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English Medium Instruction programmes in Turkey: evidence of exponential growth

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Abstract

This chapter examined the numbers of the English Medium Instruction (EMI) programmes in Turkish higher education by illustrating the situation in 1999 and comparing it with the most current data (2019) to provide evidence to the commonly discussed exponential growth in EMI programmes in the Turkish setting. It also reviewed the Turkish Council of Higher Education regulations about foreign language medium of instruction starting from 1984 to build a background to the development of the programmes. The comparison of the programmes in 1999 and 2019 revealed that the number of EMI programmes increased more than four-fold in 20 years. The chapter also provided the list of the universities with the highest numbers of full and partial EMI programmes and top ten academic subjects in 1999 and 2019. When the trends and popularity in academic subjects were compared in 1999 and 2019, we observed that the top five academic subjects in 1999 (i.e., Business Administration, Electrics and Electronics Engineering, International Relations, Computer Engineering and Economics) kept their presence in the top ten list in 2019, all increasing in different numbers.

1. Introduction

This chapter explores the exponential growth of the English Medium Instruction (EMI) higher education (HE) programmes in Turkey by comparing the number and types of EMI programmes between 1999 and 2019, utilising document analysis. It aims to provide evidence of the EMI 'boom' (Kalkan, 2019), as discussed not only in Turkey (Aslan, 2018; Karakaş, 2018, 2019; Kırkgöz, 2017, 2019; West, Guven, Parry & Ergenekon, 2015) but across the world (Dearden, 2014, 2015; Kirkpatrick, 2014; Macaro et al., 2018). This evidence is timely as Karakaş (2019, p. 207) notes; "the exact number of EMI programs and courses are

unknown" in the Turkish context. This chapter traces the growth of EMI programmes via official documents published by the Council of Higher Education in Turkey to explain how national-level policy contributes to the expansion of EMI programmes.

2. Language Policy and Planning in the Turkish EMI setting

Language policy and planning should be considered in terms of socio-political, historical, and socio-economic aspects at local, national and global levels (Hornberger, 2006). When it comes to the underlying rationale of the expansion of EMI programmes, globalisation and internationalisation are considered to be driving forces in many contexts such as China (Zhang, 2018), Malaysia (Ali, 2018), Vietnam (Tran & Nguyen, 2018), Korea (Byun et al., 2011; Green, 2015), and Turkey (Kırkgöz, 2017, 2019). Together with these global forces, local Turkish policy developments have been examined to trace the growth of EMI programmes at the primary, secondary and HE levels (Kırkgöz, 2009, 2017, 2019). Other studies have examined Turkish institutional policies (Arık & Arık, 2014; Karakaş, 2019). This chapter builds on this previous work by focusing on the growth of EMI programmes only in the HE context within a 10-year period (1999 to 2019) to illustrate this 'boom' (Kalkan, 2019). It provides the numbers of full and partial EMI programmes in four academic divisions in public as well as foundation universities in Turkey.

3. A Brief History of EMI in Turkey

Turkey is among a few monolingual countries that have adopted English as the medium of instruction in HE without a colonial past (Curle, Yuksel, Soruc & Altay, 2020). EMI higher education programmes in Turkey began in the 1950s with the founding of the Middle East Technical University in Ankara. By the establishment of Bogazici University (formerly known as Robert College) in 1971 in Istanbul and Bilkent University (i.e., the first private foundation-funded university of Turkey) in 1984 in Ankara, a trend of the development of EMI programmes emerged (Selvi, 2014). Considering this historical depth, the issues of implementation, effectiveness, efficiency, and success of EMI programmes have long been debated in Turkey. In contrast to other G20 countries, Turkey has focused on the 'quantity' of HE in recent years by significantly expanding the number of its universities (West et al., 2015; Kalkan, 2019). There has been a huge increase in the number of EMI programmes today compared to in the past (Arık & Arık, 2014).

