English Language Policy in German Public Sector Higher Education

Author: Ute Schäfer-Wilke

St Mary's University, Twickenham, London

British Council ELT Master's Dissertation Awards 2018: Commendation

English Language Policy in German Public Sector Higher Education

Abstract

English is playing an increasingly important role as the global academic lingua franca in higher education worldwide. This dissertation analyses the impact of English in German public sector higher education by examining higher education language policy and practice as well as the discrepancies between them with respect to English use. Analysing policy initiatives at the European Union, federal, and institutional levels reveals that all pay lip service to multilingualism yet use and implicitly privilege English. English is used to internationalise German higher education and to become more competitive in the global market for students, scholars, and researchers. This trend is not without its repercussions on the use and status of German as a language of science and scholarship and on the quality of teaching and learning in a foreign language.

Table of Contents

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

BMBF   Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (Federal Ministry of Education and Research)

CEFR   Common European Framework of Reference for Languages

DAAD   Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (German Academic Exchange Service)

EFL   English as a Foreign Language

ELF   English as a Lingua Franca

EMDP   English Medium Degree Programme

EMI   English Medium Instruction

GFL   German as a Foreign Language

HE   Higher Education

HEI   Higher Education Institution

HRK   Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (German Rectors' Conference)

IELTS   International English Language Testing System

L1   First language

L2   Second language

TOEFL   Test of English as a Foreign Language

Introduction

Globalisation, Europeanisation, and internationalisation have all contributed to the spread of English in higher education across Europe and worldwide over the past two decades (Coleman, 2006, pp. 3-5; Earls, 2014, p.154; Hüppauf, 2004). English has gained ground as the language of research and of academic publications in particular, but also as a language for teaching and learning across disciplines (Ammon, 2006a, pp. 2-3; Coleman, 2006, pp. 4-5). English is one of the primary means of internationalising and, thus, making German higher education internationally competitive, yet very few university language policies explicitly advocate English be given a more prominent role. Instead, individual and societal multilingualism continue to be promoted at the EU-level and in German higher education. For the purposes of this dissertation, I will be writing about German public sector higher education – the dominant form of HE. About 60 % of all HEIs and 90% of all students are enrolled at state universities (Böhm, 2015, pp. 6-7).

The increasing "Englishization in German Higher Education" (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 273) has been met with criticism. Some argue that the encroachment of English in tertiary education may lead to L1 domain loss and the marginalisation of German as a language of science and scholarship (Ehlich, 2005, Ehlich & Graefen, 2001), yet this development is seen as irreversible, and English can and does coexist with other national languages (Ammon, 1998, 2001; House, 2003). Furthermore, little if any attention is being given to ensure that German and international students, lecturers, scholars and researchers, management and administrative staff have the necessary English language skills to rise to the linguistic challenges of an international university (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006b, p. 124). Thus, developing an institutional language policy becomes all the more crucial if the various interests of all involved in German HE are to be addressed. A growing number of German HEIs have adopted policies designed to promote language learning, yet this is the exception rather than the rule (HRK, 2014, p. 50).

Language policy has been defined by an array of scholars (Earls, 2016, p. 36; see also Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Many (e.g. Earls, 2016; Walsh, 2012) support Spolsky's tripartite model of language policy which is comprised of ecology (language practices), ideology (language beliefs), "and the explicit policies and plans resulting

from language-management or planning activities that attempt to modify the practices and ideologies of a community" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 39). Linguistic ideology and ecology (or use) of language are intertwined; what people believe about language impacts their understanding of a linguistic environment (Spolsky, 2004, p. 14). In Spolsky's view, language policy theory is capable of accounting for individual linguistic choice (2004, p. 39). Lauridsen argues that a higher education language policy "should be a function of the HEI mission, vision and strategies for research, education and service to HEI stakeholder communities" and "establish the languages of instruction and of administration and communication as well as the aims and objectives of language programmes, language support measures and the way in which these are put into practice within a particular HEI" (2013, pp. 128-129). Throughout this dissertation, I use Tudor's definition of language policy as "the strategic decisions of HEIs to equip their students, researchers and both academic and administrative staff with communicative skills in one or more foreign languages" (2008, p. 51).

In this dissertation, I examine English language policy in German public sector higher education. I, first, examine the advance of English in contemporary German society. I then analyse language policy initiatives in the European Union and discuss language policy in German higher education. I, finally, draw on my own research to closely examine the impact of English at Freie Universität Berlin.

1. Chapter: English in Contemporary German Society

1.1. The advance of English as the dominant foreign language in Germany

English has become the world's lingua franca (Crystal, 2002, p. 7, 2003; Graddol, 1997, p. 2). In 2000, an estimated 1.5 billion people spoke English as a first (~400 million), second (~400 million), or foreign language (~700 million), i.e. a quarter of the world's population (Crystal, 2002, p. 10). By 2020, an estimated 2 billion people will be using or learning it (British Council, 2013, p. 2). In fact, non-native English speakers outnumber native ones five to one (Coleman, 2006, p. 3; Crystal, 2003, p. 69). According to Crystal, a language's "useful[ness] outside its original setting" is what makes it important, rather than the number of native speakers (2002, p. 7). English is the most commonly used language in business, education, diplomacy, media, and science and technology (Crystal, 2002, p. 7). In his proposed model of the spread and functions of English, Kachru categorised the diffusion of English into three concentric circles: The "inner" one consisting of countries where English is spoken as a native language (e.g. the UK, the US, Australia), the "outer" one of countries where English has been institutionalised as an additional language (e.g. India, Kenya); and the "expanding" one of regions where it is an important foreign language (e.g. Germany, France, China, Japan) (Kachru, 1990, pp. 2-3). Kachru's model, however, only somewhat reflects the reality of today's English use. The rapid and functional growth of English across various communities has resulted in an ever-growing "expanding" circle, in which English ceases to be a foreign language (Coleman, 2006, p. 2).

There are three main reasons for the surge of English as a global language. First, Britain laid the foundation through colonialism and consolidated English's world prominence (especially at the end of the 19th century) by sending a language around the world upon which "the sun never sets" (Crystal, 2003, p. 10; Graddol, 1997, p. 8). Second, the US' economic, technological, and cultural influence spread after World War II, making it the world's economic hegemon (Crystal, 2003, p. 10; Graddol, 1997, p. 8). Third, greater international contact and collaboration inherent in globalisation accelerated English's spread and significantly expanded its functional range (Earls, 2016, p. 21; Hilgendorf, 2007, pp. 143-144; Hüppauf, 2004). A common language was needed for pragmatic purposes, and English was the natural

choice (Earls, 2016, p. 21). These many channels of globalisation through which English's historical legacy of colonialism has been able to flow propelled the English language to lingua franca status and allow it to tighten its grip on this throne every day (Earls, 2016, pp. 21-22). Some view the global spread of English as a blessing for cross-cultural communication "ultimately overcome[ing] the curse of Babel" (Verschueren, 1989, p. 52). Others see it as the "the universal villain promoted for the sake of western or, more precisely, Anglo-American cultural – if not political – imperialism" (Verschueren, 1989, p. 52; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992). Yet others take a more moderate stance, arguing that English emerged through 'happenstance rather than planning' (Brumfit, 2004, p. 165; Montgomery, 2004, p. 1334; see also Coleman, 2006, p. 2).

English has become firmly entrenched in German society, having had a substantial and growing impact since World War II in various domains – law, politics, media, business, science and research (Hilgendorf, 2005, p. 54). In fact, Hilgendorf argues that Germany is increasingly bilingual "with English increasingly functioning as an L2, not only for international purposes, but, more notably, also within the domestic realm itself, i.e. for intranational purposes" (2005, p. 54; see also Earls, 2013). English's growing status in German society may be primarily attributed to the historical presence of English in Germany and Germany's involvement in globalisation, "which together result in *de facto* language planning activities promoting English as the country's first foreign language" (Earls, 2013, p. 128). Ammon traces the historical presence of English in Germany to the aftermath of World War I, with English filling the void left by German's subsequent decline as the language of science (1995, pp. 44-45, 1998). Truchot asserts that while World War I was English's definitive starting point, its greatest gain throughout Europe came after World War II (2002, p. 7), especially in the Federal Republic of Germany, given the presence of English-speaking military forces and the perception of them as liberators rather than invaders (Hagège, 1996, p. 14). Dollerup attributes Germans' positive attitudes towards English in part to the emergence and development of a US-orientated youth culture (1996, p. 27). US influence and aid were also vital in shaping the political system and economy of the former Federal Republic of West Germany. The US, consequently, provided Germany "with new concepts as well as the new vocabulary of politics, economics, technology and many other fields" (Clyne, 1995, p. 201). Globalisation has also played a major role. As the world's fourth largest

economy (International Monetary Fund, 2016) and a major exporter, Germany is heavily invested in globalisation. The array of linguistic, cultural, societal, economic, and political changes accompanying globalisation, then, are likely to significantly impact German society (Earls, 2013, pp. 128-129). One such change is "the increased use of English as a second language world-wide [and] in the corresponding decrease of importance of other languages" (Gardt & Hüppauf, 2004, p. x), with these mechanisms perhaps threatening the global relevance of German (Earls, 2013, p. 129).

These developments have culminated in English becoming the first foreign language in German primary and secondary education (Hilgendorf, 2005, p. 53; Earls, 2014, p. 160). Adding to this is a sort of feedback loop in which those countries that hold languages in high regard make them central to school curricula, thereby reinforcing their importance (Cenoz & Gorter, 2010, p. 38). German (primary, secondary, and tertiary) educational policy is determined at the state and not the federal level by the Ministries of Education (*Kultusministerien*) for each of the 16 federal states (Hilgendorf, 2005, p. 54). Their main educational initiatives have been "to introduce English instruction progressively earlier in the curriculum and to a greater number of pupils" (Hilgendorf, 2005, p. 55). During the 2014/15 school year, 7.3 million school children (or ~87%) learned English at general education schools. That percentage exceeds 95% when excluding primary and special education. In contrast, just over 1.5 million school children (or ~17%) learned French, ~689,000 (or ~8%) learned Latin, and ~404,000 (~5%) learned Spanish (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016, pp. 20-21). The percentage of English-learning pupils has also risen from ~78% in 2004/2005 to ~87% in 2014/2015 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2016, p. 21), which is primarily due to English starting to be taught in 3rd grade (or even in 1st grade in Bavaria) instead of 5th (Hilgendorf, 2005, p. 64).

There is, however, noticeable resistance to English spreading in German society and into curricula (Ammon, 2006b, p. 325; see also Erling, 2004), in particular by various private organisations like the "Verein Deutsche Sprache", which criticises the Americanisation of German culture and has a strong presence in the news media (Ammon, 2006b, p. 325). Furthermore, although proponents argue that introducing English as a general school subject from primary school prepares children for the linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe, critics argue that this reasoning contradicts

the actual preference for one language; imposing English as school children's' first foreign language generally does not serve linguistic diversity (Ammon, 2006b, p. 325). Moreover, there are fears that promoting English may undermine the international standing of German: "Would foreigners not lose interest in studying German as a foreign language under the impression that communication with Germans, at least those engaged in international contacts, would in future entirely be possible in English?" (Ammon, 2006b, p. 326). Recent research suggests, however, that German's downward trend as a foreign language (20.1 million speakers in 2000 to 16.7 million in 2005 to 14.7 million in 2010) seems to have reversed, with 15.4 million GFL speakers in 2015 (Auswärtiges Amt, 2015, p. 6). Furthermore, Ammon found that German is surprisingly popular (the 4th most popular foreign language) in the world (Ammon, 2015, n. p.). These findings suggest that German might actually be gaining ground internationally and likely for the very practical, economic, and professional reasons that English has become the lingua franca (Ammon, 2015, n. p.), corroborating Crystal's assertion that what matters is the utility of a foreign language rather than the mere number of native speakers (2002, p. 7).

In sum, the entrenchment of English in various domains in German society may require a re-evaluation of how the country is viewed with respect to the three-circle model. Does English still function only as a foreign language in Germany (in the "expanding" circle), or has it moved to or is it moving towards the "outer" one? (Hilgendorf, 2007, p. 145; see also Berns, 1995). That is, English may be shifting from a foreign language to an additional one in Germany.

1.2. The advance of English as the dominant language of international business communication

English is undoubtedly the global language of international business (Ehrenreich, 2010, p. 408; Gerritsen & Nickerson, 2009; Neeley, 2012). Substantial evidence shows that English worldwide is crucial for business communication within corporations and with shareholders and customers (Ferguson, 2012, p. 494; see also Erling & Walton, 2007; Kingsley, 2009; Louhiala-Salminen, Charles, & Kankaanranta, 2005). Many multinational companies – including Airbus, Daimler-Chrysler, Nokia, Renault, Samsung, SAP, Siemens, and Technicolor – are

increasingly mandating English as the common corporate language (Neeley, 2012, p. 117). The reasons are obvious. "[U]nrestricted multilingualism is inefficient and gets in the way of accomplishing business goals. If people can't communicate effectively sales get lost, merger integration drags and productivity slows" (Neeley, 2012, p. 119). Thus, "adopting a common mode of speech isn't just a good idea; it's a must" (Neeley, 2012, p. 117; see also Mead, 1990, p. 5) to compete in global markets, which research confirms (Hagen, Foreman-Peck, Davila-Philippon, Nordgren, & Hagen, 2006, pp. 5-6).

