

## 12 The Englishization of Polish higher education

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### Abstract

In Poland, Englishization is subsumed under the concept of internationalization, which is considered a nationwide tendency of the development of the higher education sector. It is highly recommended to use English as a lingua franca of research and scientific communication, and it is common to implement programmes using English as a medium of instruction (EMI). Therefore, one of the key aspects discussed in this paper concerns the equalization of the status of Polish and English as languages of instruction. Other 'tangible' exponents of this English-Polish 'alliance' are to be seen in the area of job competition procedures, which have to be stated in both Polish and English. Emphasis is also placed on the development of English versions of university websites.

**Keywords:** internationalization, Englishization, research and scientific communication, educational offer, EMI

### 1 Introduction

In Poland, as in other European countries, Englishization is subsumed under the concept of internationalization, which is considered a nationwide tendency of the development of the higher education sector, whether state-owned or public. Universities in Poland are generally geared towards the internationalization of their research as well as their teaching process. This process started with the decline of communism, followed by the political and economic transformation of 1989. The lifting of the Iron Curtain opened

Poland to the West economically, socially, culturally, and linguistically. The foundation for the modern higher education (HE) system in Poland was originally set out in the Law on Higher Education (1990), passed on September 12, 1990 (*Ustawa o szkolnictwie wyższym z 12 września 1990 roku*)<sup>1</sup> (see below concerning a new law, the so-called Constitution for Science – *Konstytucja dla Nauki* of 2018).

The chapter is divided into five parts, consisting of a short note on Polish language policy followed by an exploration of the use of English in diverse aspects of higher education. One of the most salient areas in which Englishization is prominent is that of academic publications, which we discuss in section 3. While less prominent, Englishization is further evident in teaching and learning as the increase in English-medium programmes demonstrates (section 4). The last two sections address the role of English in job competition procedures, and the development of English versions of university websites. As a result, the chapter aims to establish a twofold perspective of Polish HE. On the one hand, it is a system that lags behind some of the highly internationalized European HEs; on the other, it is a system that initiated radical moves towards internationalization, encouraged by recent national policies, and actions taken by Polish universities.

## 2 Polish language policy

The Polish language policy relates to the protection of the Polish language as the first language of 98% of the Polish population, the policy towards minority languages or dialects, and finally the policy of promoting the study of other languages. The origin of Polish language policy goes back to the 14th century, and thus prior to its recognition as a fully-fledged academic field of research (see Kuźniak & Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2016, who discuss a historical overview of Polish language policy). It is evident that in the history of the development of Polish, it has been influenced by a number of different languages including Latin, Greek, Czech, French, German, Italian, and Russian (to name but a few), and more recently English. Therefore it is no surprise to observe, both in the past and nowadays, concerns about language purity, which in 1996 led to the creation of The Council for the Polish Language (*Rada Języka Polskiego*), working under the auspices of

1 Retrieved 25 July 2020 from <http://prawo.sejm.gov.pl/isap.nsf/download.xsp/WDU19900650385/U/D19900385Lj.pdf>.

the Polish Academy of Sciences. Its aim has been to advise on and describe (rather than prescribe) linguistic behaviour among Polish language users, and the work of this legislative body led to the creation of the Polish Language Act in 1999. Its purpose, however, has been to protect Polish rather than to purify it, and also to minimize foreign influences rather than to eradicate them. A few amendments to the Language Act were introduced in 2004 and 2005. These appeared to be motivated by Poland's accession to the European Union (EU). The wording of the amendments places an emphasis on the promotion of bilingualism in certain formal communicative contexts and intends to appreciate the role of regional dialects or languages within Poland:

- the possibility of using a language other than Polish in commerce and in employment contracts (The Amendment to the Polish Language Act of 2 April 2004);
- the possibility of using minority and ethnic languages in local administration in districts where the users of the regional variant number more than 20% (The Ethnic and National Minority Act of 6 January 2005).

The practical implications of the Act on the Polish language are naturally manifold and have been discussed in terms of actions undertaken both by governmental and non-governmental organizations and by individuals empowered with relevant prerogatives under the Act in question (Kuźniak & Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2016).

### 3 The use of English in scientific publications written by Polish scholars

Nowadays English is an unquestionable language of international communication and it is also used as a lingua franca in scientific publications and communication. In Poland it is a topic frequently debated by academics as well as by the media (among others, *PAUza Akademicka*,<sup>2</sup> an electronic weekly of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, and *Gazeta Wyborcza*,<sup>3</sup> one of the most influential Polish daily newspapers).