When the growth of EMI programmes have been reviewed globally, rationale for such expansion has included: internationalisation (O'Dowd, 2015), the need to attract students (both domestic and international; Dafouz, 2018; Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2013), a shift in the aims of universities (Welch, 2001), a desire to enhance the quality and prestige of educational programmes (Nguyen, Walkinshaw & Pham, 2017), competition between public and private sectors (Dearden, 2014), university rankings (Rauhvargers, 2013), and holding a reputable place on the international market (Graddol, 2006).

In the Turkish context, external factors such as the internationalisation of the HE system in Turkey after joining the Bologna Process in 2001 (Karakaş, 2018) and economic affordability in an increasingly globalised world (Kirkgöz, 2019) have been put forward as reasons for expanding EMI. Moreover, EMI universities have traditionally been "more favoured and popular for students and parents in comparison to universities without EMI" (Başıbek et al., 2013, p. 1819) as is the case for some public and private elite EMI universities in Turkey. This popularity might be due to "the increased chances of finding jobs after graduation" (Oz, 2005; p. 341) or a perception of increased social prestige (Atık, 2010). In a similar vein, studying through EMI has been regarded as a vehicle to access better education and get a more respected job with good benefits (Kırkgöz, 2005; Altay & Yuksel, 2021; Altay, 2020; Huang & Curle, 2021), as well as develop intellectual (Turhan & Kırkgöz, 2018) and linguistic (Yuksel, Soruc, Altay & Curle, 2021) capabilities.

4. Higher Education Regulations on Foreign Language Medium Of Instruction in Turkey

In this section, we will focus on three aspects of HE regulations as they relate to the general principles of foreign language Medium Of Instruction (MOI): regulations to open a new foreign language MOI programme, regulations to study in these programmes, and regulations to open an Intensive Language Unit (i.e., Preparatory School) to support students studying foreign language MOI programmes. We will also explore the relationship between these regulations and the growth of EMI programmes in Turkey, wherever possible.

Turkey has a relatively long-established basis for foreign language MOI even though it is not an ex-colonised country. French was the earliest foreign language MOI in HE as it was

initiated for the use of medical students in 1827 (Marmara University, 2018). The main purpose of this radical step was to follow medical innovations, which mostly originated from the West. It was not until the foundation of the first American school outside the United States in 1863 that English was first used as an MOI in Turkey (Minifie, 1998). Bogazici University, formerly known as Robert College, was followed by Middle East Technical University in 1956, and a limited number of further state and foundation universities joined them. The first official regulation regarding foreign language instruction programmes was established in 1984 (Turkish Official Gazette, 1984). Since then, this regulation has been updated four times (in 1994, 1996, 2008 and 2016). Each updated version of this regulation yields common as well as distinct features in terms of objectives, prerequisites to establish a foreign language MOI programme, and requirements to study one of these programmes.

The purpose of teaching in a foreign language at the HE level was initially determined as "equipping students with the power and skills to spectate broadcasts, to contribute to international meetings and discussions in the intended foreign language with the help of scientific and technological advancements" (Turkish Official Gazette, 1984, p. 4). According to Kırkgöz (2009), this regulation "marks the beginning of the macro policy regulations on the teaching of English at the level of higher education" (p. 671). Later, the purpose changed to enable the students "to gain foreign language proficiencies related to their fields" (Turkish Official Gazette, 2016, p. 4).

If a university decided to establish a foreign language MOI programme at the associate or bachelor's degree levels, they were required to meet the following criteria:

- a) Having lecturers who bear the fundamental qualities determined by the Council of Higher Education to teach in the foreign language,
- b) Having the foundational literature and teaching materials necessary to teach in the foreign language and providing opportunities for students to utilise them (Turkish Official Gazette, 1984, p. 4, original in Turkish translated by authors).

This regulation is important because even though foreign language HE MOI programmes were established as early as 1956, there were no rules governing or monitoring these programmes before this regulation. With these two basic (and somewhat vague) criteria, universities were given some guidelines to establish foreign language MOI programmes. The

1984 Regulation also included national standards to study through a foreign language by specifying success thresholds, content of tests to be used, as well as course content to be used in Preparatory Schools.