English is a fixture in German business and a prerequisite on the labour market. Given the importance of the export market in driving Germany's economic activity, English has become the primary language for international business deals (Hilgendorf, 2007, p. 136). Most large German firms have made English their official company language (alongside German) or even the sole official language at, e.g., Daimler-Chrysler or BMW, where employees at all levels (managers, engineers, and even leading blue-collar workers) have to communicate with colleagues and customers in English (Ammon, 2006b, p. 327; Erling, 2004, p. 106). Furthermore, English knowledge is considered essential for a career at a European or global company (Hoffmann, 2000, p. 10; see also Hilgendorf, 2007). In a survey of seven Berlin-based subsidiaries of multinational corporations (MNCs), Erling and Walton found that English "has evolved into 'a necessary basic qualification' not just for top management […] but also for lower levels of the corporate hierarchy" (2007, p. 39, as cited in Ferguson, 2012, p. 494; see also Ehrenreich, 2010, p. 416). English, then, has become a "sine qua non" for hiring at all levels (Ehrenreich, 2010, p. 417). Language proficiency also plays a role here. "Although native speaker competence is not expected, well-developed communicative skills and the ability to make oneself understood are regarded as essential" (Ehrenreich, 2010, p. 418). English proficiency, then, is perceived as important "symbolic capital" (Bourdieu, 1986, p. 250) – more so than with any other language – that can offer better employment prospects (De Swaan, 1998, p. 65). Research confirms this. A survey of English philology students at Freie Universität Berlin showed that "79% of students are studying English because the possibility of getting a job will be higher", and "irrespective of what their career preferences are, almost all students (97%) responded that they expect to need English for their professional careers" (Erling, 2004, pp. 106-107; see also Araújo, Dinis da Costa, Flisi, & Soto Calvo, 2015, pp. 7-8).

This picture of English's seeming ubiquity, however, has to be qualified (Ferguson, 2012, p. 494). Other foreign language skills are also vital for the international labour market. In fact, few business interactions are monolingual (Ehrenreich, 2010, p. 423; see also Nickerson, 2007; Vandermeeren, 1999). Non-English languages are indeed very valuable in many contexts. Especially "the micro level of companies' transactions are frequently carried out in a mixture of several languages" (Hagen, 1993, p. 10). Kingsley's study of banks in Luxembourg, for example, shows that English tended to be used more frequently in formal conversations, written reports, emails, and by top management, while other languages – French, German, Swedish – were frequently utilised alongside English in spoken communication (e.g. meetings and phone calls) and especially for informal discussion further down the corporate hierarchy (2009, p. 164; as cited in Ferguson, 2012, p. 495; see also Ehrenreich, 2010; Nekvapil & Nekula, 2006). That is, "there is a degree of mismatch between company policy and de facto practices" (Ferguson, 2012, p. 495). Moreover, research shows that non-English foreign language skills are also indispensable for accomplishing a range of business tasks – such as establishing and maintaining relations with local customers – and in countries where little to no English is spoken by management (e.g. China, Russia) (Ehrenreich, 2010, pp. 423-424). Ehrenreich found that additional foreign languages skills were indeed regarded as an asset at a German MNC and were a pragmatic and strategic resource (2010, p. 423; see also Araújo et al., 2015).

In sum, English language skills are undoubtedly a prerequisite on both the German and international labour markets. According to Wilkinson, English proficiency is a necessary skill for European citizens, alongside literacy, numeracy, and social kills (2011, pp. 113-114; see also Unterberger, 2014, p.19). Non-English languages, though, are also important for employability, for distinguishing oneself from other job candidates (Wilkinson, 2013, p. 19). Indeed, businesses "send out unambiguous signals" to HEIs "to deliver graduates with a thorough command of several languages" (Buysse, Claes, & Snauwaert, 2011, p. 6; see also Unterberger, 2014, p. 19) so that they can function in global societies (Shohamy, 2013, p. 209).

1.3. The advance of English as the dominant language in science and scholarship

English is now the dominant global language of science and scholarship in terms of exchange, dissemination, and publication of scientific knowledge across disciplines (Ammon, 2006a, p. 2; Skudlik, 1990). Worldwide, 90% of publications in the natural sciences (Ammon, 1998, p. 152) and 82.5% in the humanities are in English (Ammon, 1998, p. 167; Coulmas, 1985, p. 183). English has, in fact, supplanted German as an international language of science in almost all academic fields (Ammon, 2005, 2008; Ehlich, 2000; Gnutzmann, 2008). German scholars – like their international colleagues – must now publish in English to be part of the international research community (Ammon, 2001, pp. 348-350). This also impacts the publishing industry with more and more German journals accepting only publications in English (Ammon, 2006a, p. 5). English has also replaced German as the language of verbal academic communication. Scientific symposia and international conferences held in Germany are now usually conducted in English (Ammon, 2001, p. 349).

German was a fin-de-siècle world language of science on par with English and French (Ammon, 2004, p. 157). After World War I, German and French lost traction as languages of science, whereas English grew in ascendancy. The economic ruin of German-speaking countries after World War I weakened their ability to conduct scientific research (Ammon, 2004, p. 157). German-speaking scientists faced hiring bans, and the Allies refused to accept German as a language of science. National Socialism magnified these problems: the best scientists were expelled or murdered (with those remaining managing to escape to the US), Germany faced repeated economic ruin because of World War II, and its brain drain benefitted primarily the US and its scientific community (Ammon, 2004, p. 157). Because of its economic strengths, the English-language community as a whole now has the largest output of scientific publications of any other language community (Ammon, 2006a, p. 7; see also De Solla Price, 1986, p. 142). That is, the size and quality of the Anglophone scientific market are both essential elements in determining the language of publication. Admittedly, this enormous market confers a major advantage to researchers publishing internationally (Ammon, 2006a, p. 7).

Tsunoda (1983) has published data on the proportional language use in natural science publications in English, French, and German from 1880-1980, as tracked by

Ammon (1998) from 1980-1996. This data clearly shows English's ascendancy since the 1920s.
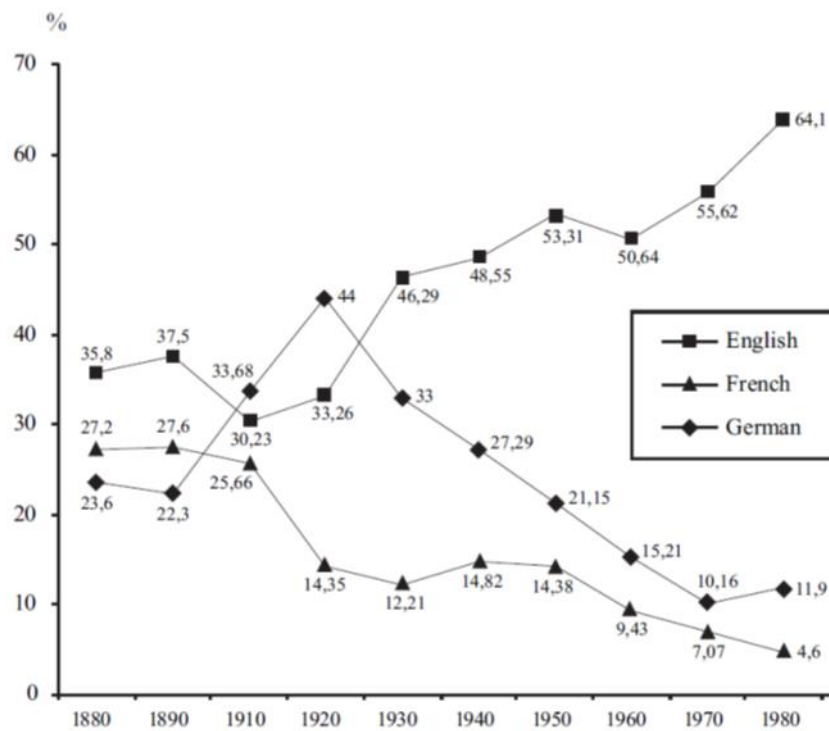

Figure 1. Proportional language use in scientific publications in the course of one century (cf Tsunoda 1983)
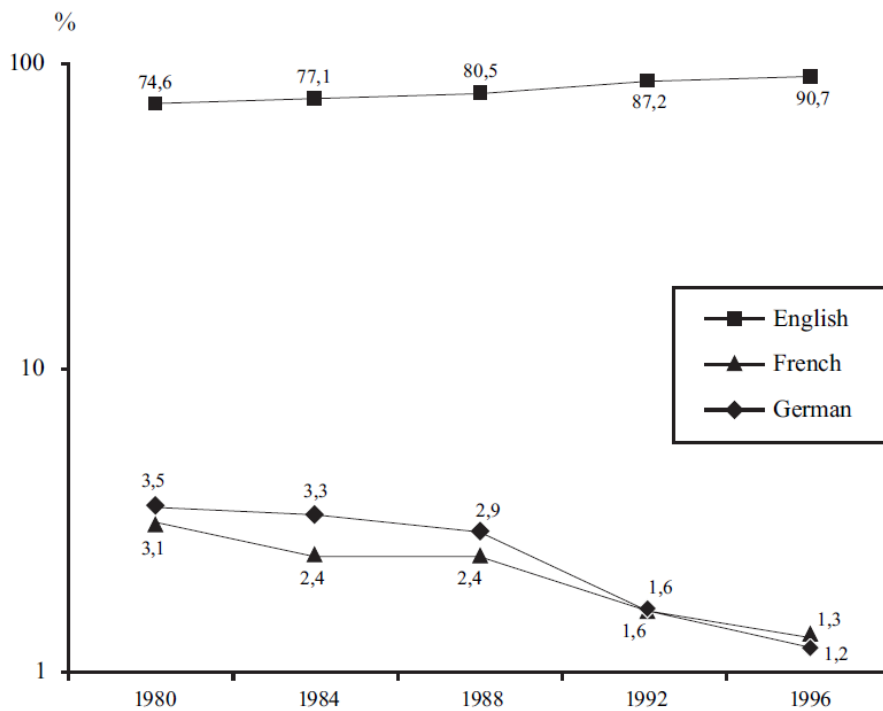
.

Figure 2. Proportional use of languages in natural science publications 1980–1996 (Ammon 1998: 152)

English's dominance as the global language of science and scholarship faces two main criticisms. First, English as the lingua franca may lead to domain loss, marginalisation, and the potential extinction of the national language within academia (Coleman, 2013, p. xiv; Wilkinson, 2013, p. 11). The fear of L1 domain loss is particularly salient in Germany (Ammon, 2006a). Critics argue that this "Englishization" of academia makes knowledge available to fewer people, diminishes linguistic diversity in academia, and, thus, language-specific ways of constructing and phrasing academic knowledge (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009, p. 32; Gnutzmann, 2008, p. 78; see also Ehlich, 2005; Phillipson, 2015). That is, non-English languages may lose or fail to develop the registers necessary to formulate and express scientific knowledge, because concepts are no longer being coined in them (Piller, 2016, p. 180). This loss of linguistic – and, hence, cultural knowledge – may particularly impact the social sciences and the humanities, because language and culture constitute them, whereas discourse in the natural sciences is generally "not felt to be bound up with any (national) culture or ideology" (Gnutzmann, 2008, p. 84). The model of social institutions in the social sciences, de Swann argues, is very often "the American experience presented as universal human destiny" (2001, p. 78; see also Hughes, 2008). Anglo-American concepts and ideas become paradigmatic at the expense of non-English ones. A particular way of knowing or of creating knowledge may, however, depend on the L1. Formulating knowledge in a foreign language may ultimately lead to an inferior epistemic gain: "the structural and gnoseologic demands a scientific language has to fulfil can scarcely be met by a deduced linguistic variety such as a lingua franca, sensu stricto" (Ehlich, 2005, p. 41), because it overlooks the constitutive and intrinsic role language plays in knowledge extraction, articulation, and transfer (Ehlich, 2005, p. 48). A multilingual approach could, then, significantly benefit academia by allowing for a broader and more complex perception of the world (Ehlich, 2005, pp. 48-49). This debate must, however, remain theoretical, as no empirical research exists to substantiate these claims.

Some advocate a more pragmatic approach. For Wächter (2005), Latin being supplanted by the respective vernacular suggests that despite a particular language's dominance, communicating science in such a way that does not impoverish the national language of science will always be possible. He advocates a pragmatic approach because a "point of no return" was passed decades ago (Wächter, 2005, p.

18); it seems futile for non-English-speaking academics to try to challenge English's historically contingent hegemony or to bemoan their national language's marginalisation. Repressing a language in particular realms of communication does not necessarily amount to structural impoverishment – let alone extinction – especially for former global languages such as German (Soltau, 2008, p. 43; see also Ammon, 2001). Furthermore, several researchers have shown that English and other national languages can and do co-exist (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2004, p. 10). House argues that English poses no threat to individual European languages or multilingualism, showing that English only rarely impacts German discourse beyond the import of lexical items in scientific texts (2003, pp. 563-566). Graddol "acknowledges that a higher proportion of the European populations use English but argues that this reflects increased bi- and multilingualism rather than abandonment of other languages" (1999, p. 66, as cited in Erling & Hilgendorf, 2004, p. 10). Erling and Hilgendorf, thus, argue that "the spread of English cannot be equated necessarily with the neglect of other languages" (2004, p. 10).