2 PAU-za Akademicka. Tygodnik Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności. Retrieved 2 July 2020 from [www.pauza.krakow.pl/502\\_2020.pdf](http://www.pauza.krakow.pl/502_2020.pdf).

3 *Gazeta Wyborcza*. Retrieved 3 July 2020 from <https://www.google.com/search?client=firefox-b-d&q=gazeta+wborcza>.

The use of English is always driven by international research cooperation. According to a report on the internationalization of Polish research and its visibility in the world (Kwiek, 2019), collaboration patterns in Poland and in other countries are not uniform, but depend on the scientific fields analysed (cf. Abramo et al., 2009; Lewis, 2013; Lewis et al., 2012). The most internationalized research areas in Poland are physical and mathematical sciences as well as life and medical sciences, which accurately reflects the state of affairs in other European countries (Rostan et al., 2014, pp. 133-136, cited in Kwiek, 2019, p. 45). While Polish researchers specializing in physical and mathematical sciences can boast a level of internationalization equal to their European colleagues (120%),<sup>4</sup> all others, however, lag behind the European average. In life and medical sciences, the ratio of internationalization is 54.8%, in social sciences and humanities only 47.5% (Kwiek, 2019, p. 45). Social sciences and humanities in particular are opposed to the use of English as a language of scientific communication for reasons such as:

- an inability to express oneself in a foreign language as well as in one's first language;
- the fact that matters specific to one's culture do not need to be written in English or any other foreign language.

Publication patterns in the social sciences and humanities (SSH) in different European countries were analysed by Kulczycki et al., (2018), who compared print patterns that occur across SSH publications in the Czech Republic, Denmark, Finland, Flanders (Belgium), Norway, Poland, Slovakia, and Slovenia. The data was collected on the basis of publications registered in national databases between 2011 and 2014; hence the results are no longer up to date. Nevertheless, it is worth quoting them here: 'In Poland, publications written in English constitute the smallest share of all SSH publications from all the analysed countries [...] Our findings show that Polish SSH scholars are comparatively less internationally oriented in their publication patterns in terms of writing in English' (Kulczycki et al., 2018, p. 481). More recently, Warchał and Zakrajewski (forthcoming) investigated publication practices in the SSH at the University of Silesia (Poland) and traced the share of multilingual publications in particular SSH disciplines. The survey among academic staff at the Faculties

4 The productivity ratio of researchers publishing their articles internationally to the ones publishing locally, in their mother tongue. The research embraced a three-year publishing period.

of Humanities, Social Sciences, Law and Administration, and Arts and Educational Science yielded a response of 156 questionnaires. Warchał and Zakrajewska underline that:

With regard to the preferred languages of publication, the results, unsurprisingly, demonstrate that the two languages most frequently used for publication purposes in all disciplines are Polish and English, with virtually no disciplinary variation in the social sciences, where almost all the respondents reported using both.

The survey indicated that within the social sciences, 95% of the academics interviewed publish in Polish and 92% of them in English as well. In the humanities, 96% of the respondents report using Polish for publication purposes, while only 77% of them report publishing in English. Nevertheless, there appears a greater diversity of the foreign language texts published within the humanities: 'there are scholars, especially in linguistics and literary studies (traditionally multilingual disciplines in Poland), who choose to publish in other languages, especially in Russian, German, and French' (Warchał & Zakrajewski, forthcoming).

For the purposes of this chapter, however, another question from the survey seems of utmost importance. When the respondents were asked about their main language of publication, 67% of them indicated Polish, followed by English, which was the most frequent language of publication for 22% of the participants. These results largely tally with the findings of Kulczycki et al. (2018) and Kwiek (2019), and lead to the rather pessimistic conclusion that the level of Englishization of the Polish SSH publications is by no means substantial. Additionally, the research conducted by Warchał and Zakrajewski (forthcoming) demonstrated that publications in languages other than Polish constitute the smallest part of the output of the prevailing majority of law and history scholars. The authors assert that this underlines the centrality of local problems and the commitment to local audiences in these research areas.

Thus, it follows that, if a linguist is concerned with, for instance, grammatical gender distinction in Romanian, it would be preferable to discuss it in Romanian rather than in English. The same holds true for other branches of modern languages. Yet, if the linguist is interested in more general matters, it is certainly worthwhile to write and present them in English. For example, the list of publications of the greatest Polish linguist, Jan Niecisław Baudouin de Courtenay, comprises about one thousand items, but most were written in Polish with a few exceptions in German, French, Russian, Italian, or

Slovenian. The result was that, despite his intellectual prowess, he had little impact on Western linguistics (cf. Baudouin de Courtenay, 1908). This is unfortunate since he discovered various trends or made observations which were later put forward by other linguists, such as de Saussure's claim concerning the social character of language.

