind the distinction between closed (*fermé*) and open (*ouvert*) discourse (Maingueneau 1992: 120): in closed discourse genres addressers and addressees tend to coincide both qualitatively and quantitatively, as generally happens in highly specialized scientific communication. Teaching (and popularization), however, inherently requires an open discourse genre, as there is a sharp distinction between producers and recipients. In this context, the exclusive adoption of a foreign language explicitly developed for close communication among experts sounds absurd.

2.3 The lawsuit

On 2 May 2012 a group of professors and researchers working at PoliMi submitted a petition to the University's governance, asking for a revision of the strategic plan which should cancel the imposition of English. The petition hinged on 4 main arguments: (1) the exclusive use of English is against the principle of "freedom in teaching", which is explicitly stated in the Italian Constitution; (2) the guidelines *de facto* introduce a form of language-based discrimination, and can have negative consequences for the career of both teachers and students; (3) the guidelines are against the norms stating that the Italian language is the official language of teaching and exams, and at the same time misinterpret the concept of internationalization, which should involve the co-existence and integration of different cultures rather than impose one to the detriment of the other; (4) the compulsory introduction of English is not necessarily an added value from the pedagogical point of view.

On 21 May 2012 the petition was officially discussed during a meeting of the Academic Senate, which finally confirmed the original decision with a majority vote. Against this resolution a group of 100 professors summoned the University administration before the Local Administrative Court, as provided for by Italian administrative law. The Court ruled in favour of the claimants, and the resolution was declared invalid and repealed. The judgement was officially published on 23 May 2013 (Tribunale Amministrativo della Lombardia 2013)[2].

It is worth summarizing the motivations of the decision as they outline the main interests involved in the question and illustrate some important aspects of Italian legislation in this matter. After having discussed procedural questions,

2 In July 2013, however, PoliMi appealed the judgment before the Higher Administrative Court (named "Consiglio di Stato"), which fixed the first hearing on 11 March 2014. The Court, with a decision published on 23 January 2015, referred to the Consitutional Court to establish whether the recent norms concerning universities are compatible with the principles stated in the Italian Consitution.

the Court examines the arguments put forth in the claim as well as the counterarguments of the University administration, discussing them from a juridical perspective and emphasizing some crucial points.

First of all, the Court acknowledges the official and preeminent position of Italian as a constitutional principle: although it is not explicitly stated in the Constitution, it can be inferred from general norms in favour of language minorities, which are a direct consequence of the supremacy of Italian in official contexts. As already stated in previous judgements pronounced by the Constitutional Court, legislation imposes the necessity to guarantee that the Italian language is not penalized in relation to minority languages, and this principle must obviously apply also when the contrast involves foreign languages which are not the object of protection norms.

According to PoliMi, the 2010 law providing for the general principles for the reorganization of the universities (Legge n. 240/2010) implicitly abrogates all previous norms concerning the official character of Italian in public institutions, as it emphasizes the role of internationalization (article 2, paragraph 2.l). This argument is however considered invalid by the Administrative Court, as internationalization implies different forms of action (mobility, cooperation, etc.), including the implementation of courses taught in a foreign language, but does not allow for the exclusion of Italian from teaching. In other words the measures encouraging internationalization do not contrast with those guaranteeing the supremacy of Italian, but the two norms need to be integrated. The crucial point is therefore the exclusive use of English, which in PoliMi's view should replace Italian indiscriminately in all MA and PhD courses, irrespectively of the nature, contents and specificity of the subjects involved. In this way, according to the Administrative Court, the goal of internationalization is pursued beyond legitimate means, and the substitution of English for Italian is a measure not proportional to goals.

According to the Court, internationalization does not equal Anglicization: if it excludes Italian and all foreign languages other than English, it actually hinders the expansion of authentic multiculturalism, and only favours the development and spread of knowledge and values typical of the English-speaking culture. Moreover, the use of English in disciplines that refer to the Italian cultural and institutional background (as in the case of legal disciplines) breaks the link between contents and language. The Court concluded:

> The measures adopted by the Academic Senate through the contested resolutions are excessive, as on the one hand they do not favour internationalization of the University but merely lead to the adoption of one single language and the cultural values transmitted in that language, while, on the other, they unnecessarily limit the constitutionally acknowledged freedom of both teachers and students (Tribunale Amministrativo della Lombardia 2013 [translation mine]).

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The publication of the judgement rekindled the debate as a reaction to the decision taken by the Administrative Court. The arguments put forth in the judgement triggered some pro-PoliMi reactions, mainly focused on the importance of English today and on the poor language performance of the average Italian student. Actually, the main arguments put forth in favour of PoliMi (e.g. the crucial role of English, the need for a more effective language education at school) were accepted by language experts, but the experts also looked at the other side of the problem, and considered the capitulation to English a promotional move – not the expression of an international approach, but rather the sign of a parochial attitude.

3 PoliMi's website

3.1 Aim and method of website's analysis

The arguments put forth by PoliMi are based on the conviction that internationalization (which is implicitly considered a value *per se*) can be easily achieved through the adoption of English, which in its turn merely requires preliminary language training opportunities for teachers and students. This theoretical standpoint needs however to be verified in practice: are the problems deriving from the use of English mere language problems? Is it enough to improve competence to ensure effective communication in the educational process? Or does the adoption of English necessarily involve changes in the didactic and scientific approach? And, if so, are these changes always a value?

To see how the language policy starts to be implemented both by the institution as a whole and by individual staff members, PoliMi's website has been examined to verify how different languages – Italian and English in the first place – are used in its overall structure and in the description of course syllabuses.

The analysis will first take into consideration the architecture of the site, focusing on surfing possibilities, page organization and texts. The survey of the site is carried out against the background of translational research, starting from the conviction that in a multimodal environment different language versions cannot be analyzed in a traditional perspective. The very concept of translation is by no means neutral, and has been the object of important re-definition, mainly with a fuzzy set approach (Reiss and Vermeer 1984; Garzone 2002). In the context of new media communication a traditional and implicit idea of translation is particularly inadequate, and researchers have tried to develop new theoretical models and single out new concepts that can better describe

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the actual relationships between texts and contexts (Gambier and Gottlieb 2001; House 2006). Adaptation (Bastin 1998) and transadaptation (Greenall 2012) are particularly relevant for this case.

English and Italian are used also by individual professors, who publish their syllabus on the website. The analysis focuses on a few texts dating back to spring 2013 to compare the Italian and English versions with a discourse analytical approach. In this respect, the perspective typical of the Anglo-Saxon approach is usually characterized by "critical" implications (Wodak and Meyer 2001; Fairclough 2003; Wodak and Chilton 2005), but extends from more ideologically-sensitive areas to different genres and modes (Renkema 2009; Bateman 2009; Garzone and Catenaccio 2009). The constructive aspect of discourse and its position in-between language and society is more strongly emphasized in the French tradition (Charaudeau and Maingueneau 2002; Maingueneau 2014; Antelmi 2012), incorporating also argumentative and rhetorical aspects (Amossy 2006). Drawing on Foucault's (1969, 1970) tradition, research focuses on how discourses actively contribute to the creation of societal and interpersonal structures, at the intersection among different disciplines (pragmatics, rhetoric, semiotics, argumentation etc.), which can contribute to the analysis of texts with their theoretical and methodological instruments. Against this background, the examples will be examined with a view to showing how the description of a course implicitly displays ideas about teaching methods and aims as well as more general assumptions about the status of the discipline itself.

3.2 Site architecture

The website of PoliMi has undergone major restructuring and restyling as a consequence of the organizational changes triggered by the recent reform of university legislation in Italy. Schools have replaced what used to be called faculties, while research has been more directly linked to departments, with new and more relevant functions. Schools and departments, however, do not appear on PoliMi's homepage: the organization of the portal hinges on more general aspects (*University, Programmes, Students, Scientific Research, Companies*) and also includes one link for prospective students and one for staff (*apply to PoliMi*, *work with us*, respectively). Each school and each department has its own website, which can be reached from a second or third level of the web hierarchy[3].

3 All information concerning PoliMi's website is based on my personal surfing experience (last access 1 December 2013).

A Google search for "Polimi" gives as first result "Politecnico di Milano: versione italiana" (www.polimi.it) if the search language is Italian, and "Politecnico di Milano: English version" (www.polimi.it/en) if the search language is English. The two pages have the same layout and can be considered one the translation of the other. Both offer the possibility of switching to the other language with a click (hotspots are the Italian and the British flag); access to a Chinese version is also possible (hotspot: the Chinese flag), but in this case the surfer is sent to a completely different page (www.chinese.polimi.it), which has the same layout as "Polinternational" (see *infra*). As a matter of fact, when moving to the second level of the web hierarchy correspondence between Italian and English version is not perfect: when choosing *Apply to Polimi*, prospective students enter an autonomous site, Polinternational (www.polinternational.polimi.it), which is not parallel to the Italian version and displays a different organization.

As suggested by Greenall (2012) in the analysis of the Norwegian University of Science and Technology's website, there are differences between the local-language and the English version, but students may not perceive that the texts have actually been adapted to what are believed to be the needs of foreign students. The different organization of information in Polinternational is a typical example of blurred boundaries between source and target texts (Gambier and Gottlieb 2001), as it results in comparable texts which are not one the translation of the other, but still are in a form of translational relationship (Greenall 2012). This observation applies to the hyper-structure of the site in the first place: a different organization of pages and surfing options is meant for English-speaking students who want to "apply to PoliMi", but they may not realize they have actually left the main site and hyper-jumped into an "international" area, which is not parallel to the original Italian version. In this case, it could be more adequate to talk of *adaptation*, as the English hypertext is not a translation of the Italian, "but is nevertheless recognized as representing a source text", according to Bastin's (1998: 2) definition of adaptation.