Another major concern is the perception that English as the academic lingua franca may disadvantage non-Anglophone scientists relative to their English native-speaking peers in publishing their work (Ferguson, 2012, p. 492; Flowerdew, 2007). An academic article is judged heavily on which journal it is published in, so publishing in a prominent one "determines research funding, career advancement and, in some cases, academic survival" (Bennett, 2015, p. 9). Almost all leading journals are based in the US, demand high levels of English proficiency, and often take Anglo-American standards as their guideline (Schluer, 2015, p. 248, see also Mauranen, 2003, p. 518). German scientists are forced, then, to compete with native English-speaking scientists. For many German scientists, Ammon argues, this situation presents serious linguistic challenges (2004, p. 168). In a survey of a small, clustered random sample of German scientists (n=69), 25% admitted struggling with reading English texts, 38% with oral comprehension, and 57% with writing (Ammon 1990, as cited in Ammon, 2004, p. 168). Other research confirms and complements these findings. Linguistic difficulties are found not only in phonetics, orthography, grammar, and lexis but also in discourse phenomena and text layout. These result in time wasted writing, diminished communicative effectiveness, and additional out-of-pocket expenses for having their papers edited (Gnutzmann, Jakisch, & Rabe, 2015, pp. 66-67; Schluer, 2015, p. 247). Furthermore, many German scientists shun the

scientific community altogether to avoid having to communicate in English. The questionnaire (n=69) found that having to use English would deter 19% from attending conferences, 33% from publishing, and 25% from forming personal contacts with colleagues (Ammon, 1990, as cited in Ammon, 2006a, p. 14). Their lack of English language skills, then, isolated them from ongoing global academic discussions in their fields. Studies with non-Anglophone researchers in other European countries confirm these findings (e.g. Flowerdew, 2007; Lillis & Curry, 2006; Olsson & Sheridan, 2012; Pérez-Llantada, Plo, & Ferguson, 2011).

In sum, English as the academic lingua franca seems unlikely to pose an existential threat to German as a national language of science and scholarship and may only contribute to a sort of forced bilingualism in science (Ammon, 2008, p. 39). German scientists face two opposing realities when publishing: should they focus on a domestic or on an international audience (Ammon, 2004, p. 168)? Choosing a German audience might mean remaining within the region. While choosing an English-speaking one may further undermine the international status of German, it offers them a much vaster disciplinary community, unprecedented opportunities for mobility and career advancement, and intellectual enrichment (Bennett, 2015, pp. 9-10). English language proficiency is, however, a prerequisite for participating in and benefitting from global academia, so, HEIs should, offer, for instance, special training in English academic writing to researchers and scholars in order to prevent rhetoric from trumping "academic prowess" in the academic arena (Bennett, 2015, p. 10).

2. Chapter: Language policy initiatives in the European Union (EU)

2.1. EU language policy: principles

Multilingualism and respect for linguistic and cultural diversity are the fundamental principles of the European Union's language policy, which are explicitly, contractually stated (European Parliament, 2017, p. 1; see also Ammon, 2012, p. 573; Gerhards, 2012a, pp. 97-98). The EU Charter of Fundamental Rights – adopted in 2000 and made legally binding by the Treaty of Lisbon – prohibits discrimination based on language (Article 21) and obliges the Union to respect linguistic and cultural diversity (Article 22) (European Parliament, 2017, p. 1). Multilingualism in the EU was established in Regulation 1/58, which determined the individual and societal languages to be used by the former European Economic Community (EEC) (European Parliament, 2017, p. 1). It confirms the equality of the Member States' official state languages and their status as official and working languages of European institutions (Council of the European Economic Community, 1958, p. 385; European Parliament, 2017, p. 1). That is, each Member State has the right to request that any of its national official languages be given the status of official EU language and "every citizen of the EU has the right to write to any of the institutions or bodies of the EU in one of those languages and to receive an answer in the same language" (European Parliament, 2017, p. 1; see also Mackiewicz, 2009a, p. 2). This principle has been retained at each accession of new Member States and can only be changed by a unanimous vote of the European Council (Mackiewicz, 2009a, p. 2; see also Ammon, 2012, p. 573; Gerhards, 2012a, p. 98). In 1958, the EEC had six Member States – Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands – and four official languages: Dutch, French, German, and Italian (Ammon, 2012, p. 579; Gerhards, 2012a, pp. 98-99). As of July 2013, the EU had 28 Member States and 24 official languages; some member states share the same official language, and Luxemburg relinquished its right to make Luxemburgish an official European language (Marten, 2016, pp. 115-116; see also Ammon, 2012, pp. 576-577). Importantly, this multilingual constellation is encouraged and supported both by the European Union and by the nation states that "insist on the recognition of their national official languages as official languages in the EU" (Gerhards, 2014, p. 4; see also Ammon, 2006b). German parliament, for instance, has consistently urged the European Commission to treat German as equal to all other official languages – even

across party lines (Gerhards, 2014, p. 4). Similarly, European citizens believe "that all languages within the EU should be treated equally, a view that has strengthened since the 2005 Eurobarometer survey and has been reported by 81% of Europeans" (European Commission, 2012, p. 141).

Legally speaking, there is no official differentiation between official and working languages in Regulation 1/58. In practice, however, the EU does not uphold the principle of language equality; not all official EU languages are also EU institutional working languages (Nißl, 2011, pp. 76-77). For budgetary and pragmatic reasons, relatively few working documents are translated into all official languages (Ammon, 2012, p. 580; Phillipson, 2014, p. 13). This practice is acceptable under Article 6 of Regulation 1/58, which states that "the institutions of the Community may stipulate in their rules of procedure which of the languages are to be used in specific cases" (Council of the European Economic Community, 1958, p. 385; Ammon, 2012, p. 580). Most institutions – and their preparatory committees in particular – usually use only a small subset of the official EU languages regularly and a hierarchy of working languages has evolved with regard to "frequency and 'taken-for-grantedness' of use with English clearly preferred, followed by French and – at a considerable distance – German and then Italian and Spanish" (Ammon, 2012, p. 580; Nißl, 2011, pp. 107-108; Wright, 2009). Wright argues that "English has become the de facto but unacknowledged lingua franca" (Wright, 2009, p. 94; see also van Els, 2005). At the European Central Bank (ECB) in Frankfurt, for instance, all internal and external communication is in English, which is a tacit agreement within the ECB rather than official policy (Van Els, 2005, p. 269; see also Ammon, 2012). This example is, in fact, something of a microcosm of how the EU deals with the linguistic challenges of internal communication. The principle of equal rights for all official and working languages is seldom – if ever – discussed (Van Els, 2005, p. 269).

The dominance of English as the main working language in EU institutions, however, has also been criticised. Proponents argue that a single internal working language is the most efficient solution and in the best interest of member states and language communities "whose language is excluded as a working language" (Ammon, 2006b, p. 319; see also Gerhards, 2012a). Opponents, however, contend that such a solution is untenable for member states with large non-Anglophone language communities (especially German), because it entails diminishing the language's stature – within

and without the EU (Ammon, 2006b, p. 329; Phillipson, 2014). Furthermore, English's dominant position within EU institutions may negatively affect legislative work, in particular disadvantaging political actors who do not speak the foreign language well enough (Gerhards, 2012a, p. 106), which research confirms. A 1996 study of the networks of the members of the European parliament (MEPs) revealed that "relationships were dictated by language competence, that informal information flows were truncated by language barriers, and that negotiations in unofficial settings was constrained for MEPs with no or little knowledge of English" (Wright, 2007, p. 151, as cited in Gerhards, 2012a, p. 106). Furthermore, English is increasingly the language in which documents are drafted and sent out to member states (Phillipson, 2014, p. 12). A survey found that many German members of parliament (MPs) felt that their work was being hampered by having to deal with English language submissions from the European Commission (Kruse & Ammon, 2013, p. 177; see also Phillipson, 2014). The MPs said that 65 submissions were unable to be discussed in the 15th legislative period (April 2009), because they were not available in German. They argue, therefore, that appendices, which contain important information, must be translated in order to maintain open and transparent collaboration with the European Commission (Kruse & Ammon, 2013, p. 169). The MPs fear this translation regime can harm the democratic process as well as "the status of German in Europe" (Kruse & Ammon, 2013, p. 177).

In sum, although an explicit EU language policy assigns equality to all 24 EU languages and rejects linguistic homogenisation by supporting a single lingua franca, English has become the de facto working language (Wright, 2009 p. 93; see also Ammon, 2012). Arguably, this implicit English language policy may negatively affect the legislative work of the MPs and the democratic process in the member states.

2.2 EU Language Education Policy

After the Maastricht Treaty (1992) – which established the EU and introduced EU citizenship – the promotion of language learning and individual multilingualism became the cornerstone of the EU's language education policy (Mackiewicz, 2009a, p. 2-3), fueled primarily by cultural and economic motives (Gerhards, 2012a, p. 118).

First, the EU aims to facilitate cross border communication and reduce prejudice among citizens of the EU member states (Gerhards, 2012a, p. 118). Second, with the passage of the Lisbon Strategy (2000) – whose objective was to make Europe into the world's most competitive, knowledge-based economy by 2010 – promoting individual multilingualism also served as a barometer for growth, employability, and competitiveness. Creating a European educational area and investing in human capital were means of achieving this goal, with the promotion of foreign language skills being a central aspect (Gerhards, 2012a, p. 118; Mackiewicz, 2012, p. 2; Nißl, 2011, pp. 133-134). The EU's language education policy – in accordance with the subsidiary principle though – strives, therefore, to ensure every EU citizen master at least two non-native languages, or "native language plus two" (European Commission, 1995, p. 47; European Council, 2002, p. 19) "by teaching at least two foreign languages from a very early age" (European Council, 2002, p. 19; see also Mackiewicz, 2012, p. 2). Every European citizen ought, then, to be able to understand, read, write, and speak two additional foreign languages with no single foreign language being preferred (Gerhards, 2012a, p. 118; Marten, 2016, p. 117). "The goal is the acquisition of multilingual proficiency, not bilingual proficiency" (European Commission, 1995, p. 47; Mackiewicz, 2009a, p. 3).

The EU's promotion of individual multilingualism has its supporters. First, many linguists, cultural studies scholars, and social scientists endorse this multilingual approach (Hale, 1998; Kymlicka, 2007; Phillipson, 2003; Shuibhne, 2008; Trabant, 2014) in order to ensure linguistic diversity be sheltered from globalisation, unification, and standardisation, and the dominance of English (Gerhards, 2014, p. 5). Second, it is advocated by EU citizens themselves. Ten years after the 2002 Barcelona declaration, Europeans broadly expressed an awareness of the benefits of individual multilingualism. A special Eurobarometer survey on EU citizens (n=26,751) (European Commission, 2012a, p. 3) and their languages found that about three-quarters agree with this objective (72%) and see improving foreign language skills as a political priority (77%); a majority uses foreign languages at work (53%), and 45% attribute getting a job in their home country to their foreign language skills (European Commission, 2012b). There is a gap, however, between aspiration and reality when it comes to foreign language skills. Just over half (54%) can converse in a foreign language, a quarter of them in two foreign languages, and only 10% in at least three (European Commission, 2012a, p. 142).

There may, however, be pitfalls to the EU's advocacy of individual multilingualism. Some argue that the EU's equal support for all languages has actually backfired, with English alone being promoted (De Swaan, 2004, p. 575; Gerhards, 2012a, p. 120; Van Parijs, 2004). As De Swaan puts it "the more languages, the more English" (2001, p. 144). The more languages there are, the more possible language combinations people can choose to learn, thereby lowering the chances that two people who speak the same foreign languages happen to meet (Gerhards, 2014, p. 5). Van Parijs (2004, 2011) calculated all language permutations and showed that – based on 23 official languages – choosing two foreign languages does not significantly improve bilateral communication opportunities in Europe, whereas encouraging the acquisition of *one* foreign language does (Gerhards, 2014, pp. 5-6). The only likely lingua franca candidate is, then, English, given its already-dominant position worldwide that "makes it the language whose utility as a means of communication is the highest" (De Swaan, 2001; as cited in Gerhards, 2014, pp. 77-78). Indeed, the special Eurobarometer survey on EU citizens and their languages revealed that 67% consider English as one of the two most useful languages for their personal development followed by a large margin by German (17%) and French (16%) (European Commission, 2012a, p. 69). English is also the most common foreign language (38%) – followed by French (12%) and German (11%) (European Commission, 2012a, p. 5) – and the most widely spoken foreign language in 19 of the 25 Member States where it is *not* an official language (European Commission, 2012a, pp. 5-6). Hüning points out this discrepancy: "English is already the de facto lingua franca in Europe, but no politicians are willing to admit it. Everything proceeds as if all languages were equal. Of course, they are all of equal *value*, but English has gained an exceptional status" (2015, as cited in Blindow, 2015, p. 20). Thus, Hüning is calling on EU politicians to take a stand. He finds this undifferentiated attitude towards languages to be little more than window dressing: "The EU could and should set the goal of promoting English language skills and ensure these skills reach a uniform level" (2015, as cited in Blindow, 2015, p. 20).