The 1994 Regulation (Turkish Official Gazette, 1994) had a striking limitation for HE institutions aiming to establish foreign language MOI programmes. The new regulation stated that only universities which had been teaching through a foreign language since it was founded could establish new foreign language MOI programmes. Furthermore, several 'elite' universities, namely Middle East Technical, Bogazici, Bilkent, Koc, and Galatasaray, were listed as potential universities to teach through a foreign language. For the first time, some courses in graduate programmes were permitted to be given in a foreign language. Another difference in this regulation was the de-centralisation of the standards to study in a foreign language. It gave the universities the right to determine their own conditions, including preparatory procedures, attendance, and the number of midterm exams and their weighting.

The 1994 regulation also stipulated criteria for lecturers to work in a foreign language MOI programme. Lecturers were required to hold either an undergraduate, graduate or postgraduate degree from a 'native speaker' country of the foreign language that they would teach, or a degree from a university in Turkey where that foreign language is the MOI; or a proficiency certificate from a German, American, French or British culture centre; or a proficiency certificate indicating a successful score from the national foreign language exam. The 1996 Regulation (Turkish Official Gazette, 1996) extended these proficiency certificates to international exams such as TOEFL and IELTS. Also in the 1996 Regulation, some institutions were granted permission to provide some courses (not the whole programme) in a foreign language MOI. This paved the way to the current partial EMI programmes. In 2008 (Turkish Official Gazette, 2008), besides a few minor changes about Preparatory Schools, the aim of language education was updated and modernised. It aimed to improve the mental lexicon: enabling students to comprehend what they read or heard and be able to express themselves both in writing and speaking in a foreign language. Similarly, the 2016 Regulation (Turkish Official Gazette, 2016) included some updates and regulations about both teaching a foreign language and teaching in a foreign language in terms of Intensive Language Units, qualifications of lecturers, and monitoring of these programmes.

5. Methodology for this Analysis

This chapter adopts document analysis as a method of analysis (Kim, 2017) by utilising Student Selection and Placement Centre manuals and policy documents of the Council of Higher Education to track the expansion of the EMI programmes in Turkey. Student Selection and Placement Centre administers the recruitment and admissions of incoming students into various HE institutions based on standardised national exams. Every year, they publish manuals containing information about the specific features of the programmes as well as quotas for each programme. The Council of Higher Education is in charge of the planning and execution of HE establishment in Turkey. Two basic sources are used in the enumeration of the EMI programmes in 1999 and 2019 (Student Selection and Placement Center. 2020a; 2020b) and policy documents prepared by the Council of Higher Education are traced to examine the policy on teaching foreign languages and teaching in a foreign language in Turkey.

EMI programmes in HE institutions are examined at three levels: university, division and academic subject. At all these levels, we based our classification on 'full' and 'partial' EMI to give a more in-depth picture of EMI programmes in Turkey. A 'full EMI programme' refers to an academic study where all courses are offered in English, whereas a 'partial EMI programme' offers at least 30% of all courses in English, and the remaining 70% are delivered in Turkish. In the coding of full EMI programmes in the Student Selection and Placement Centre manuals (2020a; 2020b), first, we checked if English was used in parentheses after the name of the academic subject as in the following case:

Programme Code Name of the Programme Special Conditions and Notes

351332 Mechanical Engineering (English)

We included them in our full EMI programme list if this was the case. However, some programmes were not listed in this way but still offered full EMI. In these programmes, there was a number in the 'Special Conditions and Notes' section, which referred to the MOI of the programme. These numbers changed from university to university, and included some extra information about the programme. These programmes, as shown below, were also included in the full EMI list.

Programme Code	Name of the Programme	Special Conditions and Notes
261171	Philosophy	97*

*97 Medium of instruction is English.

Partial EMI programmes were similarly identified. In the 'Special Conditions and Notes' section, the number 86 was used for all partial EMI programmes presenting a generic label in both the 1999 and 2019 manuals.

Programme Code	Name of the Programme	Special Conditions and Notes
106910197	Economics	86*

^{*86} Medium of instruction in this programme is at least 30% English.