The whole architecture of the website is very complex, and the description of courses, with detailed indication of subjects and information about the syllabus, can be reached from different points, which generally allow cross-navigation between Italian and English. In some cases, however, direct switching is not possible and surfing implies non-reversible choices. Foreign students who enter the Polinternational website can find lists of the BA and MA courses offered, as well as information concerning other training and specialization opportunities. The description of single courses is the responsibility of the School supplying the programme, but direct access to the schools' website is not possible from Polinternational. The list of schools can be reached from the *Programmes* menu available on the home page, and at the third level of the site hierarchy a link to

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each school's website is available. Moreover, each school's website has its own structure, layout and textual organisation reflecting remarkably different approaches to web communication and – more importantly – to the very concept of university education and teaching. From the point of view of language choice, there are various possibilities: the School of Architecture and Society offers an *International programme* in English (adapted from the Italian version, but profoundly different from the original); the School of Civil Architecture has a *Foreign students* link, and a parallel site in English is now under construction; the School of Design presents a totally bilingual homepage, but at the second level correspondence is not guaranteed, and the surfer jumps from English to Italian without any apparent reason; the School of Civil, Environmental, and Land Management Engineering, the School of Industrial and Information Engineering and the School of Architectural Engineering have no English option, but their sites are apparently under construction.

Despite the work-in-progress impression which justifies discrepancies, the surfer can be really puzzled by the architecture of the website as a whole; confusion grows when moving to the detailed description of programmes, single courses, syllabuses. At the moment there are three language possibilities: programmes taught in Italian, in English or in both languages (and in this case some disciplines are taught in Italian and some in English). Information at a more general level is available on the schools' websites, and the presence of translations or adaptations in English depends, as we have seen, on the choice of the single school. More detailed information concerning each subject is accessible through the Manifesto of the programme (available on an e-learning platform accessible from the general description), which has parallel Italian and English pages. The full text of the syllabus of single disciplines (generally illustrating objectives, topics and teaching methods) is however available only in the language actually used for teaching the course. This monolingual choice is the result of very recent restructuring of the website: last year double versions of each syllabus were still available, and presumably the English one was meant to be a translation of the Italian. The analysis of these texts is particularly interesting to highlight some practical consequences of the adoption of English. Therefore, in the next section I shall focus on a small sample of texts (Italian and English version) downloaded in March 2013.

3.3 Analysis of examples

A small sample of Italian and English texts was collected with reference to the academic year 2012–2013. At that time detailed course descriptions and syllabuses were still available in the two languages and allowed a comparison. A

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qualitative analysis of the sample revealed that various forms of adaptation were quite common. Three examples will be briefly discussed here as an illustration of the main problems emerging from the investigation.

English versions were often shorter, with omissions of details or more synthetic presentation of the concepts. The following example refers to a course of History of Architecture:

(1) L'insegnamento fornisce una conoscenza di base della storia dell'architettura dall'antichità alle soglie dell'800 e introduce *alla comprensione degli* aspetti (linguaggio, tecniche e saperi) che caratterizzano l'architettura nei diversi tempi e quadri storico-geografici. Il corso ha l'obiettivo di mostrare *come* le componenti espressive e formali, *costruttive* e materiali, ideologiche e *di costume* sono correlate nelle soluzioni architettoniche *realizzate, e di dimostrare come la loro conoscenza sia stata, anche in modo contraddittorio, una componente determinante degli esiti architettonici.*

(1a) The course provides a basic knowledge of history of Architecture from the antiquity to the beginning of the nineteenth century and introduces the several aspects (language, techniques, knowledges) that characterize Architecture in different times and historical-geographical contexts. The course aims at showing the close relation existing between formal, material, expressive, ideological elements and architectonical solutions.

The parts in italics in the Italian text are omitted in the English translation. It can be noted that, apart from a whole final sentence, which adds a completely new concept totally ignored in the English version (stating that the "knowledge [of the mentioned elements] was a crucial – albeit contradictory – component in architectural production"), there are other minor but still significant omissions resulting in a different approach to the whole subject: in its Italian version, the course introduces "to the comprehension of several aspects [. . .]"; it aims to show "how" the various mentioned elements (and among them also "the structural" and "the traditional", which are omitted in the English version) are linked to the adopted architectural solutions. The very concept of education and teaching lying behind the Italian formulation is the expression of a different ideological standpoint, emphasizing the importance of understanding rather than merely describing historical facts and of analyzing different forms of (conflicting) interactions among the various contextual components.

Omissions are rarer when the English text is conceived as a close translation of the Italian source, but in this case loan structures and false friends occur more frequently. One example from the description of a course of Mathematics (my suggestions in square brackets):

(2) Il corso intende fornire principi e strumenti operativi della matematica essenziali per affrontare sia le discipline strutturali e progettuali, sia la morfologia architettonica e i modelli fisici, tecnologici, economici, sociali, urbanistici. Il rigore logico, tipico delle discipline matematiche, contribuisce in modo peculiare alla formazione dei futuri architetti.

(2a) The course *is intended* [aims] to give the principles and *operational instruments* [processes] of Mathematics essential to undertake both the disciplines aimed to the structural design and those aimed to the architectonic morphology and physical, technological, *economical* [economic], social and projectual models. The *logical rigour* [strictly logical thinking], typical of Mathematics, contributes in a *peculiar* [special] way to the *formation* [training] of the future architects.

There are evidently other inaccuracies in the English text, and in this case the inadequate solutions are presumably linked to a poor language and translation competence of the writer.

A final example is meant to illustrate a different problem, stemming from the effort of adapting the Italian text to the features typical of the English language and way of thinking. The text is a presentation of a course of History of Architecture:

(3) Il corso intende proporre una serie di approfondimenti sulle complesse vicende che caratterizzano il lungo ciclo storico dell'architettura italiana tra il XV e il XVIII secolo. In questo *denso e complesso* segmento storico l'architettura fu protagonista, insieme alle altre arti figurative, di un lungo processo di riscoperta, studio, lettura e reinterpretazione dell'antichità classica, che aprì il campo a un vivace sperimentalismo [1] e a una continua riverifica e aggiornamento delle fonti [2], accompagnati dalla messa a punto di metodi di studio sempre più rigorosi e "scientifici" [3] [...].

Il punto di vista privilegiato di queste indagini di approfondimento sarà una lettura interdisciplinare, che considererà gli innumerevoli e talvolta indissolubili legami dell'architettura con le altre arti e più in generale con più aspetti della vita dell'uomo.

Particolare attenzione sarà rivolta agli aspetti costruttivi e all'importanza che lo studio dell'antico – attraverso l'analisi diretta degli edifici, i disegni e gli appunti nei taccuini, la trattatistica – ebbe nella formulazione di nuove concezioni spazio-strutturali. Si vuole evidenziare l'importanza della considerazione degli aspetti costruttivi dell'antichità, di importantissimo valore ancora oggi, in un momento storico in cui grande attenzione è rivolta a processi di recupero e rigenerazione di manufatti esistenti piuttosto che alla edificazione ex-novo.

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(3a) The course aims to carry on an in-depth analysis on some of the main events in Italian Architecture from the XV to the XVIII century. In this period Architecture, along with the other figurative Arts, played an important role in the long process of rediscovery, study, interpretation and re-interpretation of classical antiquity. Experimentalism [1] developed alongside with the refinement of a rigorous and "scientific" method of investigation [3] and the continuous analysis of the historical sources [2] [. . .].

The approach of the course will be interdisciplinary, as it will focus on the indissoluble connections between Architecture and the other figurative arts, as well as several other aspects of human life.

The course will emphasize the importance of certain aspects of construction *(the building materials and techniques, and the building process in general)* as well as the impact that the study of antiquity had on the creation of new concepts of space and structure.

During the time period that the course will focus on, architects studied the ancient monuments in situ and produced a great amount of drawings (disegni dall'antico), with annotations, measurements and other notes. Moreover, the issue of construction was widely dealt with in the treatises.

A close analysis of these elements provides student architects with the necessary base knowledge, and it is also extremely valuable in relation to our present history, in a moment when research is focused on the rediscovery and reuse of previous buildings rather than on the realization of new constructions.

In this case, the parts in italics are added in the English text with the evident aim to make concepts clearer to students who are supposed to have less experience in this particular area. On the other hand, the two adjectives qualifying the historical period under scrutiny (*denso e complesso*) are omitted in the translation. Moreover, in the first paragraph a sentence is split in two, presumably to comply with English stylistic norms. This however entails the elimination of an important logical connection, cancelling the causal link between the two parts of the Italian sentence (the process of rediscovery "opened the way" ['aprì il campo'] for experimentalism). The three concepts mentioned in the sentence (experimentalism [1], the analysis of sources [2], and the scientific method of investigation [3]) are differently arranged in the two versions: in Italian [1] and [2] are accompanied by [3], while in English [1] develops alongside with [3] and [2]. The rhetorical effect produced by this re-arrangement is not neutral.

To describe the relationship between these two texts, the intermediate notion of *transadaptation* (Greenall 2012: 81) could be adopted, a sort of "mid-way solution" between translation proper and adaptation introduced by Greenall to go beyond usual dichotomies in translation studies, which are often inadequate for describing a complex and blended reality.

The three examples have been chosen to offer evidence of the strategies most often used in the production of parallel texts meant to describe a course, together with the consequences deriving from the different choices. In (1) the choice for omissions is well represented, as well as its consequences in terms of both loss of content and reshaping of reasoning; in (2) the difficulties in writing a syllabus in a foreign language are evident, and call for caution when evaluating the proficiency of both teachers and students; (trans)adaptation in (3) is a strategy oriented to a target of foreign students, which however obliges the drafter to re-think the Italian original text, and alters some of its qualifying, distinctive features.