In sum, while the EU's promotion of individual multilingualism and language learning is supposed to foster the foundational principles of democracy, non-discrimination, and transparency within the EU (Limbach, 2012), English has developed in such a way that makes trying to govern the language use a political

challenge (Gerhards, 2012b). Furthermore, the EU's vision that EU citizens should be able to speak at least two foreign languages has yet to be realized.

2.3 European Higher Education Language Policy

The development of a European higher education language policy was primed by the Bologna Process, which introduced a more uniform higher education system throughout Europe (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 270; Mackiewicz, 2003, p. 96). The Bologna Declaration (1999) – originally signed by 29 (48 as of 2017) European Ministers of Education – calls for the constitution of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA) aimed at fostering student and staff mobility and at enhancing the quality and international competitiveness of European higher education (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 270; see also Mackiewicz, 2003; Tudor, 2005a). This is to be achieved by creating "easily readable and comparable degrees"; "a system essentially based on two main cycles, undergraduate and graduate"; "a system of credits"; greater academic mobility for students, teachers, researchers, and administrative staff; and cooperation in quality assurance (Bologna Declaration, 1999). The Bologna Process, however, is more than a mere restructuring of higher education; it is a "strategic response of European governments to the current economic and geopolitical context" (Tudor, 2005a, p. 3). The Berlin Communiqué reaffirmed the EU's aims of making Europe the world's most competitive and dynamic economy, ensuring economic sustainability, and promoting social cohesion (Berlin Communiqué, 2003, p. 2; Tudor, 2005a, p. 3). The Bologna Process, then, embodies the educational, economic and socio-political motives of European harmonisation in the higher educational sector (Tudor, 2005a, p. 3), thus making HEIs active participants in the process of European integration (Mackiewicz, 2003, p. 96).

Because language is fundamental to realising the Bologna Process, European HEIs face a major challenge in providing language education (Tudor & Mackiewicz, 2009, p. 36; see also Lauridsen, 2016, p. 121; Ritz, 2006). The Berlin Communiqué explicitly stresses the importance of studying abroad and for fostering "linguistic diversity and language learning, so that students can achieve their full potential for European identity, citizenship and employability" (2003, p. 6). That is, student and academic mobility as well as the creation of a coherent and cohesive EHEA require

adequate foreign language skills so that students, researchers, and academic and administrative staff are able to communicate with colleagues in other European countries; participate in mobility programmes; access specialist materials in a foreign language; engage in cross-border research projects; and present their research to an international audience (Tudor & Mackiewicz, 2009, p. 37). Foreign language skills are equally important in fulfilling the economic objectives of the Bologna Process, because they are central to graduates' employability on the European labour market (Tudor & Mackiewicz, 2009, p. 37), as research has shown (Connell, 2002; Mackiewicz, 2004). Mackiewicz argues that "universities should provide students, regardless of their field of specialisation, with opportunities for improving their knowledge in languages, for learning new languages, for becoming more independent in their language learning, and for taking a number of credits in languages" (2003, p. 97). This comports with the European Commission, which sees HEIs as responsible for promoting individual multilingualism by emphasizing the importance of providing language education for all HE students (European Commission, 2003; see also Nancy Declaration, 2006). These expectations, however, certainly pose a challenge to HEIs. As Tudor argues, "languages-for-all has not been part of the traditional remit of HEIs, and catering for increased language provision calls for a reassessment of priorities, as well as the development of appropriate practical strategies" (2009, pp. 188-189). In reality, though, language-education-for-all is still an exception in European HE (Pinto & Auraujo, 2013, p. 467, see also Lauridsen, 2016, Tudor, 2009). As Mackiewicz argues, "many universities still do not offer all of their students in undergraduate education the opportunity to take a number of credits in languages. Although student mobility has become an accepted part of university life, the provision of linguistic and intercultural preparation and support for mobility is often insufficient" (2002, p. 5). Students, then, may be linguistically underprepared to meaningfully participate in and benefit from the EHEA.

Another major challenge is the ideological discourse directed at HEIs. As driving forces of economic, cultural, scientific and anthropological change, HEIs are fundamental to social development (Pinto & Araujo e Sá, 2013, p. 466). These institutions are asked to contribute to "European integration and the necessity of maintaining linguistic and cultural diversity in Europe" (European Language Council, 2001, p. 3). HEIs are, thus, required to promote individual multilingualism "both as a value and a competence" (Beacco & Byram 2003; as cited in Pinto &

Araujo e Sá, 2013, p. 466) as well as to contribute to fostering "an understanding and acceptance of the immense value of linguistic diversity and of less widely used languages" (Bergan, 2002, p. 18; as cited in Pinto & Araujo e Sá, 2013, p. 466). This requires formulating consistent and explicit institutional language policies that account for increasing contact between individuals, languages, and cultures in the academy and in society, with multilingualism serving as the lynchpin (Tudor, 2006, n.p.). This ideological discourse of linking language policies to social cohesion and progress forces HEIs to reflect on languages and their role in institutional and social contexts: teaching, research, and cooperation between local, national and international societies (Pinto & Araujo e Sá, 2013, p. 466). According to Mackiewicz, "HEIs have to acknowledge that their mission has to include an institutional language policy" (2009, p. 28). The little research done so far, however, reveals a lack of uniformity in HE language policies. Very few institutions have set up coherent and strategically focused language policies (Tudor, 2008, p. 62; see also Chambers, 2004; Lauridsen, 2016). In a survey conducted within the framework of the European Network for the Promotion of Language Learning among all Undergraduates (ENLU), only 10 of the 32 participating HEIs had a language policy, and 13 others were developing one (Tudor, 2005b, p. 3). Chambers similarly found that out of 21 HEIs surveyed, only 3 reported having a language policy, 8 reported that they were developing one, and 10 reported having none (2003, p. 3). In both surveys, funding was the most-cited obstacle to developing a HEI language policy (Chambers, 2003, p. 7, Tudor, 2005b, p. 5), followed by lack of support and commitment, institutional obstacles ("e.g. fitting languages into the programmes of non-specialists at the expense of "core" subjects learning") (Tudor, 2005a, p. 10), and institutional attitudes ("convincing institutional actors of the importance of language learning") (Tudor, 2005a, p. 10). That only 21 (14%) of 150 European HEIs replied to Chambers' survey corroborates the last obstacle (Chambers, 2003, p. 1). A memorandum of the European Language Council based on data from major European projects and reports in HE confirms these findings (Lauridsen, 2016, p. 122). Lauridsen argues that more research is needed due to the dearth of explicit or informative HEI language policies available, be they at the national or regional level (2016, p. 127). European HEI language policies, then, remain little more than lip service.

English is crucial in the construction of the EHEA, more so than any other language. The Bologna Process' intention to preserve member states' linguistic diversity and to

disseminate all European languages has, in fact, ended up backfiring, with English-only becoming de facto policy (Ammon & McConnell, 2002, p. 6; Ljosland, 2005, p. 7; Scott, 2005, p. 20; Unterberger, 2014, p. 13). Two main factors underlie this development. Closely linked to the development of the EHEA, European HEIs are strongly impacted by internationalisation, which is strongly influenced and enforced by increasing competition among HEIs (Unterberger, 2014, p. 6; Wilkinson, 2008a, p. 178). As part of their internationalisation policies and strategies, European HEIs offer English medium instruction (EMI) programmes to attract an increasing number of international students (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p. 303, Unterberger, 2014, p. 13). A 2014 survey of HEIs found that EMI programmes – outside the UK and Ireland – have increased by more than 1,000% over the past 10 years: from 725 in 2001 to 2389 in 2007 to 8089 in 2014 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014, p. 16). Although the European Commission explicitly states that "proficiency in English is de facto part of any internationalisation strategy for learners, teachers and institutions" (2013, p. 6), it also emphasizes that "multilingualism is a significant European asset: it is highly valued by international students and should be encouraged in teaching and research throughout the higher education curriculum" (European Commission, 2013, p. 6; see also Lauridsen, 2016, p. 122). This has created "an unfortunate dichotomy between multilingualism and English Medium Instruction" (Lauridsen, 2016, p. 121), which Lauridsen sees as undermining multilingualism and linguistic diversity (2016, p. 122), which research confirms. In a case study, Pinto and Araujo e Sá compared all language course programmes in undergraduate and postgraduate education in 2002-2003 and 2007-2008 (2013, p. 463). Their analysis revealed that "the percentage of degree programmes that included language courses decreased *from 26 to 21* [my emphasis], and by 2007-2008 English was almost the only language offered in non-language-specialist degree programmes" (2013, p. 472). The internationalisation of education and academic mobility, then, seems to have constrained individual multilingualism (2013, p. 475). Other studies – mainly in Anglophone countries – have also shown decreasing access to learning foreign languages in European HEI (Gallagher-Brett & Broady, 2012; Tinsley, 2013; Worton, 2009).

Erasmus (the European Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) – a popular exchange programme enabling students to study for 6-12 months in another EU country – has also inadvertently increased the use of English in European HE, in part because English-speaking countries are among the most popular study abroad

destinations, with the UK receiving almost twice as many students as it sends (Erasmus, 2015, pp. 6-8; Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 272). The Online Linguistic Support programme introduced by the European Commission in 2014 found that English was the most requested language for Erasmus+ students and comprised two-thirds of language assessments and half of all language courses. Spanish was a distant second with 12% and 16% respectively (Tomasi, 2017, p. 125). Aggravating the situation is the fact that many Erasmus students lack adequate foreign language skills. According to Mackiewicz, "[M]ore and more universities are beginning to offer programs in English because mobile students are often unable to follow courses in the language of the host institution" (2001, p. 1). Moreover, the limited number of spaces to study in English-speaking countries has led to students settling for countries where courses are more likely to be offered in English, such as in Scandinavia and Benelux (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 272).

In sum, despite widespread concern about the role of languages in successfully implementing the Bologna Process, explicit, institution-wide language policies are not being formulated. In fact, individual and societal multilingualism seems to be little more than a hollow political aim in European HE, with very few exemplars (Lauridsen, 2016, p. 122). Internationalisation strategies impair the realisation of the Bologna Process with more and more universities offering EMI programmes. The EU's two-tracked policy of promoting both individual multilingualism and English has not been able to slow this trend and may even be catalysing it. Against this backdrop, developing an institutional language policy becomes all the more crucial if the various interests of all involved in European HE are to be addressed.

3. Chapter: Language Policy in German Higher Education

3.1. The "Internationalisation" – or Rather the "Englishization" – of German Higher Education

Over the past two decades, internationalisation has become central to German higher education policy discourse in response to globalisation and the Bologna Process (Gnutzmann & Lipski-Buchholz, 2008, p.147; Hahn, 2004, pp.13-15). While there is no commonly accepted definition of internationalisation in the literature (De Wit, 2010, p. 8; Knight, 2004, pp. 5-6), in Germany, internationalisation is "*perceived* [*my emphasis*] as both the driving force in the HE reforms and the single determining factor in the future survival of HEIs" (DAAD, 2008, p. 2, as quoted in Earls, 2016, p. 67). That is, a greater international orientation is supposedly essential if German HEIs are to hold their own on the global education market and participate in the global knowledge society (HRK, 2015, p. 6). According to Federal Minister of Education and Research Johanna Wanka, "the internationalisation of universities is fundamental to safeguarding the global competitiveness of Germany as a research location" (HRK, 2016, n.p.), yet English is seen as a vehicle for internationalising German HE (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 268; see also Earls, 2014, p. 161). In fact, English as the lingua franca has become the norm at most German HEIs – aside from German (HRK, 2014, p. 8). The reasons are obvious. Given the widespread use of ELF in academia (Earls, 2014, p. 154; see also Graddol, 2001; Hüppauf, 2004), using a national language in HE may restrict the international mobility of students and scholars as well as a HEI's attempt to internationalise (Earls, 2014, p. 154). Thus, German policymakers see English as a means of improving the overall standards of HEIs and of making them more attractive to foreign students, scholars, and researchers. That is, "internationalization signifies an Englishization" of German HE (Hilgendorf, 2005, p. 60; see also Earls, 2014; Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a).