A similar observation could apply to specialists dealing with Polish culture or literature, as well as to historians concerned with Polish history. It is clear that certain facts related to any national culture, literature or history are of interest to the representatives of that nation and in most cases they should, and in fact are written in the national tongue. However, again there are exceptions, for example the history of Poland which has been popularized by Norman Davies' (1972, 1981) books which were written in English, or by Timothy Snyder's publications on the contemporary Polish political situation. Thus, the conclusion is the same as in the case of modern languages: research concerning more general matters or of potential interest to an international audience rather than a local one, would better be written in English to avoid sharing the fate of Baudouin de Courtenay.

All in all, it must be underlined that if researchers do not want to be isolated from scientific communication, they will have to use English at least now and in the foreseeable future. Obviously, it is not known whether English will remain the sole international language of science, as it is worth remembering that in the past first Latin, and later French and German, played the same role in academia that English now enjoys.

We would argue that Polish should only be used in scientific discourse in the few exceptional cases enumerated above. Many scholars will disagree with such a standpoint, as they oppose the dominant role of English in academia (see the above-mentioned debates in the media). A more modest proposal was made by Kokowski (2014) who, along with others, considered abstracts alone should be written in the congress languages, languages which apart from English include French, German, and Russian as well as Spanish and that the best scientific works within the social studies and humanities should be translated into these languages. Kokowski is aware that publications in, as he calls them, 'techno-bio-info' are in English anyway.

Despite our conviction of the necessity of using English as the *lingua franca* of science, we recognize an opposing view that favours a plural language policy within science, namely that of Hamel (2007):

I have elsewhere argued in favour of a plurilingual enrichment model for Spanish as a language of science that might help to avoid a zero sum

game and the 'either-or' dichotomy present in approaches that assume the unrestricted defence of a given language and foster monolingualism. Plurilingualism entails a view of intercultural communication where ones' own position or academic standpoint recognizes that other perspectives and procedures are also part of the possible world knowledge; or, to put it another way, that other valid positions and knowledge bases exist that may be formulated in terms of different languages, discourse structures and cultural models that define research paradigms. (Hamel, 2007, p. 67)

Hamel is not the only linguist who opposes the so-called scientific monolingualism (see Durand, 2001, 2006; Ehlich, 2001; or Phillipson, 2003). However, if we observe the present-day state of science, it seems that these views may be considered 'wishful thinking' (Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2017).

Let us now turn to a consideration of some more general statistics.

### 3.1 Publications in English

The data in this subsection come from the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education<sup>5</sup> which provided reports outlining the Englishization of the Polish HE. The data were retrieved from POL-on, The Integrated System of Information on Science and Higher Education, a central nationwide ICT system, and the PBN, that is Polish Scholarly Bibliography, which is one of the units of POL-on.

Table 12.1 below, provided by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, presents a quantitative comparison of articles, books, and book chapters published in Poland both in total<sup>6</sup> and in English, in the years 2015 to 2019. The data were collected in the PBN which constitutes a basic source of information regarding academic achievements of Polish academic staff and institutions (Rozkosz, 2013, p. 2). In the PBN statistics, two criteria must be met in order to classify any publication as one published in English: a) the author(s) must have specified the language of the publication (English), and b) at least one of the authors registered in the PBN held Polish citizenship. Additionally, in the table, there are cases when the authors did not specify the language used. The data are included in order to provide a full picture of the issue in question, although they are not included in the percentage calculations, since there has been no possibility of identifying the language of the publication.

5 13 and 25 August 2020.

6 That is, in Polish and in other languages.

**Table 12.1 Articles, books and book chapters published in Poland in the English language**

<b>PUBLICATION TYPE</b>	<b>2015</b>	<b>2016</b>	<b>2017</b>	<b>2018</b>	<b>2019</b>
ARTICLES (total)	115655	114172	114472	104056	75791
<b>Articles in English</b>	<b>59942</b>	<b>63214</b>	<b>63778</b>	<b>63111</b>	<b>54416</b>
<b>Percentage of English-language articles</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>55%</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>61%</b>	<b>73%</b>
Articles with no language specified	64	84	217	149	371
BOOKS (total)	13056	13103	11208	10104	7171
<b>Books in English</b>	<b>1817</b>	<b>1747</b>	<b>1621</b>	<b>1508</b>	<b>1055</b>
<b>Percentage of English-language books</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>15%</b>
Books with no language specified	41	38	39	17	20
BOOK CHAPTERS (total)	68206	65701	58931	50663	31283
<b>Book chapters in English</b>	<b>17139</b>	<b>16787</b>	<b>15204</b>	<b>15762</b>	<b>10329</b>
<b>Percentage of English-language book chapters</b>	<b>25%</b>	<b>26%</b>	<b>27%</b>	<b>31%</b>	<b>33%</b>
Books chapters with no language specified	135	83	99	86	54