4 Conclusions

The language policy of PoliMi had put on the agenda the final step towards Anglicization, namely the elimination of Italian from all top-level programmes. Was this a "cultural suicide" or an "advantage for Italy"?[4] As documented in section 2, the debate around PoliMi's decision, and the litigation which followed it, has been animated by supporters and adversaries, who have put forth arguments (and fallacies) with strong emotional involvement. Language is often a delicate matter, as it concerns personal as well as group identity: therefore, linguistic issues are often discussed also by laypeople, who are not willing to leave them to scholars. In this particular case, the protection of the mother tongue collides with the attraction of English, which is perceived as a future-oriented language, conveying positive and innovative values. The issue goes far beyond the scope of an academic linguistic discussion, and involves complex ideological questions in the crucial fields of research, education, and science.

The international scene is evidently dominated by the process of Anglicization, which for many seems irreversible, as a global economy needs a globalized labour market as well as a uniform educational system, possibly dominated by standard practices and high levels of mobility. Criticism however is emerging, and an alternative view is fighting its way through mainstream ideas and behaviours. The discussion is particularly animated in those "avant-garde" countries where the process started, i.e. the Netherlands and the Nordic countries, where

4 Both quotations are taken from the title of newspaper articles (the former: "Libero", 25 May 2013; the latter "Corriere della sera", 11 March 2012).

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research has been carried out in this area to investigate the consequences of the complete Anglicization of university education and highlight the possible risks for society as a whole (see among others, Airey and Linder 2006; Coleman 2006; Hansen and Phillipson 2008; Phillipson 2006).

In Italy the litigation between PoliMi's administration and some of its own professors has shown that the acceptance of the process cannot be taken for granted. The decision of the Administrative Court is the expression of a more discerning attitude, the cutting-edge of a new Enlightenment. However, it can also be interpreted as the result of old-fashioned resistance to innovation, linked with the fear of losing privileges and advantages.

The two opposite interpretations reflect different ideologies, or different ways of conceiving education with its personal and societal goals. In this respect, a useful synthesis of the history of university education is given by Mortensen and Haberland (2012), who single out four phases for Danish institutions: 1. the medieval university, based on the principle of *auctoritas* and dominated by Latin; 2. the Enlightenment university, based on *ratio* and characterized by the use of Latin as well as other European languages; 3. the National university, founded on the idea of nation and consequently dominated by Danish; 4. the post-national university, inspired by the logic of market, with the use of Danish and English. In this scheme (which could be roughly applied to other European traditions), the crucial point is the "acceptance of 'market' as the governing factor of choices for universities" (Mortensen and Haberland 2012: 191). Against this background, English is functional to the marketization of knowledge.

In this respect the situation today is profoundly different from the medieval one, when Latin dominated for centuries as "it was established as an integral part of the dominating sociolinguistic worldview" (Mortensen and Haberland 2012: 191). The position of English in contemporary Europe is profoundly different from that of Latin in the Middle Ages. Banfi (2012: 33–35) comments on the role of Latin as a lingua franca, emphasizing that in medieval and modern Europe there were no modern languages with a solid tradition of standardization. Latin was then "the 'binding element' essential to create the western European identity, not only in the period when the main national languages developed, [. . .] but also later, when, in the framework of well-standardized languages, Latin was for a long time the prestige language, used to write formal documents and to educate what we would now call the 'ruling class'" (Banfi 2012: 34 [translation mine]). The difference between Latin and English is so significant, that it has been suggested that the term diglossia cannot be used to describe both situations. As a matter of fact, Calaresu (2011: 99) distinguishes three types of diglossia, and maintains that the language functional asymmetries in scientific communication (diglossia$_3$) are actually different from the differentiated use of high (H) and low (L) varieties (diglossia$_1$) described in the original formulation of the notion (Ferguson 1959). In both cases the role of written texts is crucial, but diglossia$_1$ is linked to "the combined presence of writing and socially restricted literacy [. . .], while biliteracy becomes crucial in diglossia$_3$" (Calaresu 2011: 100).

In the light of these observations, extreme caution is necessary when comparing different periods, and it is not possible to draw conclusions about possible future developments simply on the basis of the analysis of previous historical periods. Latin did not hinder the development of modern European languages, and actually became a dead language, but the evolution of the present sociolinguistic situation is not likely to be the same. In other words, it is difficult to predict the future.

What is happening in present time is however sufficiently clear. The motivations given by PoliMi are in line with those emerging from a 2007 European survey (Wächter and Maiworm 2008). All over Europe the introduction of programmes in English has been a top-down process (Wächter and Maiworm 2008), mainly addressed to foreigners (in 2007 only 35% of students in these programmes were of domestic origin [Wächter and Maiworm 2008: 67]), as the presence of foreign students is generally considered an indicator of quality, a value *per se*. Not differently, it can be assumed that PoliMi's crucial aim is to enhance the profile of the institution, openly addressing foreign applicants in the first place, and regardless of the needs and the opinions of Italian students – who in public universities (and PoliMi *is* one) are also, as tax-payers, the main financial supporters of institutions charging fees far below the level of their private (Italian and foreign) counterparts. Adversaries often emphasize that university education is a public asset, and university policy should care not only for present advantages of individual institutions but also – and primarily – for the future of the whole community.

The crucial point, however, is the actual implementation of language policies. When examining how languages are used, difficulties and side-effects become evident. The analysis of PoliMi's website shows that cultural specificities are inevitable and need to be taken into account. As a consequence, switching to another language implies the adoption of a different point of view and mentality. As pointed out by Maingueneau: "On ne peut dissocier les normes d'organisation des discours et les normes d'organisation des hommes" [discourse norms are tantamount to societal norms] (2002: 3). The texts we have examined provide evidence of the discrepancies between the different versions. It is not a mere problem of language competence: difficulties stem from the need to adapt content to a new audience, leading sometimes to content loss or, in other cases, requiring further background information. More importantly, the use of academic

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English is parallel to the adoption of the typical Anglo-Saxon approach to university education and research.

These aspects are actually mentioned by supporters of PoliMi's decisions (arguments 2 and 3 mentioned above), who base their reasoning on an implicit premise, though, namely the intrinsic value of a typically Anglo-Saxon didactic and scientific approach. Argument 1, on the other hand, is based on a premise concerning facts, i.e. students can learn better English if English is the language of teaching. In rhetorical terms, these statements are used as "objects of agreement" (Perelman and Olbrechts-Tytecha 1958), which do not need to be proved. However, the arguments can be persuasive only if the audience accepts these implicit premises. Actually, both the factual and the value premise are by no means universal truths. The difficulties with the use of English by teachers are themselves a poor predictor of success for students' proficiency. Nor is the ideology of science (and of scientific education) promoted in the English-speaking world the only possibility – and not necessarily the best.

In this respect, the dominance of the Anglo-Saxon approach, which inevitably weakens the local tradition of teaching and research, has been clearly described by Bennet (2007). She uses a term coined in sociological studies to describe it: epistemicide. In the international academia, the general principles underlying English discourse must be followed, both in the organization of contents and in style (Bennet 2007), thus transforming the logic of thought and the rhetorical approach to communication. Epistemicide, however, has not been committed – not yet. The debate illustrated in this paper shows that there are still scholars, and laypeople who believe that total capitulation to the dictatorship of English is not inevitable, and that there is still room for alternative solutions.

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Laura McCambridge and Taina Saarinen

13 "I know that the natives must suffer every now and then": Native/non-native indexing language ideologies in Finnish higher education

Abstract: This article examines the construction of "native" and "non-native" English use in Finnish higher education. Previous studies on the Finnish situation implicate not just language ideological but political hierarchies which favour students from the traditional, hegemonic "Inner circle" countries such as the United Kingdom, United States, Australia, Anglophone Canada, Ireland and New Zealand. This hegemonic position of the inner circle variants is being challenged by an emerging normative ELF ideology. Our article tackles the meeting point of these ideological positions. We aim to understand how native English speaker ideologies might be changing as a result of globalization. We have combined data from our individual research projects, based on interviews with students and staff with a variety of L1 backgrounds at two Finnish universities and one university of applied sciences, and using particularly the data extracts where constructions of native/non-native appear regarding English. Our results indicate that while there are strong norms still in favour of native-like English, different political and pedagogical factors are challenging the native norm. We conclude by discussing the potential implications of this development to language policies in the internationalization of (Finnish) higher education.

Keywords: nativeness, non-nativeness, higher education internationalization, English, ideology

1 Introduction

In recent decades, English seems to have strengthened its role as a de facto lingua franca of higher education (see, for instance, Wilkinson 2013). The apparent linguistic homogenization in higher education contexts runs contrary to the development of (super)diversified (Vertovec 2007) forms of immigration and the array of languages that has resulted. In higher education contexts, it has been

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assumed (and with good reason; see Phillipson 2009; Hughes 2008), that native speakers of English have benefited from the hegemonic position of their mother tongue. The work of Lillis and Curry (2010) demonstrates critically the struggle of non-Anglophone scholars in Anglo-American publishing contexts. Nativeness has been seen as a norm and a desired ideal (see Jenkins 2011). With diversifying forms of international communication and interaction, however, we may be witnessing increasing controversies in how people use English and how they relate to "native" English (Leppänen et al. 2011). Therefore, the position of English as spoken globally by natives and non-natives calls for problematization and reconceptualization. In this article, we examine constructions and ideologies of nativeness and non-nativeness in English in the context of Finnish higher education.

2 English and internationalization of higher education

English-speaking countries have asymmetrically dominated the internationalization market of higher education over the decades following the Second World War. Non-Anglophone institutions (like Finnish universities) typically and increasingly resort to producing English language teaching at universities and universities of applied sciences (the latter being the Finnish equivalent of polytechnics or *Fachhochschule)* to overcome the asymmetry in the increasingly international student markets. The OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development) countries alone hosted approximately 1.6 million foreign students in 2001, one third of whom in the USA and an additional 25 per cent in the UK, Australia, Canada and New Zealand (Marginson 2006: 17). The focus on these major flows should not hide the fact, however, that the heterogeneous group of international students is mobile for a multitude of reasons, and not all students have the same possibilities for mobility. Murphy-Lejeune (2008: 20–22) has categorized international students particularly in the European context in four ways:

1. permanent residents vs. internationally mobile students
2. Europeans vs. non-Europeans
3. institutional exchange students vs. free movers, and
4. the different schemes within the intra-European mobility.