There are convincing reasons for making Germany a more attractive place to study. First, as Wanka argues, "we need the world's best minds to preserve our innovative power and to overcome demographic change transformations" (BMBF, 2015, n.p.). Germany's young workforce is shrinking due to a decades-long decline in birth rate (Blossfeld et al., 2012, p. 18). The resulting shortage of skilled professionals will adversely affect Germany's economic development (Czernomoriez, 2009, p.17) and

academics in particular (Blossfeld et al., 2012, p.18; see also McKinsey Deutschland, 2010, p.133) The numbers speak for themselves. In October 2011, there were 167,000 professionals too few in mathematics, informatics, natural sciences, and technology (Anger, Koppel, Plünnecke, 2011, p. 53). The demand for workers in medicine, teacher education, and engineering exceeded the supply by 10% in 2010 (Vereinigung der Bayerischen Wirtschaft, 2010, p. 61). There were 38,000 openings for IT professionals in 2012 alone (Blossfeld et al., 2012, p. 18). Prognoses paint an even more dismal picture: In 2030, over 25% of all job vacancies will not be able to be filled by university-educated professionals (Blossfeld et al., 2012, p. 19). In light of these developments and predictions, it is no wonder that "[t]he necessity to make German universities more accessible to foreign students [...] is considered important for the country's economic and political future" (Ammon, 2001, p. 357). That is, international students are regarded as a possible source of human capital for Germany to close its deficit in highly skilled labour. 'Brain gain' is another major issue in Germany, where the federal government aims at "Brain Gain statt [*instead of*] Brain Drain" (BMBF, 2004, p. xix; see also Hilgendorf, 2005, p. 59). Germany wants to retain its own highly qualified students and to attract top international scholars and students who would otherwise study and research mainly in English-speaking countries (Wächter & Maiworm 2014, p. 53; see also Earls, 2013, p. 136). These fears are well founded. Between 2000 and 2010, an estimated 25,000 doctoral students were "poached" from Germany by the US (Blossfeld et al., 2012, p. 23), and as of 2012, approximately 5,000 German scientists were working in the US (Jaschik, 2011; as quoted in Blossfeld et al., 2012, p. 23). In the competition for the best and brightest, Germany – unlike Belgium, Great Britain, Austria, and Sweden – has hardly profited from the intra-EU migration of highly qualified professionals and remains at the middle of the pack (Blossfeld et al., 2012 p. 20; Ette &Sauer, 2010, pp. 16-17.) A representative survey of students in Germany found that almost two-thirds (64%) can imagine working abroad after their studies. Worse yet, a quarter of doctoral and scholarship students want to permanently live and work abroad (Blossfeld et al., 2012, p.20; Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach, 2011, p. 71). In 2001, Minister of Education and Research Edelgard Bulmahn offered still-relevant rationales for using English at German universities during the European Year of Languages Conference at Freie Universität Berlin:

> We want to make German students fit for the international labour market
> and to bind foreign students to Germany as a study location through

attractive courses of study […]. We must more intensively recruit young foreign scientists, students and skilled personnel […]. We want to enrich the global talent pool as well as make maximum use of it. It is only in this way that we can advance Germany's position as a centre of science. (Bulmahn, 2001; as cited in Erling, 2004, p.143)

English's impact within German HE can be seen in three domains (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 273; Earls, 2013, p. 134). The first "prong of Englishization" (Earls, 2013, p.134) was the modification of existing programmes of study to accord with the Bologna Process. Germany's higher education reforms sought to replace its Magister and Diplom structures with the Anglo-American Bachelor's and Master's ones "in order to facilitate mobility of students and improve international recognition of German degrees" (Earls, 2013, p. 134). The number of traditional degree programmes plummeted as a result (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 274; see also Earls, 2013, p. 134). In fact, by winter semester 2016-2017, 91% (~16,800) of all German study programmes terminated in a Bachelor's or a Master's degree (HRK, 2017a). These reforms, however, seem to have indeed made German HEIs more attractive to international students (BMFB, 2017; DAAD, 2015, p. 126). The numbers of international students (*Bildungsausländer)* – foreign nationals that have obtained their higher education entrance qualification in another country (DAAD, 2015, p. 154) – enrolled in a Bachelor's or Master's programme in Germany has risen from ~ 87,000 in 2007 to ~142,000 in 2014 (DAAD, 2015, p. 126).

The second "prong of Englishization" was the creation of specifically designated "internationally oriented" degree programmes (Earls, 2013, p. 134; Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 273), almost all of which are in English. In 2017, 1,156 of the 18,608 degree programmes were in English; only 16 were in Spanish and 12 in French (DAAD, 2017a, International Programmes). There are various rationales behind the increased use of English as a medium of instruction. First, EMI is supposed to attract foreign students and international faculty (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014, p. 53) who would not otherwise enrol in a programme in the domestic language (2014, p. 53), which research confirms. Soltau observed that more than 90% of her international students chose to apply to a programme simply because it was in English; most would not have been able to take courses in German (2008, p. 297; see also Ammon & McConnell, 2002; Gundermann, 2014). Second, EMI courses are meant to overcome

Germany's shortage of skilled professionals (Ammon, 2001, p. 357). Opponents argue, however, that many students merely use Germany as a springboard to studying or working in English-speaking countries, because the cost of studying is much lower than, e.g., the US (Ehlich, 2005, pp. 43-44). In fact, nearly 73% of all EMI programmes in Germany in 2017 are tuition-free (DAAD, 2017a, International Programmes). This undermines the expected economic benefits and might even end up with Germany paying to educate other countries' workforces (Ehlich, 2005, pp. 43-44). Indeed, in a survey of two German universities, 54.3% of all students in EMDPs regarded Germany as a springboard to a job elsewhere (Ammon & McConnell, 2002, p. 148). Third, EMI is supposed to improve the international competencies of domestic students for the global market (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014, p. 53). This "Internationalisation at Home" (Hahn, 2004, p. 259) allows students to be exposed to EMI and be part of culturally mixed student groups without having to leave their home country (Unterberger, 2014, p. 14). In practice, though, this target group seems to have been overlooked (Lueg, 2015, p. 52). Based on data collected on the internationality of German HEIs, EMDPs mainly address international students with limited German language skills and domestic ones to a lesser extent (Maiworm, 2014, p. vi), with up to 90% foreign student enrolment (Soltau, 2008, p. 68; see also Earls, 2013). Another major rationale is being able to boast a better international profile than domestic and international peer institutions (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014, p. 53). Critics argue, however, that this "commercialisation" (Knight, 2008, p. 13) of HE has turned degree programmes into "an internationally tradable service" (Knight, 2008, p. 13) and universities into brands (Coleman, 2006, p. 3) trying to woo potential student consumers. This may jeopardise HE's role as "a public good or a social responsibility" (Knight, 2008, p. 13).

Since 2002, EMI programmes have become a fixture in German HE following a successful six-year, government-supported pilot project (Earls, 2014, p. 154; Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 274). EMDPs have expanded rapidly in Germany: from 65 in 2001 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2002, p. 59) to 214 in 2007 (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008, p. 89) to 1,156 in 2017 (DAAD, International Programmes, 2017a), the second most in Europe (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014, p.16). Most are Master's courses (813 in 2017), with the most popular being economics, engineering, and the natural sciences (DAAD, 2017a, International Programmes; see also Wächter & Maiworm, 2002, 2008, 2014). Yet, despite the steep growth in the number of EMI programmes

32

in German HE, the proportion of EMDPs across disciplines tells another story. EMDPs comprise only 6.1% of all courses (DAAD, 2017a, International Programmes), suggesting that they fail to "attain critical mass in the system", (Earls, 2013, p.139). They, nevertheless, seem to attract international students. Official HEI statistics omit information on the extent to which international students take advantage of Germany's EMDPs, but a DAAD student survey found that 48% of the 11,000 international Master's students surveyed said that their degree programme was entirely in English, and 16% said it was in English and German. So despite the comparatively low proportion of EMI programmes in Germany, many international Master's students are enrolled in these programmes (DAAD, 2015, pp. 140-142).

The third "prong of Englishization" of German HE "is directly attributable to the EMDPs: the recruitment of international students, researchers and faculty who collectively contribute to a still greater role for English in the HE system and in society as a whole" (Earls, 2013, p. 134; Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, pp. 276-277). Germany has, in fact, been particularly successful in promoting academic mobility (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 277). In the 2014 academic year, 11.5% of students were foreign (DAAD, 2015, pp. 6-7). Germany now hosts the third most foreign students (behind the US and Great Britain) and is, thus, the most popular non-English-speaking destination for students from abroad (BMBF, 2015). Wanka finds "no better evidence of the international pull of our universities" (BMBF, 2015, n.p.). Interestingly, according to the aforementioned DAAD study, English-language HEIs websites were decisive for prospective international students. Half of the over 11,000 international Master's students surveyed found such websites "important" or "very important" in helping them decide whether to do their Master's degree in Germany (DAAD, 2015, pp. 132-133). Germany has also been particularly successful in Erasmus student mobility. Since 2004, the total number of Erasmus students in Germany has almost doubled from 16,873 in 2004 to 30,964 in 2014 (DAAD, 2017b, pp. 64-65). Not all universities, however, ensure that their students being sent to partner institutions as part of Erasmus have the necessary language skills of the host country (Mackiewicz, 2012, p. 5). Erasmus students, then, may end up relying on English as a lingua franca. International faculty in German HE is also noteworthy. In 2015, there were 35,636 foreign guest research stays in Germany (DAAD, 2017b, p. 95). The highest proportion of foreign guest researchers in Germany (38%) worked in mathematics or natural sciences (DAAD, 2017b, p. 95), fields in which scientific

communication is dominated by English (Ammon, 1998, 2001; see also Viereck, 1996).

In sum, Germany's tertiary educational sector sees internationalisation as necessary in order to compete with international HEIs for the world's best minds. Despite there being no national "explicit language-in education policy" for English in German HE (Earls, 2014, p. 153), English is being privileged to internationalise and improve it. Indeed, English seems to have contributed to Germany attracting more international students and researchers. The primary incentive for the increased English use in German HEIs is to boost Germany's competitiveness in science, business, and industry. Examining these rationales (and criticisms of them) raises fundamental questions: What is the role of the university under globalisation and internationalisation? To what extent is internationalisation distinguishable from Englishization? Why call it "internationalisation" when it seems to be no more than a buzzword, a thinly veiled guise for Englishization?

3.2 Critique of the Englishization of German Higher Education

The Englishization of German Higher Education has been met with criticism. One major issue is the future of German as a language of science and scholarship. Some argue that English's ascendancy as the academic lingua franca in tertiary education threatens linguistic diversity and may marginalise German as a language of science and scholarship (Ehlich, 2005, Ehlich & Graefen, 2001). Others contend that this trend is irreversible and that English can and does coexist with other national languages (Ammon, 1998, 2001; House, 2003) (see chapter 1.3 for a detailed discussion of this). German does play a role, though. An important aspect of international exchange is that students and researchers from abroad get to know the culture and language of their host country (HRK, 2011, p. 2). Adequate German-language skills are, thus, crucial for successfully integrating international and doctoral students on and off campus, which research confirms. A DAAD survey revealed that only 44% of international Master's students with poor German-language skills felt socially well integrated outside the classroom, whereas 64% of those with "good" or "very good" German-language skills did (DAAD, 2015, p. 144). In contrast, the social integration of the 85% of international Master's students with

"good" or "very good" English was not improved by their English skills (DAAD, 2015, p. 144). The same holds for international doctoral students and postdocs. Three quarters of international postdocs at the Alexander von Humboldt Association (n=128) said that English was the dominant language at the office, yet 75% of them used German in transactional and social domains and nearly 50% when dealing with bureaucracy. Most regretted that their limited German proficiency hindered their social interaction and ability to better acquaint themselves with German culture (Clyne, 2008, p.16). Clyne, thus, argues for a multilingual model, which would allow academics and students to develop their L2 and L3 skills in disciplinary contexts (2008, p.16).

Another critique is the toll that the increased use of English takes on lecturers and students (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 282). More and more lecturers are required to teach in an L2 or even an L3 (Lauridsen, 2016, p. 124). Consequently, they face linguistic challenges, especially foreign language proficiency. In German HE, for example, most EMI lecturers are native German speakers with English as their L2 (Earls, 2014, p. 157; Gundermann, 2014, p. 8). Research has shown that EMI lecturers struggle particularly when it comes to productive oral language use (Soltau, 2008, p. 86), especially in the domains of phonetics (Gundermann, 2014, p.132) and lexis (Clear, 2005, p.196). Other linguistic hurdles include responding spontaneously, using everyday language, and picking up on humour or irony (Clear, 2005, p. 195; see also Hellekjaer, 2007; Vinke, Snippe, & Jochems, 1998). This linguistic inflexibility particularly concerns non-lecture situations like group discussions and classroom management (Hellekjaer, 2007, p. 79). Research also suggests that using a foreign instructional language leads to less redundancy in presenting subject matter, less clarity and accuracy of expression, less expressiveness, and a lower speech rate than in the L1 (Vinke, 1995, p. 152; see also Soltau, 2008, p. 285; Vinke et. al, 1998, p. 392). Furthermore, there are also non-linguistic challenges. A multicultural classroom requires intercultural mentoring (Gnutzmann, 1999, p. 166; Soltau, 2008, p. 78), special didactic skills (Gundermann, 2014, p. 253), and the ability to tease out students' academic production from their language proficiency (Gundermann, 2014, pp. 51-52; Unterberger, 2012, p. 93).