The first and second authors coded all these programmes manually, separately. Later, the two coding results were cross-examined, and minor disagreements were discussed, and a consensus reached. The Student Selection and Placement Centre (2020a; 2020b) manuals also included some universities in other countries such as Cyprus, Macedonia and Azerbaijan. All EMI programmes in these counties were excluded from our analysis. 'Soft-EMI' programmes such as English language teaching, English language and literature and translation were also excluded from the list.

At the university level, Turkish universities can be grouped as 'state' and 'foundation' (also known as 'private') universities. State universities are fully funded by the government, but foundation universities are mainly supported by some kind of charitable foundation and are also partially supported by the government. In research literature, 'private' and 'foundation' universities are used synonymously; however, in Turkey, based on the law of the Council of Higher Education (2000), there is no room for 'private' universities, and all foundation universities are non-profit institutions.

At the second level of analysis, we examined the numbers and types of EMI programmes at the division level. Turkish universities have faculties that offer different programmes in a specialised field (e.g., engineering, medicine, communications); however, we chose the division as the unit of analysis because we observed that some programmes belonged to a different faculty which caused some confusion and inconsistency in the number of the

academic subjects. In terms of classifying division, we referred to the framework for Divisions and Departments as adopted by the University of Oxford (ODDF, University of Oxford, 2020) and grouped each academic subject under one of the four divisions, namely: Social Sciences, Medical Sciences, Humanities, and Mathematical, Physical and Life Sciences (MPLS). A full list of academic subjects is listed in Appendix 1.

Our final analysis focused on EMI programmes at the academic subject level. Here, we focused on EMI subjects that were popular between 1999 and 2019. By providing the academic subjects with the highest numbers, we aim to provide overall trends in the fields where EMI programmes are offered both for partial and full EMI studies.

6. EMI programmes in Turkey in 1999

In 1999, according to information provided by the manual prepared by the Student Selection and Placement Center (2020a), Turkey had 71 higher education institutions with 53 state universities and 18 foundation universities. Thirty-three of these HEIs included partial or full EMI programmes, which accounted for 46% of HEIs. When the type of the university is considered, 34% of state universities (N=18) and 83% of foundation universities (N=15) included full or partial EMI programmes. Most universities adopted either a partial or full EMI strategy, and only three universities offered both partial and full EMI programmes at the same time. Turkish universities offered 231 full EMI programmes and 114 partial EMI programmes, with a total number of 345 programmes in 1999. We have provided the list of ten universities with the highest number of full and partial EMI programmes in Table 1 as in line with the manual as prepared by the Student Selection and Placement Center (2020a).

Table 1. Numbers of Full and Partial EMI programmes in 1999 according to the universities.

Name of the University	Number of Full	Number of Partial	Number of Total
	EMI programmes	EMI programmes	EMI programmes
Middle East Technical (S)	36	-	36
Istanbul Technical (S)	-	31	31
Boğaziçi (S)	30	-	30
Hacettepe (S)	9	21	30
Yıldız Technical (S)	-	21	21

Yeditepe (F)	18	-	18	
Istanbul Bilgi (F)	17	-	17	
Fatih (F)	14	-	14	
Anadolu (S)	-	14	14	
Bilkent (F)	13	-	13	

^{*}S= State University, F= Foundation University

When the academic divisions were taken into consideration, we found that all four academic divisions offered both full and partial EMI programmes. MLPS programmes topped the list with 98 full and 80 partial EMI programmes, followed by 144 programmes in the division of Social Sciences (117 Full and 27 Partial EMI programmes). The list of numbers of full and partial EMI programmes according to academic division is provided in Table 2.

Table 2. Number of full and partial EMI programmes in 1999 according to academic division

Divisions	Number of Full EMI	Number of Partial	Number of Total
	programmes	EMI programmes	EMI programmes
MPLS	98	80	178
Social Sciences	117	27	144
Humanities	10	3	13
Medical Sciences	6	4	10
Total	231	114	345

We further examined the most popular EMI programmes in 1999. Business Administration (20 Full and 2 Partial), Electrics and Electronics Engineering (12 Full and 7 Partial), International Relations (16 Full and 2 Partial) and Computer Engineering (14 Full and four partial) were the EMI programmes with the highest numbers, representing both MLPS and Social Sciences divisions. We have provided the list of the top ten academic subjects with the highest number of full and partial EMI programmes in Table 3.