Murphy-Lejeune suggests that the institutional European movers are the beneficiaries in this scheme, while the non-European free movers and those who cannot be mobile are the more unlucky contenders.

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The fact that the English-speaking countries also charge relatively high fees for international students makes international study an economic commodity – and a huge global business. The reasons for offering English-medium study programmes for international students may be allocated, according to Coleman (2006) to seven categories: CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning), internationalization, student exchanges, teaching and research materials, staff mobility, graduate employability and the market in international students. As Coleman points out, this "rainbow of motives ranges from the ethical and pedagogical through the pragmatic to the commercial" (Coleman 2006: 4).

While the Anglophone countries dominate the markets in international (in most cases, English-medium) study, non-Anglophone countries have strongly increased their supply of English medium programmes over the past decade. Bernd Wächter and Friedhelm Maiworm have studied the development in consecutive surveys since early 2000s. In their 2002 survey, based on 'positive' estimates, 4 per cent of all degree programmes were taught through English and 30 per cent of all institutions reported offering English taught programmes. In their 2008 study, these percentages had risen to 7 and 47 respectively. In another study, Brenn-White and Faethe (2013) further report that the number of English-medium Master's programmes in Europe has again increased by 38 per cent between 2011 and 2013, with the largest growth occurring in courses taught entirely in English. Of the approximately 21,000 Master's programmes in Europe, 6,407 programmes are taught either entirely (5,258) or partially (1,149) in English. The Netherlands and Germany offer the greatest number of English-medium programmes, with Sweden reaching the third place after a 73 per cent increase in the last two years. Finland, which already featured highly in Wächter and Maiworm's statistics (2002, 2008), has also increased its English-medium Master's programmes by 52 per cent (from 172 to 261) in the last two years (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013).

It seems that the three-tier degree systems, introduced in European countries following the Bologna Process, have further accelerated the adoption of English-medium Master's programmes in non-Anglophone countries. It thus seems that the trend for English speaking countries might be turning. One indication of this is a survey of site traffic on programme websites, which showed that the percentage of total page views is still highest in the UK, but the views have gone down from 31 per cent to 24 per cent, with a corresponding rise in Continental website views (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013). While this may be the result of different kinds of political issues (not least the increasing study fees in England), it is also possible that greater interest in Continental Europe is a result of an increased offer in English taught programmes in those countries (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013).

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The traditional scenery of non-Anglophone students heading for Anglophone countries has thus become more diversified, increasing the different kinds of constellations of native – non-native English speaker encounters, and making the hierarchization of native/non-native visible. Language ideologies linked with understandings of English spoken as native/non-native are thus highly relevant and they need to be studied.

3 English in Finnish higher education

Finland is officially bilingual, with Finnish and Swedish having equal constitutional status. Consequently, Finnish institutions of higher education (both universities and universities of applied sciences) are by legislation either Finnish, Swedish, or bilingual. Since the 1990s, English has been increasingly used as a language of tuition in Finnish higher education, but only the University Law of 2004 gave universities, for the first time, the right to grant degrees (in addition to providing tuition) also in languages other than Finnish or Swedish (Saarinen 2012a).

While English is not among the biggest immigrant languages in Finland, it is without doubt the biggest foreign language studied in primary, secondary and tertiary education. The position of English is such that it has been termed the "third domestic" language (after Finnish and Swedish) because of its wide usage and popularity (Leppänen, Nikula, and Kääntä 2008). Finns appear to have positive feelings towards English in general: 90 per cent of Finns think that English is necessary for international communication and 89 per cent of Finns have a rather or very positive attitude towards English-medium schools in Finland. Fifty-four per cent of respondents in Leppänen et al. (2011) reported that they feel admiration towards Finns who can speak English fluently with a native-like accent. The most admired varieties appeared to be the British and North American varieties, while the least admired varieties of English were Indian and Finnish English. Interestingly, 55 per cent of respondents felt that their English skills were inadequate when they spoke with native English speakers, but only 30 per cent when they spoke with non-native English speakers (Leppänen et al. 2011). These results suggest that native-like English skills are respected, but that at the same time, nativeness (or native-speakers) is perceived a somewhat intimidating as well.

In Finnish higher education, English has the traditional functions as a medium of teaching; as a means of archiving knowledge in different text depositories like books and libraries; and as an object of theoretical study (see Brumfit

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2004: 164 for the categorization). The data of this article focuses on situations of English as a medium of teaching and as an object of (theoretical) study.

The use of English as a medium of teaching started to increase as systematic internationalization of Finnish higher education began to take shape in the 1980s. Together with the policies, foreign language study programmes have been initiated since the turn of the 1990s. Exchange programmes, supported by the then European Communities both for students and staff, started to grow, and the universities were rewarded as a part of the so-called management by results steering frame among other things for internationalization, operationalized mainly as mobility of students and staff (Saarinen 1997). The new funding allocation system for Finnish universities, effective from 2015, emphasizes internationalization even more clearly (Ministry of Education and Culture 2014).

As a consequence of this systematic policy, international degree programmes were initiated both to attract international students and to foster "internationalization at home" (Nilsson 2000) for Finnish students. The term *internationalization at home* was coined in the 1990s, as it became obvious that the Erasmus mobility goal of 10 per cent left 90 per cent of the students outside mobility schemes. The question "*what to do for the remaining 90%*" (Wächter 2000: 6) was answered with the idea that any international contacts, also those outside formal mobility schemes, were, in fact, forms of internationalization. As a consequence, more attention was paid to what universities (as opposed to mobile students) could do to advance internationalization. Particularly, the new polytechnic (later university of applied sciences) sector was active in internationalization by "foreign language" (i.e. English) study programmes. In the 1990s, German and French language degree programmes still existed to some extent alongside their English language counterparts. Gradually, however, English became in practice the only language in international degree programmes in Finland (Saarinen 2012a). As Anita Lehikoinen, a long-time Ministry of Education official and current Permanent Secretary quipped (2004), discussing the euphemistic usage of "foreign" for "English": "We always say foreign-language education, and everyone knows that in practice it means English, only English" (Lehikoinen 2004: 44).

In December 2013, approximately 291 Master's degree level programmes are offered in English at Finnish higher education institutions, with 257 at universities and the remaining 34 at universities of applied sciences (Study in Finland 2013). Regardless of this, the position of English has not really been questioned until quite recently, as languages have been fairly invisible in Finnish higher education internationalization policies (Saarinen 2012b). Since the latest university reform of 2010, English language programmes have undergone an increase of approximately 50 per cent in Finland (Brenn-White and Faethe 2013), and only now a

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more critical public eye has been turned towards the increasing use of English. The development is exemplified by Aalto University's recent language policy guidelines, where English has been made the *de facto* third official language of the university alongside Finnish and Swedish; similar decisions have been made in other universities as well. This development is witnessed most recently by three decisions by the Chancellor of Justice's office in November 2013, where the complaints dealt specifically with the students' right to use Finnish also in English medium degree programmes. The Chancellor of Justice's Office ruled that while the universities in question were entitled by University Law to teach also in English, they would have to be more specific about the use of English and the student's right to answer exams and essays in Finnish (Chancellor of Justice's Office 2013a; Chancellor of Justice's Office 2013b; Chancellor of Justice's Office 2013c).

English as a subject discipline (in Brumfit's 2004: 164 terms "object of theoretical study"), on the other hand, is located in departments of English and English translation, and in university Language Centres. English can be studied as a major subject in 8 universities Finnish universities, and it has the biggest yearly intakes in language departments (Pyykkö et al. 2006; Opetushallitus 2013). The Language Centres, in turn, provide the language and communication studies for higher education degrees. Only Finnish and Swedish studies are compulsory for all Finnish students, and the number of required foreign languages varies between universities and study programmes. However, judging at least by statistics at the University of Jyväskylä (2012), English is in practice the most widely studied foreign language in Language Centres as well.

4 The concept of the native vs. non-native English speaker

The native speaker versus non-native speaker dichotomy has been central within many branches of linguistics. In language learning and teaching, the native speaker has been positioned as an ideal model, being someone who has acquired the language as a child, uses it in "authentic" contexts and therefore has ownership over how the language is used correctly. In linguistic theory, the native speaker has been viewed as someone with an ideal, instinctive understanding of a language's grammatical system, with that language having developed in the native's mind as a child alongside other physical development (cf. Paikeday, 1985: 40, 71). The concept is also strongly connected to ideological

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constructions of national and cultural identity, with one's native language being the language of one's home country and/or family, as suggested also by its often interchangeable use with the term "mother tongue".

What constitutes nativeness in practice, however, is more ambiguous. According to Doerr (2009), the idea of the native speaker as an ideal model in language teaching is linked to three conceptual premises: the association of one nation with one language, the assumption of native speakers as a homogeneous linguistic group (often juxtaposed with "non-natives" as another homogeneous group), and the assumption of a native speaker's complete competence in the native language. All three of these premises are clearly problematic. Particularly in the case of English, the link between the language and any one nation-state is wearing thin, and globalization has led to its still increasing use in international and multicultural settings – such as within international higher education. This diversification of contexts and communities in which English is used has in turn led to diversification in the ways in which it is used. The illusion of a linguistically homogeneous English native-speaking group becomes impossible to maintain. And with such diversification, it also becomes more obvious that no one speaker, native or otherwise, could achieve a "complete competence" in 'the English language'.