The data in Table 12.1 yield a range of observations within the five-year period with reference to articles, books, and book chapters published in English. In general, our findings confirm those of Kulczycki et al. (2018, p. 464), who demonstrated that in different European countries, including Poland, the share of articles and the share of publications in English is on the rise. In 2015, more than half of Polish authors had invariably chosen to write their articles in English, and in 2019 almost three-quarters of them followed this trend. As Kulczycki et al. (2017) note, this accords with science policy in Poland, since recent regulations for the performance-based research funding system provide incentives for publishing in English.

When the issue of books written in English is taken into account, the figures are much lower and remain at approximately the same level (between 13% and 15%). Finally, the number of book chapters printed in English demonstrate the growing trend in the last five years (between 25% and 33%). It can be concluded that during the years 2015 to 2019 the rate of English-language publications in Poland increased substantially, particularly among the authors of articles. While there is also a general upward tendency

in writing book chapters in English, monographs published in English, however, maintain a rate below one-fifth of the total number.

### 3.2 International research collaboration

In the *Peer Review of Poland's Higher Education and Science System* (2017, pp. 158-171), the so-called internationalization imperative is discussed. Among the key indicators which highlight the internationalization of HE and science in Poland, international research collaboration is enumerated. According to the report (2017, p. 164), in this respect, Poland underperforms compared to the EU average: 'Poland's international scientific co-publications per million inhabitants grew from 173.6 in 2010 to 254 in 2016, at the level of Latvia, and above Bulgaria and Romania, but clearly lagging behind the EU average of 463.' This is confirmed in studies conducted by Kwiek (2018, 2019), who notes (2019, p. 5) that, in 2017, the international publication co-authorship rate in Poland was 34.7% which was low in comparison to both EU<sub>15</sub> (58%) and EU<sub>28</sub><sup>7</sup> (56%). All in all, as far as international research collaboration is concerned, Poland's performance shows room for improvement.

To improve this state of affairs, the Polish governmental agencies support research development and have placed an increased emphasis on its internationalization that is manifested in the mandatory use of English. Their programmes are accessible to both Polish and foreign scientists, and their websites are in Polish and English. The widest variety of research project calls are offered by the following institutions:

- 1 The National Centre for Research and Development<sup>8</sup> (NCBR: Narodowe Centrum Badań i Rozwoju). Among its main tasks there are management and execution of strategic research and development programmes, which lead directly to the development of innovativeness, as well as the support of commercialization of scientific research results.
- 2 The National Science Centre<sup>9</sup> (NCN: Narodowe Centrum Nauki) supports basic research, defined as empirical or theoretical endeavours undertaken to gain new knowledge of the foundations of phenomena and observable facts, without any direct commercial use.

7 The term EU-15 refers to the 15 Member States of the EU prior to the accession of 10 candidate countries in 2004. The EU-28 was the abbreviation of the EU which consisted of 28 countries, until Brexit in 2020.

8 <https://www.ncbr.gov.pl/en/>

9 <https://ncn.gov.pl/o-ncn/zadania-ncn?language=en>

- 3 The National Programme for the Development of the Humanities (Narodowy Program Rozwoju Humanistyki) which main aim, among others, is to financially support the translation into English of the best Polish works from within social studies and the humanities into English.

## 4 The use of English in the teaching process

### 4.1 The legal perspective

The issue of implementing foreign languages in the teaching process was first highlighted in Article 6 (1a) of the Law of Higher Education (1990), which states, 'all educational classes and knowledge or skills tests as well as diploma exams can be conducted in a foreign language.'