Table 3. Top ten academic subjects with the highest number of full and partial EMI programmes in 1999.

Academic programme	Number of Full	Number of	Number of Total
	EMI programmes	Partial EMI	EMI
		programmes	programmes
Business Administration	20	2	22
Electrics and Electronics	12	7	19
Engineering			
International Relations	16	2	18
Computer Engineering	14	4	18
Economics	14	2	16
Mathematics	13	2	15
Physics	9	2	11
Chemistry	8	3	11
Industrial Engineering	7	3	10
Chemical Engineering	5	5	10

7. EMI in Turkey in 2019

In 2019, according to information provided by the manual prepared by the Student Selection and Placement Center (2020b), the number of higher education institutions in Turkey increased to 193; with 125 state and 68 foundation universities. One hundred twenty-seven of these HEIs included partial or full EMI programmes, which accounted for 66% of the HEIs in 2019. When the type of university is considered, 55% of the state universities (N=69) and 85% of the foundation universities (N=58) included full or partial EMI programmes, with 60 of the universities offering both partial and full EMI programmes, which accounts for 47% of the universities having EMI programmes. In 2019, the number of the full EMI programmes rose to 1101. A similar increase was also observed in partial EMI programmes (N=351). The total number of EMI programmes was 1452. We have provided the list of ten universities with the highest number of full and partial EMI programmes in Table 4 according to the manual prepared by the Student Selection and Placement Centre (2020b).

Table 4. Numbers of Full and Partial EMI programmes in 2019 according to the universities.

Name of the University	Number of Full	Number of Partial	Number of Total
	EMI programmes	EMI programmes	EMI programmes
Istanbul Technical (S)	33	27	60
Yeditepe (F)	56	1	57
Middle East Technical (S)	52	-	52
Yıldız Technical (S)	16	27	43
Istanbul Bilgi (F)	38	2	40
Bahçeşehir (F)	39	1	40
Boğaziçi (S)	36	-	36
Izmir Economy (F)	30	1	31
Atılım (F)	29	-	29
Yaşar (F)	27	1	28

In 2019, MPLS divisions had the highest number of full (N=526) and partial (N=213) EMI programmes, followed by Social Sciences (444 full, 104 partial). The numbers in Humanities and Medical Sciences divisions were close; 86 and 79, respectively. Table 5 lists the numbers of full and partial EMI programmes according to academic division.

Table 5. Numbers of full and partial EMI programmes according to academic divisions in 2019.

Divisions	Number of Full EMI	Number of Partial	Number of Total
	programmes	EMI programmes	EMI programmes
MPLS	526	213	739
Social Sciences	444	104	548
Humanities	70	16	86
Medical Sciences	61	18	79
Total	1101	351	1452

When the academic subjects were examined, it can be seen that International Relations, Electrics and Electronics Engineering, Computer Engineering, and Business Administration were the subjects with the highest numbers representing two academic divisions; MPLS and Social Sciences. Table 6 provides the list of the top ten academic subjects with the highest number of full and partial EMI programmes.

Table 6. Top ten academic subjects with the highest number of full and partial EMI programmes in 2019

Academic	Number of Full EMI	Number of Partial	Number of Total
programme	programmes	EMI programmes	EMI programmes
International	63	17	80
Relations			
Electrics and	52	21	73
Electronics			
Engineering			
Computer	52	15	67
Engineering			
Business	56	11	67
Administration			
Mechanical	39	20	59
Engineering			
Economics	44	11	55
Civil Engineering	42	12	54
Industrial	41	11	51
Engineering			
Architecture	36	10	46
Psychology	32	12	44

8. A comparison of the development of EMI over 20 years

This section will review the development and growth of EMI programmes over 20 years in Turkey by comparing the number of the EMI programmes in 1999 and 2019. At the university level, the number of universities offering EMI programmes increased substantially (420%) from 345 (231 full EMI programmes and 114 partial EMI programmes) to 1452 (1101 full EMI programmes and 351 partial EMI programmes; see Figure 1). In the same period, the

number of HEIs in Turkey increased to 192 from 71 (270%), evidence of exponential growth (West et al., 2015) or this significant 'boom' often mentioned in the literature (Kalkan, 2019). As can be seen in Figure 1, the number of partial EMI programmes did not increase (307%) as much as that of full EMI programmes (476%), and this can be explained by (among other factors) the greater advantage in getting hired for a good job after graduating from a full EMI programme (Altay & Ercin, 2020).