With this ambiguity, the use of the term native-speaker, particularly concerning English, typically becomes ideologically loaded. If a native speaker model is to be maintained, but not all native speakers use the language in the same way, some must then be deemed "more native" than others. Likewise, while some of the contexts in which English is used internationally and intranationally are viewed as "authentic" and therefore native, some are in turn viewed as less authentic. Traditionally, "inner circle" contexts, such as the United Kingdom, the United States, Anglophone Canada, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand (Kachru 1997), have been favored over outer circle contexts, such as former colonies. This can be seen in Finnish higher education both in language testing for international programmes (Saarinen and Nikula 2013) and in attempts to officially define nativeness in English for application purposes.

Holliday (2006) terms the pervasive ideology surrounding the native speaker in English language teaching as "native-speakerism". Native-speakerism, he argues, encompasses more than simply the concept of the English native speaker as having acquired English as a child, but has rather become associated with "Westernism" – i.e. with the idea that native speakers of English represent Western culture. Western culture is in turn often constructed as active, assertive and individualistic, and juxtaposed with non-native cultures as conformist, indirect and docile (Holliday 2006). The native speaker teacher in academia, for example, is thus implicitly perceived not only as teaching English vocabulary and grammar, but also the perceived conventions of "English-speaking" academic discourse, such as having a strong point of view and linear analytic thought.

Lillis and Curry (2010) discuss the position of non-English speaking scholars in the Anglo-American dominated publishing scene, not just from the point of view of having the linguistic resources to access publishing and funding, but also from the point of view of having access to the evaluation of what counts as relevant knowledge for the global academic audience. In their words, this is not just a question of a distinction between the local (i.e. taking place in the national language) and global (i.e. Anglophone) publishing practices. This "raises questions about the *boundaries* rather than the *distinctions* [emphasis in original] between the two contexts, particularly in scholars' attempts to cross these" (Lillis and Curry 2010: 137).

The spread of English and increase in contexts in which English is used by "non-native" speakers has also given rise to theory that challenges native ownership over the language. Literature on English as a lingua franca (ELF) – often defined as the use of English between non-native speakers, although more recently seen simply as the use of English between people with different linguistic and cultural backgrounds (Jenkins 2009) – has claimed that ELF, particularly spoken ELF, is emerging as a form (or forms) of English with its own norms or at least principles of use (see Seidlhofer 2003). Non-native speakers of English are seen to be shaping the language in ELF contexts as much as native speakers (Seidlhofer 2005).

The most visible reconceptualization of the native versus non-native dichotomy in English has nevertheless been on an academic level, with linguists in the field describing the functions and norms of ELF and theoretically dissociating these from English as a native language (ENL). Much of this has been politically related, in response to the power divide that can result in international communication where some are using "their own" language, whereas others are using a "foreign" language. Indeed the support in ELF literature for reconceptualising English is often constructed on the basis of non-native speakers now outnumbering native speakers (e.g. Seidlhofer 2003; Jenkins 2006), giving the sense that through this strength in numbers, such ideological power relations must be reversed. If English is no longer owned by natives but rather adapted and shaped to meet the needs and identities of its non-native users, a possible threat of cultural and linguistic imperialism can be dispelled.

Whether non-linguists perceive ELF as a valid alternative to ENL is less clear. Jenkins' (2007) overview of attitudes towards ELF concluded that standard language ideology is pervasive in English internationally and native speaker norms are still viewed as the model for standards. However, some discrepancy could be seen in attitudes towards different NNS accents. In line with Holliday's

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concept of Westernism, Northern and Western-European accents seemed to be less stigmatized than "Asian" and "Pacific" accents (see Jenkins 2007: 81–82, 219–220). Jenkins stresses the role of identity in this ideology, i.e. that non-native speakers' attitudes towards nativeness is shaped by the communities or labels they wish to identify with through their English use.

Recent research has also indicated that attitudes towards ELF may be changing. Kalocsai (2009) examined language socialization into two Erasmus communities in Prague and found that students developed new norms for English use which they felt positively towards. Although NS English remained "real" English in these students' perceptions, they nevertheless considered their own English use to be an important aspect of their identities and they valued efficient communication over correctness. Cogo (2010), reporting on data gathered in the UK, the Czech Republic and Hungary, similarly found that although "perfect" English was equated with NS English and NNS English was therefore imperfect by comparison, participants generally had positive perceptions of NNS English, based on their experiences with using English in international contexts. Finally, Hynninen (2013), in a study of norm regulation in ELF at the University of Helsinki, found that although speakers' beliefs about correctness in English were primarily based on concepts of NS ownership, they nevertheless also drew on alternative sources for constructing norms. Native speaker ideology seems therefore still to underpin non-linguists' attitudes, but the role of English as an international lingua franca in practice has led to more ambiguity in these perceptions.

5 Present study: Questions, data and analysis

This article takes as its starting point the apparent clash between two ideological tendencies in the use of English in Finnish higher education. On the one hand, explicit language proficiency requirements in Finnish international study programmes implicate political hierarchies which favour students from the traditional, hegemonic "Inner circle" (Kachru 1997), rather than the former colonies where outer circle variants are spoken, regardless of the fact that students may have used English throughout their whole study career (Saarinen and Nikula 2013). On the other hand, this hegemonic position of the inner circle variants is being challenged by an emerging (explicit) normative ELF ideology (see discussion in previous section).

Our article tackles the meeting point of these ideological positions. We aim to understand how native speaker ideologies might be changing in English as a result of globalization. We are looking particularly at higher education where

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English is increasingly being used as a lingua franca both on global and local levels.

Our questions are:

- How is the concept of nativeness versus non-nativeness in English construed in our data?
- What kinds of language ideologies do these constructions reflect? What are the (higher education) political implications; in other words, what kinds of dynamics and power relations become visible in the situations where native/non-native are touched upon?

In this article, we have combined data from our individual research projects, using particularly the data extracts where constructions of native/non-native appear regarding English. The data for this article was, in other words, collected for different purposes. What the projects have in common is an interest in internationalization of higher education and the position of English in it.

One set of data is taken from a PhD project investigating norms and ideologies of English writing on an international Master's Programme at a medium-sized university in Finland (McCambridge forthcoming). The project followed four to six students with varied linguistics and cultural backgrounds through three years of their studies, as well as gathering more general ethnographic data from the programme. The data analyzed for this article consists of fourteen individual semi-structured interviews with the students and five individual semi-structured interviews with teachers on the programme. Students' interviews focussed on their perceptions and experiences of writing in English on the programme. Teachers' interviews focussed on their perceptions of writing on the programme, as well as expectations for and evaluations of students' texts. Students from this data set are referred to in the analysis using the following pseudonyms: Mei (Chinese), Stephanie (German), and Kimiko (Japanese). Teachers are referred to as: Mikko (Finnish), Megan (from the US), Matti (Finnish), and Anita (a Swedish speaking Finn)

The data on internationalization of higher education is part of a three year project "Internationalization and invisible language" (Saarinen 2011–2013), funded by the Academy of Finland. The data used for this article includes eight individual semi-structured interviews with Finnish university and university of applied sciences staff (both academic, administrative and other staff) and international students, and one semi-structured group interview with four international students in a Finnish university of applied sciences. The interviews are part of a larger set of interviews in Finland and Denmark (N = 22). The interviews focussed on internationalization of higher education institutions from the point of view of various staff and student groups; *language* was not an explicit focus of the interviews, but it was brought up by the interviewer if not otherwise mentioned.

Interestingly, while it might have been expected that the role of language – particularly either English or the national language(s) – would come up in discussions on internationalization, this was not always the case.

We analysed our data qualitatively, using content and discourse analytical tools and focussing on explicit and implicit references to *native/non-native*. We focussed on the explicit or implicit constructions of *nativeness* versus *non-nativeness* based on the kinds of meanings and connotations that were attached to the terms by our informants. Investigating constructions of native/non-native was not the specific focus of either project, but in both sets of interviews, the observation of issues linked to nativeness prompted the co-operation for this article. Additionally, we looked specifically into references to "English" and the (ideological) connotations attached to the language. We approach *ideologies* as sets of beliefs about the position of a language or its speakers in a society (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994), which, in turn, may turn into political hierarchizations about the (political, cultural and social) value of the language and its speakers (see Nikula et al. 2012; Saarinen and Nikula 2013).

6 Analysis: The "not" and the "but" in native / non-native ideologies

Next, we present the results of our analysis. Two major categories emerged from the data; we have named these *non-nativeness as not* and *non-nativeness as but*.

The *non-nativeness as not* category reflects mainly on the native speaker ideal: nativeness as something that is difficult to achieve or as something that the speaker does not identify with. The *non-nativeness as but* category, in turn, presents challenges to the ideal, showing nativeness and non-nativeness as "separate but equal" categories. The categories not only overlap but are intertwined, as "but" emerges as a possibility of challenging the "not", which represents the traditional understanding of the (linguistic, educational and social) superiority of the native speaker norm. Just as non-native is not construed explicitly but in relation to native, "non-nativeness as but" requires an understanding of the position of the native speaker in the social hierarchy.

6.1 Non-nativeness as "not": Reproducing the native ideal

Most of the participants in our data construed nativeness on the one hand as correctness and on the other hand in terms of negation. They made it clear

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that they were not natives, and implied that they therefore lacked a certain native authority in determining correct English practices. In this sense they reproduced nativeness as an ideal.

For Mei, a Chinese student on the international Master's programme, not being a native-speaker meant that she could never be sure whether her use of English was "right". She explained, "it's not my mother language, so I don't know if I'm right … you are using the language you've been taught and you think it's the right English I mean… but still there are differences compared to the natives expect so yeah". Here, she clearly positions nativeness as correctness and her own English as being something different to this ideal. Even if she uses the language in the way she has been taught and believes is right, "the natives" know better.