The Englishization of HE also poses problems for students. A major concern is that domestic students may lack the English proficiency academia demands (Erling &

Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 282). In fact, university programmes largely assume academic literacy in the L2, since the average German student will have had 7-9 years of English in school (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 287; Knapp, 2014, p. 169). This, however, conflates duration and quality. About 40% of economics and social sciences students surveyed at a German university felt poorly or not well prepared for studying in English in terms of productive and receptive skills (Knapp & Münch, 2008, as cited in Knapp, 2014, p. 169). Similarly, a survey of German high school graduates from Hamburg and Baden-Württemberg revealed that only about 25% did well enough on the TOEFL to be eligible for American universities (Jonkmann, Köller, & Trautwein, 2007, p. 130). International students also struggle linguistically (Knapp, 2014, p. 170). Fandrych & Sedlaczek found alarming deficits in international students' English proficiency in EMDPs at three German universities (2012, p. 29). For English, 98% (n=48) failed to reach the B2 CEFR benchmark in terms of productive skills, with only 25% (n=48) reaching B2 for all receptive skills (Fandrych & Sedlaczek, 2012, p. 29). All these findings suggest that HEIs must support international and domestic students in attaining sufficient English if they are to help students succeed. Based on its survey of partner institutions in 27 European countries, the IntlUni Erasmus Academic Network (2012-15) recommends HEIs develop an inclusive and enabling language and culture policy that ensures students and staff have the necessary academic communication and language skills (Lauridsen & Lillemose, 2015, pp. 11-12).

All of this – amongst others – has led the German Rector's Conference to recommend a systematic policy of multilingualism (Blossfeld et al., 2012, p. 32). German lecturers ought to be able to teach in a common international language (usually English) and students to follow a lesson taught in English. At the same time, HEIs are to ensure that German be preserved and expanded as a language of science (Blossfeld et al., 2012, p. 32).

> Researchers and students at German universities are urged to acquire, in addition to German, at least a working knowledge of a widely used foreign language – as a rule, English – to enable them to communicate internationally. The acquisition of further foreign languages […] is desirable in the spirit of multilingualism. […] it is expected that international students and researchers will be willing to acquire an adequate knowledge of German. (HRK, 2011, p. 3)

HEIs, then, are supposed to formulate a systematic, institution-specific language policy *and* to position themselves accordingly (HRK, 2011, p. 3). The HRK's audit of "university internationalisation" showed, however, that such a positioning is often lacking (HRK, 2014, p. 50). Similarly, an online survey on language policy at German HEIs showed that while 43 (83%) of 49 participating institutes found language policies useful in improving HE language education (Hettiger, 2016, p. 10), only 4% had formulated their own language policy (Hettiger, 2016, p. 9). Additionally, only about half (47%) said that individual multilingualism had been implemented at their HEI. At most of the HEIs, only English as the lingua franca and German were being used (Hettiger, 2016, p.11). Furthermore, there is no one strategy for all HEIs (HRK, 2014, p. 52). The few best practice examples available revealed that there are varying goals, contexts, and frameworks. RWTH Aachen, for example, faces linguistic challenges unique to a technology-focused university. The Augsburg University of Applied Sciences sees itself as an internationally oriented regional university that values increased linguistic diversity among its students. The University of Göttingen's strong international orientation boasts a high percentage of EMDPs in which learning German is integrated, yet strives to allow all students to learn at least two foreign languages – in line with the EU's language policies (HRK, 2014, pp. 52-53). One reason that there are so few best practice examples is that German HEIs foreign language instruction is not valued in the internationalisation of HE (Hahn, 2004, p. 299). Insufficient funding to formulate and implement a language policy poses yet another challenge (Hahn, 2004, p. 298). The HRK, thus, urges policymakers "to make the necessary resources available and provide universities with adequate human resources and sufficient funding for language research and language centres, as well as for services to support researchers" (2011, pp. 3-4).

So how can HEIs embrace the concept of multilingualism – including the promotion of German as a language of science and scholarship – *and* English as the academic lingua franca? This three-language policy could prove difficult to juggle. The efficacy of an internationalisation strategy and its expected benefits depends – among others – on ensuring quality education and providing specific language support programmes in English and GFL (for social integration) to all involved in language learning and teaching. After all, students are supposed to emerge from a university education "as members of the discipline" who fluently use the discourse of their field (Wilkinson, 2008b, p. 57).

4. Chapter: A Profile: Freie Universität Berlin

4.1 Facts and Figures

Freie Universität Berlin (FUB) is a good example of internationalisation and the associated Englishization of German higher education. FUB is a leading German international research university with students, faculty, and researchers from 125 countries; about 20% of students, 33% of the 4,400 doctoral students, and 10% of the 349 professors are international (Freie Universität Berlin, 2016a). Furthermore, its increasing number of courses in English is particularly interesting, since these courses are being offered largely in programmes in the humanities and social sciences rather than natural sciences, where the use of English is more established (Freie Universität Berlin, 2016b; see also Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 277; Viereck, 1996). FUB is one of Berlin's three major universities and had 34,894 students as of summer semester 2017 (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017a). FUB was founded in December 1948 in the American sector of the city as a response to the persecution of critical students at Humboldt Universität in the Soviet sector. Students and scientists wanted to learn and research free from political influence. The idea of a free university was widely supported internationally, and FUB received generous financial support, especially from the US government (Freie Universität Berlin, 2016b). FUB has since become an elite national and international academic institution. In 2007 and 2012, FUB was chosen as a University of Excellence in the German government's Excellence Initiative (Freie Universität Berlin, 2016b). With its strategic "International Network University" concept, the university is continuously expanding its international connections in research and teaching and has established a global network of liaison offices in Cairo, Moscow, São Paulo, New York, Peking, Brussels, and New Delhi as well as about 180 partnerships with scholarly institutions worldwide (Freie Universität Berlin, 2016b). The successful internationalisation of FUB is also reflected in the rankings. The 2017-2018 Times Higher Education World University Ranking once again ranked FUB as one of the top 100 universities worldwide (88) and as the top German university with regard to international orientation (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017b). The university also draws leading researchers and young scholars from abroad and is the most popular German destination for renowned Alexander von Humboldt Foundation fellows as well as for international undergraduate, graduate and doctoral students (Freie Universität Berlin,

2017c). Furthermore, it accepted 855 Erasmus exchange students in 2015, more than any other German university (DAAD, 2017b, p. 66). In sum, FUB is indeed broadly positioned internationally.

4.2 English Language Use at FUB

English is a tool of internationalisation at FUB. It is first and foremost visible in its "internationally oriented" degree programmes. In winter semester 2017-2018, FUB offered 25 degree programmes in English, more than in any other foreign language (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017d). English indeed holds a de facto privileged position at the university. According to an FUB performance report, "Most foreign-language courses are offered in English and are part of Master's and doctoral programmes" (Freie Universität Berlin, 2015, p. 22). Furthermore, while English proficiency was an entry requirement only for Magister programmes in English philology and North American studies until the late 1990s (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 278), English use has markedly increased in other disciplines since Bachelor's and Master's programmes were established in winter semester 2000-2001 (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017e). English knowledge was a prerequisite for entry into 19 of the 35 "mono" (single-subject) Bachelor's programmes offered in winter semester 2017-2018 and 11 of 21 core subjects in the "combination" Bachelor's programmes (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017f, pp. 10-16). English use is even more common in Master's programmes: it was a prerequisite for 53 of the 74 consecutive Master's programmes offered in winter semester 2017-2018 (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017g). Interestingly, these prerequisites apply not only to the natural sciences – where English plays a major role (e.g. Ammon, 1998, 2001; Viereck, 1996) – but also to the humanities and social sciences in Bachelor's and Master's programmes including classical studies, social and cultural anthropology, philosophy, general and comparative literature, and journalism and communications. Even language-based programmes like Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, and Korean studies require English (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017f, pp. 10-16, 2017g). According to one student surveyed at FUB in 2002, "[u]nderstanding English is almost a requirement for studying at a university no matter what the subject you study, because a lot of scientific essays and some lectures are written and held in English" (Erling, 2004, p. 105).

Second, English proficiency is assumed. Some Bachelor's programmes (e.g. biology, biochemistry, chemistry, mathematics, physics, computer science, political science) and Master's programmes (e.g. computer science, business informatics, political science) have no English language entry requirements (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017f, p. 10-16, 2017g). This is especially curious in two respects. First, courses may be taught in English. In the study and exam regulations for the Bachelor's programmes in e.g., informatics (Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin, 2014, p. 776), biology (Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin, 2013a, p. 473), and biochemistry (Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin, 2013a, p. 433), some modules list German and English as the languages of instruction (Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin, 2014, p. 776). Second, English is essential in the natural sciences (Ammon, 1998, 2001; Viereck, 1996). In physics and chemistry, in particular, English is used not only as a language of instruction but is the "lingua franca" of the working groups at FUB, 90% of whose publications are in English (Freie Universität Berlin, 2015, p. 22). Anglo-American academia has also impacted political science, requiring at least a passive knowledge of English to read the almost exclusively English content (Skudlik, 1990; as cited in Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006b, p. 120). Why the university does not require English proficiency in such programmes is unclear, but perhaps English is so obviously necessary that it need not be explicitly stated. Making it explicit, though, would align university policy with actual language practices in these disciplines and give prospective students a more realistic impression of what is expected of them (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006b, p. 120).

Another concern is the inconsistency of proficiency requirements in Bachelor's and Master's programmes, including EMDPs. They lack a common framework at FUB and are, instead, defined on an institutional basis. Among the Bachelor's programmes, only English philology, North American studies, and primary education pedagogy (with English as an elective) require students take an English exam at the university's language centre (Freie Universität, 2017h). These are also the only Bachelor's programmes that require a C1 level of proficiency according to the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR, see Council of Europe, 2001) (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017f). A B1 or B2 level suffices for all other Bachelor's programmes with English language prerequisites, with B1 being the most common: Mono Bachelor's: B1 (n=11), B2 (n=7); Combination Bachelor's: B1 (n=7), B2 (n=3) (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017f). Among Master's programmes

(including EMDPs), only North American studies applicants can take their C1 English language test at the FUB language centre (Kennedy Institute for North American Studies, 2017g). Entry requirements vary among other Master's programmes. Of the 24 EMDPs, 11 require C1, 10 require B2, and 4 require B1 (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017d). Of the 54 consecutive Master's programmes with English entry requirements, 7 require C1, 40 require B2, and 6 require B1 (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017g). Furthermore, there is no uniformly recognised international language certification. While some Master's programmes orient themselves to the CEFR, (e.g. finance, accounting and taxation, sociology – European societies), the MSc in biochemistry and in chemistry, for instance, require IELTS or TOEFL (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017g). Other language requirements are rather vague; the Master's programmes in management and marketing, Romance literatures, and philosophy, for instance, require "level B2 CEFR or equivalent" but do not define "equivalent" (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017g).

Linguistic admission requirements (e.g. the CEFR, IELTS, TOEFL), however, may not suffice to meet the linguistic demands of an EMI programme or even a Master's or a Bachelor's programme. In fact, FUB language requirements equate B1 with 5 years of English in school, B2 with 6 years, and C1 with 9 years (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017i). This, however, conflates duration with quality; academic literacy in English cannot be assumed (see chapter 3.2 for a detailed discussion of this). Erling & Hilgendorf argue that "apart from checking that applicants have had English at school, no efforts seem to have been made to ensure that these students can in fact understand English academic texts or follow lecturers given in the language" (2006a, p. 279). Furthermore, a B1 level is not sufficient to read and write academically or understand lectures in a foreign language. CEFR defines a B1 reader as someone who "can understand texts that consist mainly of high frequency every day or job-related language" and "can understand the description of events, feelings and wishes in personal letters", a B1 writer as someone who "can write simple connected text on topics which are familiar or have personal interest" and "can write personal letters describing experiences and impressions", and a B1 listener as someone who "can understand the main points of clear standard speech on familiar matters regularly encountered in work, school, leisure, etc." (CEFR, 2001, p. 26). TOEFL and IELTS also do not seem to adequately test the linguistic demands of EMI programmes in particular. Wilkinson argues that these tests might not be suitable for entry to EMDPs,

because they were designed to assess "adequate linguistic competence for entry to a university-course in an English-speaking country" (2008a, p. 174). Grupen & Lee's evaluation study of the appropriateness of TOEFL and IELTS in German EMI courses confirms this. While the four basic language skills are sufficiently covered, many context-specific aspects of German academic culture (e.g. exam requirements, essay writing) and a multicultural classroom (e.g. intercultural communication and competencies) are not adequately assessed or even considered (Grupen & Lee, 2011, pp. 43-44). Furthermore, requiring some form of official assessment of English proficiency – be it based on TOEFL, IELTS or CEFR – does not forestall issues with English in the classroom (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006b, p. 121, see also Wächter & Maiworm, 2002, p. 95). Many FUB students in various disciplines reported struggling to communicate in English "in theoretical and discipline-specific discussions" (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006b, p. 122), results confirmed by studies from other European countries (Hellekjaer, 2006; Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2013).