Poland's accession to the European Union in 2004 marked a landmark achievement for Polish higher education and since that time it has developed within the broader context of European education models. Gądek (2016, p. 7) highlights that the need to undertake education reforms in European Community countries has always been connected with rapid transitions in all areas of social life, brought about by globalization processes, advancement of technology, and mass communication, as well as by certain negative factors such as economic crises, unemployment, unwanted migration or international conflicts. The author concludes that under such circumstances it was essential to achieve comprehensive system solutions that would tackle these problems, accelerate development and enhance overall welfare. The starting point was a change in Member States' policies consisting in building competitive, knowledge-based societies and in adjusting the European education systems to the needs of both a modern economy and human personal development. Among the commitments made by EU members there was the consolidation of their education policies. Consequently, Poland followed the Bologna Process of creating the European Higher Education Area and joined the gradually emerging European Research Area (Kwiek, 2007, p. 87). Additionally, Poland has become a beneficiary of EU cohesion policy, investing in people's knowledge, skills, and competencies, which are crucial for both ensuring the long-term competitiveness of Europe and for helping all citizens to benefit from more and better jobs offer.<sup>10</sup> For the Cohesion Policy in 2014-2020, it is education and training that constitute

<sup>10</sup> Retrieved 27 July 2020 from [https://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/en/policy/themes/education-training/](https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/themes/education-training/).

one of the eleven priorities.<sup>11</sup> In the *Peer Review of Poland's Higher Education and Science System* (2017, p. 10), an independent panel of experts comment on the condition of the Polish HE during past few years:

Poland is continuing its transition towards an open and globally competitive economy. It is aiming to reinforce its position on a European scale as a large and growing knowledge-based economy. An efficient higher education (HE) and science system is at the nexus of knowledge creation, education, innovation and economic growth. Despite past efforts to transform Poland's HE and science system, its performance and innovation outcomes remain sub-optimal. The government has therefore embarked on a new process of reform, the successful implementation of which is a prerequisite to achieving the country's goals. Designing and implementing these reforms successfully will require one or two decades of continuous and consistent efforts.

To remedy the above-mentioned condition of higher education, the Law on Higher Education and Science (*Prawo o szkolnictwie wyższym i nauce*) was brought into force in 2018. It was the latest step towards the internationalization of Polish HE, introducing a change of the approach to education as well as conducting research and university governance. In 2020, the 120-page document was translated into English in order to facilitate and develop international cooperation in the manner asserted by the Ministry. In the Act, there are several explicit references to using foreign languages in general as well as the mandatory use of English while running higher education institutions.

#### 4.2 English and university enrolment

In Poland, a certain proficiency level in a foreign language is commonly requested for higher education enrolment. At Polish academies, a pass at the *Matura* exam (A-levels), taken at the end of secondary school education, is required. The *Matura* exam comprises three compulsory exams, including one selected modern language. As reported by The Polish Central Examination Board<sup>12</sup> (Centralna Komisja Egzaminacyjna), in 2019, out of 247,230

11 Retrieved 27 July 2020 from [https://ec.europa.eu/regional\\_policy/en/policy/how/priorities](https://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/en/policy/how/priorities).

12 Centralna Komisja Egzaminacyjna. *Sprawozdanie ogólne z egzaminu maturalnego 2019*. [Matura examination 2019: The general report]. Retrieved 29 July 2020 from [https://cke.gov.pl/images/\\_EGZAMIN\\_MATURALNY\\_OD\\_2015/Informacje\\_o\\_wynikach/2019/sprawozdanie/Sprawozdanie%202019%20-%20Og%C3%B3lne.pdf](https://cke.gov.pl/images/_EGZAMIN_MATURALNY_OD_2015/Informacje_o_wynikach/2019/sprawozdanie/Sprawozdanie%202019%20-%20Og%C3%B3lne.pdf).

graduates, 93.5% sat their exam in English. German (4.4%) and Russian (1.5%) were the next languages of choice. This substantial discrepancy demonstrates both the popularity of the English language and an urgent need to have a command of it, to be able to function efficiently on the labour market, as well as within the globalized and digitalized societies of citizens of Europe.

Within 'the world's ranking of countries and regions by English skills' (2020),<sup>13</sup> Poland ranks 14th in Europe, with a high rating on the EF English Proficiency Index, behind the Netherlands, Denmark, and Portugal but before Switzerland, the Czech Republic, and Italy. Secondary school graduates possibly contribute to this outcome.