In the next passage, the interviewee, a German exchange student studying in a Finnish university of applied sciences, seems to conceptualize "native English" as creating something of a threshold for entering a native English speaking country, assuming that natives might be more inclined to pay attention to "mistakes" made by non-natives, implying an expectation of natives as gate-keepers:

I So you came here, because you thought that lang-… the English language was of high quality here?

A yeah… that's because I applied, because I knew that Finland was quite successful at PISA, that they have the television programmes in English, that they have early contact with English, and that's what I guessed that they would have a high quality of English… but it's still not their mother tongue, so it's OK to make mistakes as a student […]

Nativeness is, in other words, construed as creating a challenge, or pressure even, as something demanding that the non-natives may have difficulty reaching. This links with the assumption, discussed above, of natives representing the "right" usage of English: The interviewee also implies that it might be "less OK" to make mistakes in an English speaking country, thus strengthening the assumption of the natives speakers as guardians of the "right" English.

Stephanie, a German student on the Master's programme, also positioned nativeness as authoritative in contrast to non-nativeness. When asked about her experiences of studying English in a German university, she challenged her German professors' authority concerning her use of English due to their not being "real native speakers":

S the only feedback I got in regard to my English was, well it was quite funny and was surprising. After a while I stopped wondering. I wrote two essays for

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two major classes and a friend from Ireland corrected them for me and for those two essays… I got the comment that I should seriously work on my English so hhheh

L from the teachers or from the friend?

S from the teachers no from the teachers, but the problem is like none of none was a real native English speaker, they were all Germans

L okay

S well they've been living abroad and everything but

For Stephanie, the authority of her Irish friend over English clearly overrides the authority of her German English professors. "Real" nativeness is here construed as being from an inner circle English speaking country, and despite her teachers' expertise in English and experiences of living abroad, their German origin is a "problem" in the validity of their feedback.

The following excerpt presents a layered construction of stereotyping native North American English speakers as demanding a native-like accent ("American accent") from Finns, and another one where a non-native English speaking Finn assumes that Finns have "excellent skills". The interviewee is a faculty level administrator at a university:

> Well maybe these cultural differences have appeared that, some feedback that for instance Americans who speak their mother tongue so they kind of expect Finns to use the same accent, and then even if your language skills are excellent but the accent is different then they feel that he she doesn't know any English. (T: so did I understand this correctly, the mother tongue speakers complain that…) yeah yeah, students complain that it's not in their own accent [Our translation].

While the interviewee reports that "Americans" expect Finns to speak in their own accent, this is not elaborated in detail. The interviewee does imply that "the Americans" expect a North American accent, but we do not know why this might be the case: is it perhaps easier to comprehend one's own (even if not a native) accent, or is it a question of "the Americans" expecting the Finnish staff to have a native-like accent?

As the phrase "real native English speaker" exemplifies, nativeness seemed to exist in the data on a continuum. Although the participants mostly positioned nativeness as something they were "not", some "non-natives" were nevertheless more native than others. This continuum often seemed to mirror Holliday's description of native-speakerism as a cultural construct with Western culture positioned as native and "non-Western" cultures as the non-native other. On the Master's programme, non-Western students' writing was described by several of the teachers as more problematic and East Asian students in particular were characterized as lacking strong individual voices in their texts. For example, Kimiko, a Japanese student, was described by Mikko, a Finnish teacher, as having made great progress, learning to write with more assertive language, after having begun as a "shy uh shy not self- not that self-assured, lost Japanese woman". Ironically perhaps, Kimiko had actually acquired English and completed her undergraduate degree in the US, rather than in Japan.

This continuum of non-nativeness to nativeness as a continuum of non-Western to Western culture could also be found in the responses of the students themselves. In explaining why she chose to come to Finland to study, Mei stated that she wished to go somewhere where "they use the language". Interestingly, in her construction the place where English is used includes Finland and the "they" who use English includes Finns. Similarly, when asked what advice she would give to other Chinese students in learning academic English, she suggested:

> I think at first you should read read more the original version… I'm not saying that that Chinese people that Chinese version of English is not good, but if you want to be like more professional, you should read the maybe most of it you should try the original one. So how maybe this culture or people in the West who use this language, to see how they write this kind of uh thing.

Her construction of those "who use this language" groups together "people in the West" as a contrast to her own Chinese group. The disclaimer that she does not mean that Chinese English "is not good" reflects an awareness of the ideological implications of her advice, but she nevertheless perceives Western culture as having the more original, more professional English, and therefore as having the more appropriate model for learning to write.

The continuum of correctness from non-Western to Western culture was most explicit in Megan's discourse. Megan, a language teacher from the US was teaching a compulsory course for students on the Master's programme on the conventions of English academic communication. Whereas for the Finnish teachers interviewed, correct English was usually positioned as something that "they" use "there", Megan frequently used words such as "we" and "here" to contrast correct English use with the problematic English use of some international students. When asked who "we" referred to, she replied:

M me myself and I… the royal we… no well I guess when I'm saying we I'm thinking of a Western a Western writer in academia, so we of course all know who we are and what we mean. So I'm I'm thinking of how to write for the Western standpoint because Northern and yeah middle Northern Europe, oh and Southern Europe too to an extent as far as the how you

know linear thought this type of thing. North America Australia, sort of these traditional English speaking countries in that sense. Now I'm not talking about South Africa or India, I'm not talking about other places where English is a lingua franca, but I'm thinking of typical how we would categorize the West that we that's what I'm talking about as far as
L so kind of English speaking West
M yeah and publications for English journal and then journals in English even if it's a European environment. The concept is either Great Britain or the US which is somewhat similar
L yeah okay so Great Britain and the US are kind of in a way the standards
M yeah

For Megan, correct English was "here" in the West and associated with "Western thinking", but the kaleidoscope of appropriate practices and places eventually centred on Great Britain and the US.

Some kind of a Western bias can also be seen in the following example. The non-nativeness of students and staff equally was first construed as a problem by the interviewee (a Finnish university administrator, faculty level). However, the discussion quickly continued towards a direction of the (implicitly international) student's language skills not being adequate:

> Weeeel… It shows in that most of us … teachers, me, students… none of us speak… or there are maybe one or two native English speakers . But that all of us speak English as… non-native. (T: mmmmh). And eh .. I don't know if it shows… well some teachers find it problematic that the students' English skills are not good enough … but I think that's just something we have to be prepared for. That it's a part of the package. That the English skills they have, well of course we have set limits for test scores [..] [Our translation].

The passage hierarchizes non-natives in different categories, where first all non-natives potentially present a problem, but then different sub-categories emerge, where "their" (the students') English skills do not match "our" (the Finnish staff and teachers) English. This links with the previous discussion on "Western" vs "non-Western" preferences, but with a national twist: "our" refers to the Finnish staff (both administrative and teaching staff), whose English, while not native, is superior to that of the (international) students. In other words, not only is a clear divide between natives and non-natives observed, but also within the (heterogeneous) group of non-natives different hierarchies emerge, as "our" non-native is better than "theirs".

As well as being correct, original, authoritative, and Western, nativeness was perceived in the data as being somehow "strict" and demanding. Natives were frequently described as "suffering" from non-natives' less rigid use of English. Again this concept of nativeness as strict was positioned by most participants as a contrast to their own use of English. They did not themselves have strict expectations and did not view themselves as able to fulfill such strict demands. Mikko, a Finnish teacher on the Master's programme, put it that "I just learned to communicate and I'm fine. I know that the natives must suffer every now and then". Similarly Anita, in discussing the evaluation of a student's thesis, remarked that native speakers would probably suffer having to read its incorrect use of English, though she herself did not mind the language at all.

Interestingly these demanding native standards, as Mikko's remark suggests, were not perceived as being necessary for communication on the programme, but rather as a matter of style and therefore as a potential symbol of quality or prestige. For this reason, texts written for a local level, such as for courses on the programme and for Finnish teachers, were not seen as having to conform to strict standards of language correctness, whereas texts written for a more global level, such as Master's theses which would be published online, were seen as more subject to native demands.

6.2 Non-nativeness as "but": Challenging the native ideal

While nativeness was often construed in the data as correctness, there were nevertheless many cases in which the assumption of native authority over English use was challenged. This challenge was typically hedged, with participants making it clear again that they were *not* natives, *but* explaining that they nevertheless had sufficient expertise or experience to determine appropriate language practices. The phrase "I am not a native speaker, but", as in the following extract, neatly summarizes this sentiment. Here, Matti, a Finnish professor teaching on the programme, was asked whether he sees himself as being at a disadvantage to English speakers in publishing internationally:

M I'm not in anyway bilingual, so I mean of course you are at a disadvantage, but I don't I don't think it's kind of it doesn't bother me very much. I don't think it's a real problem because I mean when you write this kind of stuff, it is you know a certain kind of language, a certain terminology that I know et cetera et cetera and then if there are things to improve in you know language as such, I mean uh I don't think there's very much, I write better than I speak, so I think that they can then very easily do those things that are necessary

L okay

M one problem is that because I'm a referee for certain journals and I get articles in English and I'm not a native speaker and then sometimes you wonder I mean and it's a bit difficult because you you feel like commenting on the language as well and still it may be that it's a it's a native speaker who has written that, I mean you can kind of and still you think that this is not very well put in terms of language either and and you are not a native speaker yourself, so I usually say that I'm not a native speaker, but I do think that he should consider these things

As in Matti's explanation, the challenge to native authority was commonly based on a claim to expertise in a particular topic area and genre. Matti's professional experience in his field gives him the authority (albeit hedged authority) to correct a native speaker's use of language.