English is also a tool for internationalising FUB's web presence, so international students, faculty, and visitors can only get information in German and English, despite FUB claiming to support linguistic diversity and multilingualism (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017j). Furthermore, ensuring that all popular websites, documents, and forms are in English and German is part of FUB's new internationalisation strategy (Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin, 2017, p. 6). Interestingly, FUB seems to avoid any explicit reference to its de facto use of English. Jenkins (2014, p. 101) examined how FUB uses English on its websites and, in particular, whether the university overtly or covertly links English and internationalisation. The importance of English at FUB is not mentioned on the 'International Network' page; instead, international students and collaboration are emphasized. Even the 'Studies and Teaching' page focuses on the institution's international orientation but fails to mention EMI. Jenkins, thus, concluded that "it seems the university seems [*sic*] to want to avoid reference to its lingua franca use of English while implicitly demonstrating that it is present and inextricably bound up with its international identity" (2014, p. 102).

English is also the prevailing language in the continuing education foreign language courses for FUB administrative staff. In winter semester 2017-2018, there were 8 English courses (A1-C1), one C1 French course, and one C1 Italian course

(Weiterbildungszentrum Freie Universität Berlin, 2017a). Furthermore, improving English language skills is central to the continuing education certification programme "ProFI", which is meant to advance FUB's internationalisation (Weiterbildungszentrum Freie Universität Berlin, 2017b). One-on-one coaching is another option to improve language skills, which has – in my own experience at FUB – primarily been utilised by university leadership, lectures, and professors, who take advantage of opportunities to improve their English so they can better represent FUB in forging strategic partnerships and at international conferences. FUB sees room for growth in its entire English-language continuing education programme, because improving administrators' and management's English skills in particular is part of its internationalisation strategy (Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin, 2017, p. 6).

In sum, FUB privileges English in its push to internationalise, and English has become increasingly integral to its non-language degree programmes. There are, however, two types of English language policies: "The explicit policy outlining the degree of proficiency needed for academic programs and the unstated policy where proficiency is simply assumed" (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 278). Furthermore, there is no uniform policy for language certification and language proficiency requirements, which might not actually ensure student success. This holds especially for undergraduates, who have little experience with academic English and may, thus, only somewhat comprehend the literature given to them in their first years of study. English dominates the continuing education courses for administrative staff and is explicitly advocated. FUB, however, avoids publicising that it uses English as a means to internationalise itself.

4.3 English Language Courses at FUB

The growing demand of English in non-language degree programmes at FUB has not kept pace with "a comparable increase in the teaching of language skills for academic proficiency" (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 283). In fact, only English language practice modules integrated into curricula are offered (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017k). As the heart of foreign language education at FUB, the language centre is responsible for implementing curricula (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017l). In the case of English, the following programmes offer credit for learning a foreign language:

the Bachelor's programmes in English philology; North American studies; and primary education pedagogy (with English as an elective) and the Master's programmes in Master of Education and European languages (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017k). Bachelor's students in English philology, for example, have to complete "oral and writing skills 1" (6 credits), "oral and writing skills 2" (6 credits), and "mediating skills" (6 credits) (Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin, 2011, p. 1169). Furthermore, there is yet another component of all Bachelor's programmes within which English or another foreign language can be chosen: general professional skills courses (*Allgemeine Berufsvorbereitung [ABV]*) (Preuss, 2008, pp. 171). Bachelor's students of all disciplines have to dedicate 30 of their allotted 180 credits to a pre-selection of employment-related courses, of which no more than 15 credits can be devoted to at least one of 11 foreign languages (Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin, 2013b, pp. 318-320). While language learning is voluntary, FUB clearly sees it as improving students' career prospects (Tudor, 2009, p. 193). This is evident in the linguistic qualification goals in foreign languages, which are tailored to meet the demands of the European and international job markets (Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin, 2013b, p. 318). That is, general professional skills courses are not directly related to students' academic fields in contrast to language-related Bachelor's and Master's programmes (Tudor, 2009, p. 193). This initiative involves no subject-specific language teaching and may, thus, ultimately not improve undergraduates' academic reading and writing skills.

There are other issues with FUB's language offerings. First, FUB does offer a wide range of languages – Arabic, Dutch, English, French, GFL, Italian, Japanese, Persian (Farsi), Polish, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, and Turkish (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017m) – and, thus, clearly promotes linguistic diversity in accordance with the Bologna Process (1999) and the German Rectors' Conference (HRK) resolution on language policy (2011). According to Preuss, "At least in designing its Bachelor's programmes FUB is in line with a central aspect of Bologna: creating an initial educational cycle that takes multilingualism seriously and eases its graduates' entry into the European job market and secures their geographic and linguistic mobility" (2008, p. 172). The course offerings, however, are not uniform. Elementary courses are available for all offered languages *except English*, which starts with B2 (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017m, 2017n). This implies that students whose English is below B2 upon matriculation (about 20-30% of applicants in the general professional skills

courses) have to take an English language course at another university or private language school (P. Stear, personal communication, August 15, 2017). Alternatively, these students can go to the university's centre for independent language learning to deepen and solidify their English language skills on their own with support from centre or as part of a tandem learning project (Tassinari, 2017, p. 159). Whether this actually increases language proficiency is under-researched, because the number of confounding variables complicate the evaluation of learning in a self-access language learning centre (Morrison, 2005, pp. 286-287). Another issue is that there are fewer spots in the first-year English professional skills courses than there are qualified students, so some have to wait until their second year (P. Stear, personal communication, August 15, 2017). This might limit academic success, especially in Bachelor's courses with an English component. While the language centre could not provide me with statistics about the popularity of English, English Language Coordinator P. Stear says that English is very popular. There are 7 groups of about 20 students in upper intermediate English for academic professions and 6 groups of 20 students in advanced English for academic professions (P. Stear, personal communication, August 15, 2017).

Students in non-language Master's programmes and students in EMDPs – in which English proficiency is crucial – are not offered English courses (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017o). According to Erling & Hilgendorf, students "who struggle with their readings, or who need help proofreading a paper, have nowhere to go within the university to receive language assistance" (2006a, p. 284). This may seriously hinder students who have little or no experience with academic English (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, pp. 283-284; see also chapter 3.2 for a discussion of this). Acquiring proficiency in academic English, then, requires that these students spend additional time and money outside their studies (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 284). Virtually the same holds for non-native English-speaking doctoral students. The language centre offers doctoral students just one English for academic purposes course (EAP), albeit only for those completing an English-language PhD at FUB. As a rule, about 25 students register in the summer semester and over 45 in the winter semester. After testing (with the thresholds being CEFR B2-C1 and IELTS 6.5), about 20 are admitted (P. Stear, personal communication, August 15, 2017). That is, only students who already have very good English language skills receive linguistic support in writing their dissertation. All other doctoral students have to pay to attend

one of two EAP courses in winter semester 2017-2018 at the Dahlem Research School – the strategic centre for junior researchers at FUB; one is for students in the humanities and social sciences and another for those in natural and life sciences (Dahlem Research School, 2017, pp. 41-42). However, two English courses hardly suffice for 4,400 doctoral students. Unfortunately, I was not granted access to statistical information on how in-demand these courses are. They are, however, very likely sought after, given English's dominance in scientific journals across disciplines (Ammon, 2006a, p. 5).

Aside from English proficiency, how are German HEIs to internationalise if they are unable to offer German courses to international students and international doctoral students (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 285)? Indeed, research has shown that many foreign and doctoral students value learning German as an additional qualification and as a day-to-day survival skill (Fandrych & Sedlaczek, 2012, p. 40; see also Clyne, 2008; DAAD, 2015; Motz, 2005). At FUB, absolute beginner (A1) courses exist only for international doctoral students (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017p). All other students, guest students (e.g. Erasmus, DAAD, exchange students), and visiting scholars can only take language courses starting at A2 (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017q). That is, international EMI students – who have no German-language entry requirements yet need to be integrated into campus life and into their host country (e.g. Ammon, 2005, p. 81) – cannot learn fundamental German at FUB. Furthermore, these groups have no access to other levels of GFL courses (Freie Universität, 2017r), so they bear additional burdens outside their studies to learn the language of their host country.

A survey of deans and directors of central institutes at FUB indicated that they are generally aware of deficits in international students' German but not in their English (Mackiewicz, 2012b, p. 1). A working group under Mackiewicz established in 2011 to develop a concept for the linguistic and intercultural safeguarding of FUB's internationalisation strategy concluded that action is indeed necessary (Mackiewicz, 2012b, p. 1). The survey specifically addressed non-native English-speaking students in English-language Master's programmes, non-native German-speaking doctoral students writing dissertations in German, and non-native English-speaking doctoral students writing dissertations in English (Mackiewicz, 2012b, pp. 1-2). Based on their findings, the working group proposed a comprehensive language policy at FUB

comprised – amongst others – of the following: The language entrance requirements should be unambiguously and uniformly stated in the appropriate regulations. Master's and doctoral students whose first language differs from their academic language must be able to improve their skills in the applicable language: English or German. As for international and domestic Master's students in EMDPs, general professional skills courses in English should be made available with the possibility of earning credit. Furthermore, international students in EMDPs without fundamental German communication skills must be able to acquire them. As for non-native English-speaking doctoral students writing dissertations in English and international doctoral students writing dissertations in German, FUB should – amongst others – provide the following services: English and German language courses (with the goal of improving linguistic and written academic communication), beginner German courses, individual writing guidance at the independent language learning centre, a writing workshop, and instructed language tandem (Mackiewicz, 2012b, pp. 2-4). Furthermore, a central contact point should be established for all of these student groups to turn to immediately after matriculation as well as a revision centre with study guidance (Mackiewicz, 2012b, pp. 2-3).

In sum, the working group argues that FUB must see it as its duty to equip otherwise qualified students whose first language and academic language differ with the appropriate academic language skills (if they are insufficient) (Mackiewicz, 2012b, p. 1). FUB has yet to reach this goal. For all interested Bachelor's students, FUB has started providing English (and other foreign) language courses by introducing general professional skills courses; this may improve the students' employability but not their academic writing and reading skills. EAP courses would have to be introduced to achieve this. Furthermore, Bachelor's students with a B1 level of English cannot improve their English in professional skills courses, even if their discipline requires they do so (e.g. academic reading or English possible language of instruction). For international and German students in EMDPs or for Master's students in German Master's programmes with explicit or implicit English-language proficiency requirements, there are no English or EAP courses. However, the extent to which a lack of English language proficiency impacts academic success is an open and under-researched question (Shohamy, 2013, p. 202; Soltau, 2008, p. 87). Research does suggest that beyond a certain linguistic threshold, differences in learning outcomes (between "good", "very good", and "excellent" language skills) are negligible. It

may, therefore, be crucial for admissions offices to introduce such a threshold (Soltau, 2008, pp. 87-88). At FUB, however, no uniform minimum prerequisite has been determined. As for doctoral students, the recommendations of the working group have only partially been implemented: a few EAP and beginner German classes are now available to doctoral candidates. More can be done, however, in terms of GFL, perhaps by offering classes at all levels to international students in EMDPs.

4.4 Financial Obstacles to Implementing Language Policy

Implementing an institutional language policy demands significant financial and personnel investment for individual HEIs (HRK, 2012, p. 18). Financing for such a policy has to be budgeted and borne by the federal states – the state of Berlin in the case of FUB (Senatskanzlei Wissenschaft und Forschung, 2017). Measures that require funding at FUB include those suggested by the preliminary report of the working group for the development of a language policy: introducing general professional skills courses in English for all students in EMDPs, EAP courses and a writing workshop for doctoral students, and a revision centre with study guidance and a central contact point for all students (Mackiewicz, 2012b, pp. 2-4). This means incorporating more language courses, providing additional student supervision and material, employing more language teachers and/or guest lecturers and administrative staff, and having adequate classrooms space and equipment. In Germany, most HEIs (including FUB) are state- and government-funded (HRK, 2017a). In Germany's federal system, education (including higher education) is the responsibility of individual states (*Bundesländer)*, with each state having its own higher education laws (*Landeshochschulgesetz*) (HRK, 2017a). While the states are responsible for the basic funding and general conditions of HEIs, HEIs are largely self-regulatory and can determine their own curricula (HRK, 2017b). Because this is laid out in the requirements of Article 5 (3) in the German Basic Law (*Grundgesetz*) guaranteeing the freedom of art, science, teaching, and learning (Grundgesetz der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1949, p. 11), a state cannot impose language policy on HEIs. The state of Berlin is, however, heavily indebted. According to an audit, Berlin is €60 billion in debt (plus about €1.4 billion in interest) and "must systematically follow consolidation and debt reduction strategies" (Rechnungshof von Berlin, 2017, p.12). So freeing up additional funding to implement an explicit (English) language policy

at FUB could prove be very difficult. Furthermore, Berlin educational policy focuses on primary and secondary education. Due to severe teacher shortages in Berlin schools, HEI funding is being allocated to expand the capacity for teacher education (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017s). States like Bavaria though, have balanced budgets (Bayerischer Oberster Rechnungshof, 2016, p. 10). In Bavaria, funding for the internationalisation of HEIs rose from €8 million in 2014 to over €10 million in 2018 (Freistaat Bayern, 2017, p. 122). This may have enabled the Technical University of Munich, for example, to offer a broad range of English courses for all members of the university (Technische Hochschule München, 2017).