### 4.3 English as a medium of instruction (EMI) at Polish universities

As far as the teaching process is concerned, internationalization of HE is evinced both in the English-language educational offer and in the number of foreign students in Poland. Before a detailed description of the varied English-language programmes, we present a brief overview of the incoming students. Firstly, it is not only the performance of the Polish science that remains sub-optimal. Until 2012/13, the ratio of the number of foreign students in Poland to the total number of students was exceptionally low and the weak activity of universities in acquiring students concerned all studies except for medical ones (Janczyk-Strzała & Tomaszewski, 2013, p. 68). At present, there is still a lower percentage of foreign students than in the most developed OECD<sup>14</sup> countries, including in the neighbouring countries like the Czech Republic, Hungary, Slovakia, or Lithuania (Perspektywy Education Foundation, 2021), not to mention Germany. On the other hand, though, a rapid increase in the internationalization ratio has been observable during the last 15 years, with 10,092 foreign students in 2005/06, 29,172 in 2012/13, and 78,259 in 2018/19. This upward trend proceeds from the wider EMI offer and its accessibility, attained partly via English versions of websites developed by most Polish universities (see section 6). In the academic year 2018/19, the dominant group of foreigners were students from Ukraine (39,203) and Belarus (7314), Indians (3,571) ranking third, and Spaniards (2,131) fourth. According to the *Study in Poland Programme* (2021), these numbers are steadily increasing and there are also more students coming from Turkey (1,928), the Czech Republic (1,655), Germany (1,315), China (1,259) and Taiwan (917), as well as from several Asian and African countries. India and Kazakhstan

13 Retrieved 1 February 2021 from <https://www.ef.com/wwen/epi/>.

14 Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development.

are said to be the most prospective markets for Polish universities (*Study in Poland Programme*, 2021). These numbers lead to the conclusion that from year to year, the Polish student community is becoming increasingly open and multicultural, which seems to be a promising educational landscape.

The Englishization of academic programmes fosters the development of human capital which is key for knowledge-based economies. Therefore, in Poland, candidates are offered English-language programmes of 1st (undergraduate), 2nd (graduate) and long cycle<sup>15</sup> in humanities, social, exact, natural, and technical sciences, as well as numerous interdisciplinary programmes which combine knowledge and skills in various fields.<sup>16</sup> The issue of English and other foreign languages within HE can be viewed from various perspectives. On the one hand, there are modern language studies, where students explore the language, literature, history, and culture of other countries. On the other, there are EMI programmes where a foreign language serves as a tool for acquiring specialized knowledge. In order to provide a broader picture of the internationalization of Polish HE, Cierpich and Sieradzka-Baziur (2020, p. 91) present the following data accessed from the Ministry of Higher Education and Science<sup>17</sup> specifying: a) the number of modern language programmes and other programmes conducted in foreign languages, offered by 113 public and 233 non-public universities (Table 12.2) and b) the division of these programmes according to the language of instruction (Table 12.3). The latter table enables us to juxtapose the popularity of English with the popularity of other foreign languages.

**Table 12.2 Modern language programmes vs EMI programmes**

University type	Number of modern language programmes	Number of EMI programmes
Public (113 out of 130 such institutions in academic year 2017/18)	181	476
Non-public (233 out of 267 such institutions in academic year 2017/18)	109	273
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>749</b>

<sup>15</sup> Uniform Master's studies for selected majors.

<sup>16</sup> See, for example, University of Warsaw: <https://en.uw.edu.pl/education/degree-programmes-1st-2nd-and-long-cycle-studies-bachelor-and-master/>

<sup>17</sup> The data presented in Cierpich and Sieradzka-Baziur (2020) reflected the beginning of the academic year 2018/19.

**Table 12.3 Foreign language programmes: Language of instruction**

University	Programme type	English	English & Polish	Other foreign languages
Public (state-owned)	Modern language studies	10	20	149
	Other studies	190	253	35
Non-public (private)	Modern language studies	19	23	67
	Other studies	35	220	18
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>254</b>	<b>516</b>	<b>269</b>
		<b>1038</b>		

To sum up, in 2018, there were 290 modern language programmes and 749 EMI programmes. The widespread popularity of English can be easily discerned by comparing the number of programmes designed in English (254) and in both Polish and English (516), with the number of programmes studied in other foreign languages (269). Thus, out of 1,038 programmes with a foreign language of instruction in Poland, a vast majority of them, 770 (74%), incorporated the use of English and 269 (26%) preferred other foreign languages.

Let us consider the most popular BA and MA English-language programmes. In another report provided by the Ministry of Higher Education and Science (August 2020), it was possible to trace the most popular 1st, 2nd, and long cycle programmes with EMI. In the 2019/20 academic year, a total of 1,161,620 students were enrolled and 45,377 (4%) chose English-only programmes. Table 12.4 lists the 15 most popular majors.