Mikko, on the other hand, challenged the idea that an Irish student on the programme might have an advantage as a native speaker of English. Again the argument was based on differences between disciplinary and professional backgrounds, which were in turn compared to differences between journalistic and academic genres:

M the native uh native Irish guys, he has a full career in IT, both in studies but then also doing designs and some kind of service supply and then we are discussing different kind of challenges in tuition. It's quite close to a fact that if you get if you get a journalist and you start to support journalist writing a thesis because journalist naturally is so fluent and confident in their writing, producing thinking on writing and then we cannot accept journalistic text

L okay

M we need to slowly turn them to the direction of academic writing, to accept the kind of a formal aspect of it

The underlying challenge here is to the construct of natives as a homogeneous group and the concept that there is one native standard that pervades all disciplines and genres. A native English speaker, it is implied, can have as much difficulty in learning to fulfil disciplinary expectations on the programme as a non-native speaker, and a non-native speaker can in fact have the linguistic advantage. This challenge to the notion of native speakers as a homogeneous group, particularly in regards to written language, could also be found in Kimiko's descriptions, based on her experience completing an associate degree at a community college in the US. She explained that she took language courses which were intended "for even Americans, because I have seen many Americans

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who don't write. They don't know how to write". Kimiko was also surprised to find that some of her classmates from the US were unfamiliar with expectations for essay writing which she herself took for granted from academic writing in Japan (such as having an introduction, main body, and conclusion).

A similar kind of situation was described by a German exchange student at a Finnish university of applied sciences who had at an earlier stage of the interview stated that s/he had come to Finland particularly because the non-native nature of the English spoken there was less face-threatening than the native English in an English speaking country (see previous chapter). S/he also found non-nativeness explicitly as something inviting from the point of view of teaching practises, which also had to be accommodated to suit the needs of an international student:

> It's a difference, you know, my study colleagues who went to America, they have troubles with many terms who are normal for the native speakers, but here they are explained in business English, everything is explained, because they are teaching foreigners, not in their mother tongue but in a foreign language, that is one reason why I went to Finland.

While s/he had discussed choosing Finland over an English speaking country specifically because Finland was not English speaking, s/he now provides supporting arguments: entering Finland is not only practical because of linguistic, but also because of pedagogical reasons.

If differences were perceived within native practices and native abilities, it easily followed that non-natives as well as natives might negotiate between possible practices. This could be seen even in Mei's discourse, despite her clear perception of the native speaker as an authoritative "other". Having written a research plan with a page-long introduction, she received feedback from Megan that although long sentences and paragraphs were acceptable in China, they were not used in English. In interview, however, Mei explained that she had written the introduction in this way not because it is acceptable in China, but rather because she had used a model of an English research plan she found online. When asked why she did not explain this to Megan, she replied, "because yeah she is native then she says that, we think oh yeah that's that's the authority and we have to follow that. But still are there like maybe there are different aspect from different teachers". This sentiment might be summarized by the statement "she is native […] but still". Although nativeness is viewed as an authoritative model to be followed, "but still are there like maybe there are different aspect from different teachers". The challenge is hedged, but nevertheless clear.

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Another challenge to nativeness as an ideal was based on a contrast between correctness and practicality. Although, as explained in the previous section, many participants assumed that the natives (and thus “correct English”) would suffer, they often also emphasized that non-native use of English in these contexts was adequate and sometimes even preferable. Again, there was a sense of native-like correctness as not actually being necessary for successful communication, as Mikko implies below:

M but I don’t have any fear for using English and neither do I have any fear for making mistakes. That’s because of working in a camping site during the high school years so that you just communicated
L so you were speaking English quite a lot there?
M yeah and Swedish and German and all that was this kind of a school education level of language
L okay okay
M so so so I just learned to communicate and I’m I’m fine I know that the natives must suffer every now and then

In Mikko’s answers there was a sense that because he felt he had learned English in a practical way – he “just communicated” – he need not “fear” having to use the language in a native-like correct way. He has acquired the language practically, rather than having to study the language using a native speaker model.

This contrast could also be seen in the divide between expectations on Megan’s language course and expectations on content courses on the programme. While students perceived it as important to take part in the English course in order to learn or revise how the language “should” be used, they were happy to leave these strict expectations on the rest of their courses. Reflecting on the English course, Mei explained:

M although I know I have to pay more attention about like the grammar and formal structures and everything, but I think the teachers they are more interested in your idea
L mm mm yeah
M which means I mean at least I feel a little bit better because I know and
L was it something you were nervous about before?
M yeah because after like /Megan’s/ course a little bit it really you know kind of make all of us nervous

Mei’s attitude towards these more relaxed expectations of Finnish teachers was positive (“[. . .] I feel a little bit better”). As in Mikko’s answer, there is the sense that in focusing on communicating content, one need not be afraid of using the language. Mei's perception of these contrasting expectations is validated by the teachers' own explanations. Mikko, for example, explained that he sees a lot of improvement in students' writing "content wise" during the programme. When asked whether he sees a similar improvement in the language, he remarked "yeah but then who am I to evaluate that because my own language is so so so lazy. So I don't bother, I really don't bother".

7 Native/non-native as ideological constructs

Next, we will focus on our second research question: namely the language ideologies that these constructions of nativeness reflect and the political implications of the ideologies for language hierarchies and hegemonies.

Our "non-nativeness as not" construct reflects the traditional understanding of nativeness as something that is difficult to attain, something that the non-native speakers are "not". Similarly, native speakers of English are construed by non-native speakers as guardians of the "right" kind of English. The ideal of nativeness is linked to an understanding of language as a codified system, the knowledge of which is prestigious to the natives and puts pressure on the non-natives. Moreover, the North American language teacher's discourse in particular reflects the prevalent standard (NS) language ideology (cf. Jenkins 2007) in English, which assumes that English speakers from the expanding circle or outer circle ought to be taught a particular standard language model, with the UK or the USA at the centre of its norms.

When the native ideal is challenged ("non-nativeness as but"), it is based not so much on linguistic but broadly speaking political arguments. Professional or topical expertise seems to provide one such argument that overrides native speaker authority. In a different kind of situation, pedagogical reasons seemed to support non-native use of English as opposed to native use. In other words, particularly in educational contexts, a native environment may not always present an ideal context. This seems to lead to conflicting constructions of language, as in actual language use the native speaker ideal is challenged and a relaxed, non-native use of language was seen as even preferable by some of the students. Indeed, part of the attraction in studying through English in Finland for some was its non-native rather than native environment. These sentiments are similar to Seidlhofer's (2003) concept of ELF as a move from "real English" to "realistic English" and do also indicate a move away in practice from standard language ideology, with participants not always viewing native English as providing one standard and natives as one homogeneous group.

Another interesting source of friction in the native speaker ideal were hierarchies based on "Western" or "national" hegemonic positions. Clear hierarchies also appeared particularly within the category of "non-native", which were based on a construction of "us" and "them" on the one hand, and on Western hegemonies on the other. English as such was not questioned, but particularly in NNS–NNS situations, cracks in the ideal English seemed to appear. This could be described as "national speakerism" or "Western speakerism", which highlights the assumption that "our" students' English is better than that of the "others" (regardless of the origin of the "others'" English). The teachers and other staff interviewed appeared to hierarchize international students based on their own "national standard" as opposed to "international standards". This made the issues embedded in "nativeness" and "native speakerism" visible in a new way. The view of "us" and "them" had been hidden behind the self-evident conceptualization of language skills or comprehensibility as something linked with "nativeness", but the situation turned more complicated in NNS-NNS situations. "We" usually had good language skills, whereas "they" were more problematic, and the whole issue of native speaker skills collapsed into something fluid and porous that still needs more analysis.

While the policy documentation on internationalization seems to promote idealistic understandings of "international" as something homogeneous, inclusive, open and free, the reality seems heterogeneous, layered, hierarchized and Western-centered.

Table 1 summarizes the main characteristics of our two categories of *not* and *but*. We would like to stress, as we have done earlier, that the categories are indicative rather than conclusive. However, they do provide one perspective into the problematic position of native vs. non-native use of English in academic contexts.

Table 1: Characteristics of non-nativeness as *not* and non-nativeness as *but*

	non-nativeness as *not*	**non-nativeness as *but***
Language	"Ideal" English out of reach, demanding	Adequate knowledge of English for successful communication
Natives	... as superior gatekeepers	... as equal colleagues
Authority	... based on native-like language knowledge	... based on subject expertise
Language and internationalization	Relatively homogeneous view of English	Relatively heterogeneous view of English

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8 What next? Implications for internationalization policy

In 2010, the University of Jyväskylä's language centre placed an advert for a proofreading position which stated that *"the successful candidate will be a native speaker of English… A university degree from an English-speaking country is a must"*. Another advert for a new opening in 2012 simply stated that the applicant "*must have native-like proficiency*". While this reflects the changes in the legislative position of universities as employers since the new University Act of 2010, it is also indicative of the changing position of native English speakers in Finnish higher education.

It seems that the native English ideal is challenged in Finnish higher education from several directions. Professional or topic expertise may overrun language skills in some situations, challenging the native authority. We also saw indications of the pedagogical pressures put on the teaching practices by an international (and implicitly non-native English speaking) student body breaking into the native ideal. This may lead to conflicting constructions of language either as a codified system or as actual language usage, as non/nativeness is sometimes treated as a linguistic category and in other times as a professional or social category.

The potential significance of English in international communication is not questioned, but cracks seem to appear in the understanding of "who owns English", as native authority is questioned. Even though we focus on Finnish higher education, the results of the study can be extended to any context where English is used as the medium of higher education tuition although it does not have any official status in the community.

Current student mobility flows still favour English-speaking countries, but the trend seems to be turning as others regions in Asia and continental Europe are increasingly offering English medium programmes. The changes in mobility flows can historically be explained by linguistic, geographic, cultural and historical "push" and "pull" factors, which are still very much in place, producing a very diverse and heterogeneous body of students so easily labelled as homogeneously "international" (see Murphy-Lejeune 2008). The linguistic factors of native or non-native English operate, in other words, in a field of multiple overlapping and intertwined other factors.