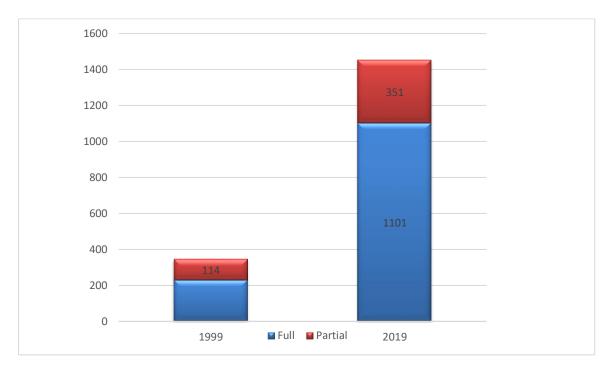


Figure 1. A comparison of the full, partial and total number of EMI programmes in 1999 and 2019.

In 1999, Middle East Technical University offered the highest number of full EMI programmes (N = 36), and Istanbul Technical University housed the highest number of partial EMI programmes (N = 31). In 2019, the highest number of EMI programmes in a university increased to 60 (Istanbul Technical University with 33 full and 27 partial EMI programmes), and Yeditepe University offered the highest number of full EMI programmes in 2019 (N = 56). The number of full EMI programmes offered by Yeditepe University can be explained by the fact that "private institutions have largely adopted EMI-only policies in an effort to capitalise on English to vie for more fee-paying students" (Karakaş, 2019, p. 207).

Another important difference between 1999 and 2019 was the increase in the number of universities that offered both full and partial EMI programmes. There were only three universities in 1999; this multiplied by 20 and increased to 60 in 2019.

When the academic divisions are compared, we have seen a similar order of the divisions with increased numbers in 1999 and 2019. MPLS and Social Sciences dominated the list in both years with dramatic increases from 178 to 739 (415%) and 144 to 548 (380%), respectively, in 1999 and 2019. Figure 2 illustrates the changes in the numbers of academic programmes in different divisions.

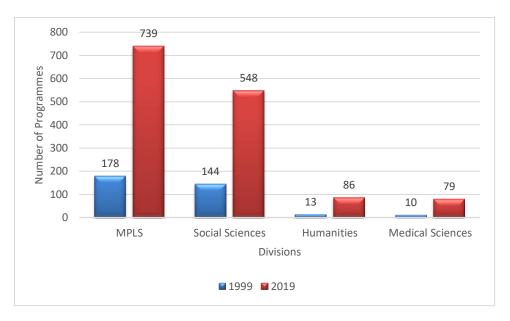


Figure 2. Changes in the number of academic programmes in different divisions.

When the trends and popularity in academic subjects are compared in 1999 and 2019, we see that the top five academic subjects in 1999 kept their presence in the top 10 list in 2019, all increasing in different numbers. Three academic subjects in MPLS, namely; Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, together with Chemical Engineering, dropped off the list and were replaced by Civil Engineering, Mechanical Engineering, Architecture and Psychology. Business Administration (N = 22) was at the top of the list in 1999 but dropped to third in 2019 even though it increased by 304% (N = 67). When we closely examine the top 10 academic subject list, we see that five (out of ten) of them are engineering programmes. This finding is in line with that of Arık and Arık (2014), who also found that around 50% of EMI programmes investigated were either engineering or English-related programmes. There were 18 EMI International Relations programmes in 1999. This increased to 80 (444%) and

became the EMI programme with the highest number in 2019. The decrease in the popularity of MPLS subjects (e.g., Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry) may be attributed to the 2008 Council of Higher Education regulation which lifted the obligation to open a faculty of Arts and Sciences to establish a university in Turkey (Kalkan, 2019).