In Poland, apart from English-only programmes, there are at least three different educational models employing the contemporary lingua franca (Cierpich & Sieradzka-Baziur, 2020, p. 90):

- a programmes implemented both in English and in Polish;
- b programmes run in Polish, with selected courses carried out in English as the language of instruction (EMI);
- c programmes undertaken in Polish, blended with obligatory courses of English for professional purposes.

Additionally, Polish students are frequently obliged to complete foreign language courses. According to the latest official statistics (*Statistics Poland [GUS]*, 2019, p. 32), in the 2018/19 academic year, 89% of students chose to learn English.

**Table 12.4 Most popular 1st, 2nd, and long cycle EMI programmes in Poland**

Position according to the popularity	Programme	Number of students enrolled
1.	Medicine	7676
2.	Management	6346
3.	Computer Science	3819
4.	Finance and Accounting	1849
5.	Internal Security	1261
6.	Dentistry	1227
7.	Architecture	943
8.	Economics	1054
9.	International Relations	1478
10.	International Economic Relations	851
11.	Psychology	638
12.	Electronics and Telecommunications	541
13.	Construction and Building Systems Engineering	540
14.	Mechanical Engineering	523
15.	Veterinary Science	444

## 5 Job competition procedures

A few articles of the Law on Higher Education and Science rigorously enforce the use of English. Among others, the regulation pertains to job competition procedures, which has been stated as follows:

Art. 119 (4) Information on the competition shall also be available in English on the European Commission's website on the European portal for mobile researchers, designed for the publication of vacancies for researchers, within 30 days before the competition.

The Ministry of Science and Higher Education offers a nationwide 'Base of adverts of vacancy for scientific, academic and management of science positions in Poland.'<sup>18</sup> This English-language online service gathers information such as: name of the institution, position offered, voivodship (administrative subdivision in Poland), city, research area, and due dates. It also provides links to specific job offers. We have scanned<sup>19</sup> the first 200 offers announced in September 2020. Interestingly, fluency in English was often one of the

<sup>18</sup> <http://www.bazaogloszen.nauka.gov.pl/en/>

<sup>19</sup> The date of our search was 1 October 2020, screening the first five pages. We analysed 200 out of 424 offers uploaded.

formal requirements within the recruitment process, which follows the prevailing trend on the Polish job market. However, only 44 out of 200 (22%) advertisements were published in English. Although there are certain native-language-specific programmes (e.g., Polish Studies), there are no reasons why other faculties or research units (e.g., medical, biochemical, or even modern language studies) should ignore the requirement to translate their job offers. The evident conclusion is that as far as the internationalization of job competition procedures is concerned, there is still much to be improved in Poland.

## 6 Developing English versions of university websites

For this chapter, we have screened (4-8 August 2020) the websites of all academic institutions in Poland, registered and supervised by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education, by the Ministry of Health (in the case of medical universities), by the Ministry of Marine Economy and Inland Navigation (in the case of maritime universities) and by the Ministry of Culture and National Heritage (in the case of higher schools of arts). In the record, there are, as mentioned above, two main types of academies: the public and the non-public ones, registered in the 2019/20 academic year.<sup>20</sup> Among the public institutions, the following categories are differentiated: universities (18), universities of technology and higher schools of technology (18), universities of economics and higher schools of economics (5), universities and higher schools of pedagogy (5), universities and higher schools of agriculture (6), higher schools of sport (6), higher schools of theology (1), higher vocational schools (34), ecclesiastical Catholic universities and higher schools (7), medical universities (9), maritime universities (3) and higher schools of arts (20).

An in-depth analysis of all the higher education websites demonstrates that in the academic year 2019/20, out of 132 state-owned academies, a substantial majority (127, over 96%) offer English versions. Most of them provide access to English versions of their university websites with one-to-one Polish equivalents, passing on information in an exhaustive and comprehensive manner. In this group, only seven institutions confined their English-language websites to guidelines for incoming/Erasmus students,

<sup>20</sup> The totals of both public and private universities have changed in comparison with the academic year 2017/18. Interestingly, the number of latter has dropped significantly over the last three years (from 267 to 232).

as well as some basic information about the academy. At the time of the research being carried out, the remaining five institutions (3.8%) did not provide their online services in English.

As far as non-public institutions are concerned, 146 out of 232 (almost 63%) run their websites in both languages in question. Similarly, the majority of them presented their educational profile in Polish and English counterparts. A smaller group possess an English language link; here, however, most attention is also focused on incoming/Erasmus students. Finally, the remaining group of non-public higher education schools (37%) fail to present their educational offer in English.