The whole dynamics of international study is changing, and we do not know what kind of a balance the market will hit. Also Nordic countries are beginning to enter a new kind of mobility market, where non-native English providers offer English language study programmes. Some Nordic countries, like Denmark and Sweden, have introduced fees for international students, while others, such as Finland or Norway, offer international programmes free of charges. It is quite possible that one of the divides in the new market of international study will go along the lines of native – non-native English provision, which might eventually have an impact on the position of Anglophone vs. non-Anglophone higher education institutions in the global education markets.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank Anne Pitkänen-Huhta for her contribution to the conference paper version of this article, particularly her insightful input on the position of English in Finland, and both Anne Pitkänen-Huhta and Mia Halonen for their comments on the manuscript. Part of the research conducted for this article was funded by the Academy of Finland grant n. 138287.

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Slobodanka Dimova, Anna Kristina Hultgren and Christian Jensen

14 English-medium instruction in European higher education: Review and future research

The purpose of this volume has been to give an account of the status of English as a medium of instruction in various political, geographical and ideological contexts: Northern, Southern, Eastern, Western and Central Europe, regions at different stages of EMI implementation. It is our hope that the preceding chapters have given comparative insights into some of the discussions and issues associated with EMI in European higher education. While contributors have investigated a diverse set of empirical, pedagogical and political issues, many issues remain to be addressed in more detail. In these final few pages of the volume, we briefly review some of the main issues that have arisen in the preceding chapters and the broader EMI literature and propose further directions in methodological approaches, areas, and scopes.

We believe the field would benefit from a broader range of research designs and methodological approaches. A favoured methodology both in the chapters of this volume (see Chapters 2–5) as well as in the wider EMI literature from its early days is attitudinal studies based on questionnaires and interviews (e.g. Lehtonen & Lönnfors 2003; Jensen et al. 2009; Tange 2010; Vinke 1995). Such studies unveil a complex range of attitudes – positive as well as negative – towards the policy and practice of EMI. Many point to the challenges of teaching and learning in an additional language and express concerns over a possible decrease in importance of the local language. Others highlight the benefits of EMI, such as international collaboration, improved English language proficiency and heightened job prospects for graduates (Wilkinson 2005; Hellekjær 2007; Tange 2008; Airey 2013; Kling 2013; Griffiths 2013; Margić and Vodopija-Krstanović Chapter 2; Gürtler and Kronewald Chapter 4; Arkın and Osam Chapter 8; Kling Chapter 9; Pulcini and Campagna Chapter 3; Santulli Chapter 12). Such attitudinal studies, whether primarily focused on students or teachers (which is more often the case), are important in exploratory research and have helped us gather baseline data about the EMI situation. However, it might be time for the field to move

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towards more in-depth ethnographic and observational studies to improve our knowledge about the complexity of teaching and learning practices. Where surveys and interviews yield insights into *attitudes* and *ideologies* about EMI, they do not necessarily say anything about how EMI is actually enacted, negotiated and reacted to in the observed *practices* on the ground (for a discussion about the ideologies and practices of Englishization of Nordic academic, see, e.g. Hultgren et al. 2014).

Ethnographic methods allow for a wide range of data types to be investigated. (e.g. teaching and assessment materials, electronic and print materials, and institutional documents with relevance for teaching and learning, such as curricula, syllabi, course descriptions, reading lists, minutes from meetings, memos. This data variety might be better able to reflect the fact that learning and teaching in this day and age take place across a wide spectrum of modes and media – not only, perhaps not even first and foremost – through the spoken interaction that takes place between the teacher and the student. One of the few ethnographic studies to date is Smit (2010), where long-term observation of participants in a tertiary level Hotel Management programme provided detailed information about the very collaborative nature of the interactions among students (see also Söderlundh 2014). The study also pointed to the importance of including the local language in considerations of the EMI context.

In a similar manner, observational studies can reveal how teaching the same content in an L1 and L2 can differ, e.g. a slower, more formal delivery in L2 (Airey Chapter 7; Thøgersen and Airey 2011). Arkin and Osam (see Chapter 8) present findings from case studies and analyses of teacher talk and student comprehension levels, emphasizing the challenges both students and teachers experience in EMI contexts (e.g. reduced amount of information in L2 lectures, low level of classroom interaction, low level of lecture comprehension). Findings in both this and Airey's studies are supported by similar, small case study research which also suggests that learning and teaching in an L2 may be different from that in an L1 (Klaassen 2001; Thøgersen and Airey 2010; Westbrook and Henriksen 2011; Kling and Stæhr 2011). However, documenting that EMI actually leads to a lower learning outcome is inordinately difficult, given the myriad of factors that contribute to successful learning, and no study has been able to firmly document that the learning outcome will be lower in English-medium than in national language instruction. Moreover, although evidence suggests that students with English as an additional language *perceive* following instruction in English as a problem (Airey 2006, 2009; Hellekjær 2009; van der Walt and Kidd 2013), this ability can improve over time as students adopt different learning strategies (e.g. reading assigned material before class, focusing on lecture rather than taking notes, asking informal questions after class) (Klassen

2001; Airey 2010). Nevertheless as Jenkins reminds us (2014), many stakeholders still view EMI through a deficit lens, considering, for example, code-switching and non-native accents as axiomatically problematic, much like the case in academic writing (see, e.g. Flowerdew 2008; Lillis and Curry 2010; Turner 2011).

The research span of most EMI studies has been quite narrow and embedded in particular national or university environments, so the field could be enhanced by cross-national, contrastive studies. One of the most remarkable facts about EMI is that, though striving towards internationalization, it is almost entirely a purely *national* endeavour, not only in terms of discussions of implementation, policies and attitudes (e.g. to the risk of domain loss), but certainly in terms of the research that has tried to cast light on these issues. The increased cultural and linguistic diversity stemming from the growing number of international students is often acknowledged, and even highlighted, in the research literature. Yet, EMI research has not, as of yet, addressed this diversity through application of research projects that transcend national and cultural boundaries to examine the extent to which results from one cultural and linguistic setting generalize to other settings. For example, given the potential differences among countries in terms of instructional approaches, student and teacher relationships, as well as teacher and student proficiency levels, it is difficult to determine whether Airey's recommendations in Chapter 7, based on analyses of the behaviour of students in Sweden, are equally valid for students in Italy or Spain. Research should help us articulate the variation of cultural and educational expectations of students and teachers with different backgrounds, as well as understand the impact of the fluid conceptualizations of English proficiency levels on the success of EMI.

Whilst teaching and learning has thus far probably received the most attention in research on EMI, research into policies is also beginning to take shape (Lasagabaster Chapter 5; Soler-Carbonell Chapter 11; Jenkins 2014; Hultgren 2014). Policy research situates EMI in a wider socio-political context and can help expose hidden ideologies and social disadvantage of the type Phillipson (Chapter 1) importantly reminds us of. One aspect of policy research is which English language norms are appropriate and relevant in an EMI context (McCambridge and Saarinen Chapter 13). Findings suggest that, at least for now, native Englishes from the traditionally norm-providing, inner-circle countries remain normative at international universities (Jenkins 2014; Kuteeva 2014). Amongst teachers and students, the native-speaker norm continues to be preferable to non-native variations, though some preferences for non-native varieties are emerging. However, the relationship between the English norms and students' and teachers' personal and professional identities needs further exploration. At least one study has shown that students' perceptions of their EMI lecturers' overall professional competence are influenced by their perceptions

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of the lecturers' proficiency in English (Jensen et al. 2013). But the results from this study also suggested that students may be less concerned about correctness according to a native norm than English language professionals (Jensen 2013b), which matches Jenkins' assertion that "ELF speakers [. . .] prioritise communicative effectiveness over narrow predetermined notions of 'correctness'" (2011: 928). It also supports ideas that identity in the internationalized university cannot be simplistically inferred. Writing about the linguistic and cultural diversity in British universities, Preece and Martin argue that "there is a mismatch between the monolingual ethos and the ideology of English-medium tertiary education and the needs and identities of multilingual students" (2010: 3). ELF speakers are generally believed to have a more utilitarian perspective on English than people who identify as learners of English, which can have an effect not only on attitudes towards English but, as a result, also on the language use of students in an ELF environment such as EMI in the international university. One particular area of interest might be comparing students in the natural sciences with students from the arts of social sciences, based on the observation by Kuteeva & Airey (2014) that natural scientists have more utilitarian attitudes to the use of English as a lingua franca than scholars from other academic disciplines. We might therefore expect natural scientists to be front-runners in a process towards less native-oriented norms of English in EMI.

Finally, the chapters by Ingvarsdóttir and Arnbjörnsdóttir (Chapter 6) and Hellekjær and Hellekjær (Chapter 10) raise issues that relate to pre- and post-tertiary level of education, i.e. how well secondary education prepares students for EMI and the extent to which EMI prepares them for the labour market. Although English language proficiency has been found to represent one of the major factors affecting EMI success, research on the relationship between high-school English instruction and students' preparedness for EMI has received relatively little attention and could be a future avenue of research. Lack of attention has equally been noted in research investigating to what degree university EMI programs meet the needs of the local and international labour markets although the main goal of EMI is to prepare students for a career in todays' globalized world. Thus, future research might usefully widen the lens to focus on the interface between tertiary level education and what comes before and after it, i.e. secondary education and the labour market.

In this volume and in the wider literature, it is clear that most research to date has focused on how teaching and learning takes place in an EMI context. Favoured methodologies have included interviews and questionnaires. We have suggested that the time may now be ripe for extending the scope and methods employed in the field to include also studies into language policies, ethnographic studies and studies which focus on the interface between tertiary-level

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education and what comes before and after. EMI is a complex field of study which intersects with many disciplines from applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, education, ELT, language policy, to mention just a few, and input is needed from all these disciplines if we are to gain a comprehensive understanding of the causes and consequences of EMI in European universities.

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