9. Conclusion

This chapter focused on the numbers and types of EMI programmes in Turkey between 1999 and 2019. It compared these programmes at three levels: university, division and academic subject. It also reviewed the HE regulations published in the Turkish Official Gazette prepared by the Council of Higher Education about foreign language MOI in terms of requirements for opening new foreign language MOI academic programmes, employing lecturers and admitting students into these programmes. Previous studies have also analysed language policy documents (Kırkgöz, 2009; 2017; 2019) or reported the number of EMI programmes in HE institutions (Arık & Arık, 2014). However, this chapter provides a deeper exploration of the growth of EMI in Turkey by relating the language policy change with the number of EMI programmes. It also provides a time-span comparison of the EMI programmes between 1999 and 2019 to illustrate the growth of EMI that has often been mentioned in the scholarly literature (Karakaş, 2018, 2019; West et al., 2015). Previous studies have provided a general overall of how EMI programmes have recently been on the rise in Turkey (Yuksel & Genc, 2020). However, to the best of our knowledge, no prior study has explored the growth of the EMI programmes in the Turkish HE context by providing the changes in the academic division and subject numbers. Milestones of the development that we have discussed in this chapter are summarised in Figure 3.

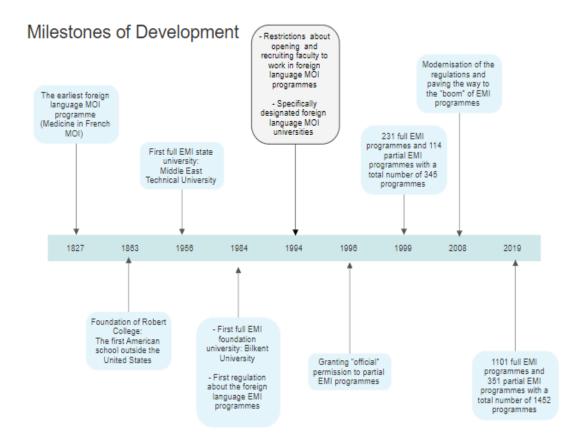


Figure 3. Milestones of foreign language MOI development in Turkey

Our analysis revealed, similar to the increase in the number of universities (West et al., 2015; Kalkan, 2019, Oz, 2005), EMI programmes have also increased exponentially (Arık & Arık, 2014; Yuksel & Genc, 2020). This chapter provides some important information that has not been provided before in terms of the numbers of full and partial EMI programmes 1999 and 2019 in different state and foundation universities and trends in academic subjects in recent years. It also portrays the rise in the numbers of academic subjects in different divisions between 1999 and 2019. This clearly demonstrates the 'boom' in EMI programmes across twenty years in Turkish HE. This expansion requires further critical research in terms of the consequences for EMI stakeholders to ensure a positive student experience and successful HE teaching and learning outcomes.

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1. Appendix

The University of Oxford's Divisions and Departments framework (University of Oxford, 2020)

HUMANITIES	MATHEMATIC AL, PHYSICAL AND LIFE SCIENCES	SOCIAL SCIENCES	MEDICAL SCIENCES
Classics	Computer Science	Anthropology and Museum Ethnography	Biochemistry
English Language and Literature	Chemistry	Archaeology	Clinical Medicine
History	Earth Sciences	Government	Clinical Neurosciences
History of Art	Engineering Science	Economics	Experimental Psychology
Medieval and Modern Languages	Materials	Education	Medicine
Music	Mathematics	Geography and the Environment	Obstetrics and Gynaecology

Oriental Studies	Physics	Interdisciplinary Area Studies	Oncology
Philosophy	Plant Sciences	International Development	Orthopaedics, Rheumatology and
			Musculoskeletal Sciences
Theology and	Statistics	Technology and the Internet	Paediatrics
Religion			
Art	Zoology	Business	Pathology
		Law	Pharmacology
		Politics and International Relations	Physiology, Anatomy and Genetics
		Social Policy and Intervention	Population Health
		Sociology	Psychiatry
			Surgical Sciences
			Primary Care Health Sciences

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