Considering the research results, it seems significant to acknowledge that in Poland, although there are fewer public universities than private ones (132 and 232), this proportion is reversed when the issue of Englishization in the whole higher education system is evaluated. First of all, almost all state-owned schools (96%) attract their candidates with English websites. Consequently, both Poles and foreigners are welcome to read in English, gain available information about a particular school, and compare various syllabuses.<sup>21</sup> Secondly, 63% of private institutions duplicate the above illustrated model by providing the English language websites with announcements, notices, guidelines, and so on. All in all, the total number of higher education institutions that attract worldwide internet surfers with English version websites is 278 (out of 364). Hence, the conclusion is that the substantial majority (75%) of Polish universities have followed the Law on Higher Education and Science where English language usage is encouraged.

**Table 12.5 English versions of university websites in Poland**

University type	English versions of university websites, August 2020
<b>Public (state-owned)</b>	127 out of 132 (96%)
<b>Non-public (private)</b>	146 out of 232 (63%)
<b>TOTAL</b>	273 out of 364 (75%)

21 Among the documents we browsed, one of the most professional was the PDF booklet for international candidates prepared by Wrocław University of Science and Technology (2019/20). It provides detailed descriptions of all BA and MA programmes, including the specification of each semester, as well as the so-called entry information and job prospects descriptions. The file is available here: [https://rekrutacja.pwr.edu.pl/fcp/DGBUKOQtTKlQhbXo8SlkT-VQVQX2o8DAoHNiwFE1xVTnVVG1gnBVcoFW8SETZKHg/\\_users/code\\_LlL4ZlwVvYwQ-XwYtGAIUVwQCBDpiCAkXRzUN/dokumenty/prospectus\\_2019np.pdf](https://rekrutacja.pwr.edu.pl/fcp/DGBUKOQtTKlQhbXo8SlkT-VQVQX2o8DAoHNiwFE1xVTnVVG1gnBVcoFW8SETZKHg/_users/code_LlL4ZlwVvYwQ-XwYtGAIUVwQCBDpiCAkXRzUN/dokumenty/prospectus_2019np.pdf)

In contrast, when we take into account universities with no English website (24%), a variety of reasons may be suggested to justify this evidence. Some universities may have no intention of creating such English online services since they address their education offer to the local residents rather than foreigners. Another possible explanation is that fewer and fewer students are admitted to private colleges due to either the declining birth rate or avoiding tuition payment (state-owned schools are free of charge). Besides, there are possibly more prestigious colleges in nearby areas that propose similar profiles, as a result, fewer foreigners are interested in choosing these centres.

Finally, Englishization is also noticeable on the Polish versions of the university websites. It manifests itself in some advertising buzzwords attracting the Polish candidates. This phenomenon follows the general trend of selecting Anglicisms and English phrases in the genres of advertising in Poland. For example, the Polish Naval Academy (Akademia Marynarki Wojennej) employed the catchphrase 'It is your force, use it at AMW'.

## 7 Conclusions

In this chapter, we have presented a general overview of the state of Polish science and higher education in terms of Englishization. Firstly, some opening remarks were made on Polish language policy. Secondly, the Englishization of Polish research was discussed, predominantly with regard to publishing practices. As mentioned above, universities in Poland are generally geared towards the internationalization of their scholars' achievements by the requirement to publish valid and successful works in English, at least in the form of the resumé enclosed with the book or article if these are originally composed in a non-English language. We evidenced that in terms of publishing in English, Polish scholars specializing in exact sciences, natural sciences, and technical sciences are internationally oriented, unlike social sciences and humanities (SSH) researchers who remain comparatively less open to internationalization. Hence, it is advisable that the prominent SSH works be translated into the lingua franca of contemporary science. More to the point, we demonstrated that in Poland, the general share of publications in English is on the rise which proceeds from the national science policy, and accordingly, from the policies of the national agencies enhancing research. Thirdly, the Englishization of the teaching process stems mainly from Poland's EU membership. It is manifested by the consistent extension of the educational offer in the English language (*inter alia* English-only programmes, a wide variety of courses of English for professional purposes, English versions of

university websites) which result in the greater competitiveness of Polish graduates on the job market.

The reported findings lead to the conclusion that English is of considerable, though not yet of cardinal importance within the dimensions of Polish HE discussed. During the last decade, Englishization has been the focal point of the changing educational landscape, but still, the scope of the phenomenon appears to be limited in comparison with some Western European countries.

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