Tuition could be an additional source of funding for implementing a language policy at German HEIs (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 286). In 2005, the German Constitutional Court lifted a 1976 ban on tuition by the Higher Education Framework Act (*Hochschulrahmengesetz*), arguing that it interferes with a state's autonomy in determining its higher education policy (Hübner, 2012, p. 950). Immediately following this decision, 7 of the 16 German states set tuition at a 1,000€ per academic year. In the other states, like Berlin, public universities remained tuition free. Despite being low, tuition was perceived as increasing social injustice – especially by left-leaning parties – and has since been abolished (Hübner, 2012, p. 950; Kauder & Potrafke, 2013, p. 628). The debate over implementing tuition, however, continues. Some see it as a vital means of solving the financial crisis of German universities. According to Hippler, President of the German Rectors' Conference, "HEIs are absolutely underequipped. Tuition could meaningfully supplement state funding" (Preuß & Osel, 2014). Critics argue, however, that tuition could deter the educationally or socioeconomically disadvantaged from studying (Burchard, 2014, n. p.), which research seems to confirm (Kroth, 2015). Another argument against tuition is that it could slow the internationaliation of HE, because affordability is a major draw for international students (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 286). Indeed, in a DAAD-funded study, 59% of the over 11,000 international Master's students surveyed listed "no tuition" as the most important reason for studying in Germany (DAAD, 2015, p. 132). FUB only charges tuition for continuing education programmes (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017t). Seven of the 25 EMDPs in winter semester 2017-2018 charge tuition; an MA in visual and media anthropology, for example, costs 5,990€ per academic year (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017u), and an MA in European and international business, competition, and regulatory law costs

9,500€ for the full-time programme (Freie Universität Berlin, 2017v). Given the potentially inadequate linguistic support (where necessary), Erling & Hilgendorf argue that "students cannot be expected to pay for a product that is not up to standard" (2006a, p. 285).

In sum, as long as funding for foreign language courses in non-philological subjects is lacking, implementing the comprehensive language policy measures recommended by the FUB working group will be extremely difficult. This may be an important reason for the lack of an explicit language policy at FUB. Policies and political action are necessary here. The HRK's recommendation to internationalise HEIs curricula could be a step in the right direction: "no matter what their specific study programmes, all students should be given the opportunity to take language courses and have their achievements recognised. Foreign language acquisition should therefore be integrated into curricula", yet English as the academic lingua franca holds an elevated status (HRK, 2017c, p. 8). That is, if foreign language learning were firmly entrenched in the curricula, policymakers would have to provide the necessary financial means. Implementing tuition is not a good alternative, because it can keep the socioeconomically disadvantaged from studying at all and could deter international students from studying in Germany. This would be counterproductive for HEIs, because "without foreign students the educational system will not be able to achieve its desired goal of internationalising the curriculum" (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006a, p. 286).

Conclusion

Internationalisation has become a must for Germany's tertiary educational sector in order to stay competitive on the global market for education. In order to achieve this goal, an implicit English language policy has been used, which, in fact, has a clear rationale. As the global lingua franca in science, business, and international communication, English at German HEIs is seen as attracting more foreign students, scholars, and researchers, which is, in turn, expected to boost Germany's competitiveness in academia, business, and industry. English language skills are indeed important for participating in a global scientific community and for enhancing international employability and mobility for domestic and international students. Yet, the increasing dominance of English as a tool of communication and a language of instruction and research in German HE poses serious challenges regarding the promotion of academic English proficiency. Being able to adequately communicate academically, however, is an important qualification in all three study cycles (cf. Dublin descriptors, Mackiewicz, 2009, p. 15). That is, "it is vital that the language be taught at a university level, so that its users can express themselves with competence and confidence gaining from the advantages such a global language offers" (Erling & Hilgendorf, 2006b, p. 124). Accommodating the use of English, then, implies a good quality control system, in particular for all non-native English speakers and language support closely related to student curricula and to student specific needs. Thus, HEIs should establish a language policy that acknowledges and adequately incorporates the de facto use of English in German HE to ensure a good quality education and quality control in the academic lingua franca. Formulating and implementing such an explicit English language policy may, however, prove difficult to realise for various reasons. The social role of HE is to maintain linguistic and cultural diversity and to promote individual and societal multilingualism – a language policy which is also in line with the EU. Furthermore, additional foreign language skills are increasingly being valued by employers and relevant for Erasmus mobility and cultural understanding. Financial issues are also a major obstacle. The significant funding necessary to effectuate such an explicit English language policy would have to be passed in the budgets of state legislatures. Limited public funding is currently being allocated to e.g., domestic security, social welfare, and primary and secondary education. On top of this, a recent shift in the political landscape towards securing regional and national interests has made it difficult to convincingly argue for why an

explicit English language policy is a priority. Consequently, many public HEIs – in order to fulfil their various roles and expectations in their efforts to internationalise – are forced to implicitly implement an English language policy with the limited means at their disposal. This suggests that every HEI should tailor an English language policy to its particular special needs and financial means, be it an implicit or explicit English language policy.

Bibliography

Altbach, P. G., & Knight, J. (2007). The internationalization of higher education: Motivations and realities. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *11*(3-4), 290-305.

Altbach, P.G., Reisberg, L., & Rumbley, L.E. (2009). Trends in global higher education. Tracking an academic revolution. Retrieved July 16, 2017 from http://www.cep.edu.rs/public/Altbach,_Reisberg,_Rumbley_Tracking_an_Academic _Revolution,_UNESCO_2009.pdf

Ammon, U. (1990). German or English? The problems of language choice experienced by German-speaking scientists. In P. Nelde (Eds.), *Language conflict and minorities*, (pp. 33–51). Bonn: Dummler.

Ammon, U. (1995). To what extent is German an international language. In P. Stevenson (Eds.), *The German language and the real world: Sociolinguistic, cultural, and pragmatic perspectives on contemporary German*, (pp. 25-54). Oxford: Clarendon.

Ammon, U. (1998). *Ist Deutsch noch internationale Wissenschaftssprache? Englisch auch für die Lehre an den deutschsprachigen Hochschulen.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ammon, U. (2001). English as a future language of teaching at German universities? A question of difficult consequences, posed by the decline of German as a language of science. In U. Ammon (Eds.), *The dominance of English as a language of science*: *Effects on other languages and language communities* (pp. 343–361). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ammon, U. (2004). German as an international language of the sciences–recent past and present. In A. Gardt & B. Hüppauf (Eds.), *Globalization and the future of German* (pp. 157-172). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Ammon, U. (2005). Welche Rolle spielt Deutsch als Wissenschaftssprache neben Englisch? In M. Motz (Eds.), *Englisch oder Deutsch in internationalen Studiengängen?* (pp. 67-86). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.

Ammon, U. (2006a). Language planning for international scientific communication: An overview of questions and potential solutions. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *7*(1), 1-30.

Ammon, U. (2006b). Language conflicts in the European Union. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *16*(3), 319-338.

Ammon, U. (2008). Deutsch als Wissenschaftssprache: Wie lange noch? In C. Gnutzmann (Eds.), *English in academia. Catalyst or barrier*? (pp. 25-43). Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Ammon, U. (2012). Language policy in the European Union (EU). In B. Spolsky (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of language policy*, (pp. 570-591). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ammon, U. (2015, February 4). Deutschlernen ist wieder attraktiv. *Deutsche Welle*. Retrieved July 10, 2017 from http://www.dw.com/de/ammon-deutschlernen-ist-wieder-attraktiv/a-18234484

Ammon, U., & McConnell, G. (2002). *English as an academic language in Europe. A survey of its use in teaching*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.

Anger, C., Koppel, O., & Plünnecke, A. (2011). *MINT – Report 2011. Zehn gute Gründe für ein MINT-Studium.* Köln: Institut der deutschen Wirtschaft Köln.

Araújo, L., Dinis da Costa, P., Flisi, S., & Soto Calvo, E. (2015). *Languages and employability*. Luxemburg: European Commission. Retrieved July 12, 2017 from https://crell.jrc.ec.europa.eu/sites/default/files/files/JRC97544.pdf

Auswärtiges Amt [Federal Foreign Office] (2015). *Deutsch als Fremdsprache weltweit. Datenerhebung: 2015*. Berlin: Auswärtiges Amt. Retrieved July 10, 2017 from https://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/cae/servlet/contentblob/364458/publicationFile/204449/PublStatistik.pdf

Bayerischer Oberster Rechnungshof. (2016). *Jahresbericht 2016*. Retrieved September 20,
2017 from
https://www.orh.bayern.de/media/com_form2content/documents/c6/a449/f36/ORH-
Bericht_2016.pdf

Beacco, J. C. & Byram, M. (2003). *Guide for the development of language education
policies in Europe: From linguistic diversity to plurilingual education.* Strasbourg:
Council of Europe.

Bennett, K. (2015). Towards an epistemological monoculture: Mechanisms of epistemicide
in European research publication. In R. Plo Alastrué & C. Pérez-Llantada (Eds.),
English as a scientific and research language, (pp. 9-35). Berlin: De Gruyter
Mouton.

Bergan, S. (2002). Language policies in higher education: Introduction to a debate. In S.
Bergan (Eds.), *Language policies in higher education: Invitation to a debate*, (pp. 9-
20). Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Berlin Communiqué. (2003*). Realising the European Higher Education Area*. Retrieved
July 12, 2017 from
https://media.ehea.info/file/2003_Berlin/28/4/2003_Berlin_Communique_English_5
77284.pdf

Berns, M. (1995). English in the European Union. *English Today*, *11*(3), 3-11.

Blindow, V. (2015). Welche Sprache(n) spricht Europa? *Wissenschaftsmagazin Fundiert,*
(pp. 18-23). Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin.

Blossfeld, H. P., Bos. W., Daniel, H. D., Hannover, B., Lenzen, D., Prenzel, M., Roßbach,
H.G., Tippelt, R., & Wößmann, R. (2012). *Internationalisierung der Hochschulen.
Eine institutionelle Gesamtstrategie*. Münster. Waxmann Verlag.

Böhm, T. (2015). The German higher education system and the internationalization of
universities. Retrieved October 19, 2017 from

http://supporthere.org/sites/default/files/here_german_higher_education_system_hrk
_bohm.pdf

Bologna Declaration. (1999). The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999. Joint Declaration of
the European Ministers of Education. Retrieved July 13, 2017 from
https://media.ehea.info/file/Ministerial_conferences/02/8/1999_Bologna_Declaration
_English_553028.pdf

Bourdieu, P. (1986). The forms of capital. In J. G. Richardson (Eds.), *Handbook of theory
and research for the sociology of education* (pp. 241-258). New York: Greenwood
Press.

British Council. (2013). *The English effect*. London: British Council. Retrieved July 10,
2017 from https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/english-effect-report-
v2.pdf

Brumfit, C. (2004). Language and higher education: Two current challenges. *Arts and
Humanities in Higher Education*, *3*(2), 163-173.

Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF) (2004). *Bundesbericht Forschung*.
Retrieved August 15, 2017 from
https://www.bmbf.de/pub/Bufo_2004_Langfassung.pdf

Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF) (2015, July 7). *Erstmals über
300.000 ausländische Studierende in Deutschland*. Pressemitteilung: 098/2015.
Retrieved August 15, 2017 from https://www.bmbf.de/de/erstmals-ueber-300-000-
auslaendische-studierende-in-deutschland-956.html

Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung (BMBF) (2017). *The Bologna Process*.
Retrieved September 15, 2017 from https://www.bmbf.de/en/the-bologna-process-
1421.html

Burchard, A. (2014, October 14). HRK-Chef will Studierende wieder zur Kasse bitten. *Der
Tagesspiegel*. Retrieved September 13, 2017 from

http://www.tagesspiegel.de/wissen/neue-diskussion-um-studiengebuehren-hrk-chef-will-studierende-wieder-zur-kasse-bitten/10857028.html

Buysse, L., Claes, K., & Snauwaert, E. (2011). Languages in business education: Introduction. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *(161)*, 5-9.

Cenoz, J., & Gorter, D. (2010). The diversity of multilingualism in education. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *2010*(205), 37-53.

Chambers, A. (2003) *Language policy in higher education in Europe: a pilot survey*. Retrieved July 10, 2017 from https://www.eurashe.eu/library/modernising-phe/mobility/language/WG4%20R%20Language_policy_in_higher_education_in_Europe%20Pilot%20Survey%20July03.pdf

Clear, J. (2005). The problems a German higher education institution faces when offering courses conducted in English. In M. Motz (Eds.), *Englisch oder Deutsch in internationalen Studiengängen?* (pp. 193-202). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Clyne, M. G. (1995). *German language in a changing Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clyne, M. G. (2008). Why Germany needs a coordinated, pluralistic language policy. In J. Warren & H. Benbow (Eds.), *Multilingual Europe. Reflections on language and identity* (pp.7-26). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Press.

Coleman, J. A. (2006). English-medium teaching in European higher education. *Language Teaching*, *39*(01), 1-14.

Coleman, J. A. (2013). Foreword. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster & J. M. Sierra (Eds.), *English-medium instruction at universities. Global challenges* (pp. xiii-xv). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Connell, T. J. (2002). *Languages and employability: A question of careers*. London: City University.

Coulmas, F. (1985). *Sprache und Staat: Studien zur Sprachplanung und Sprachpolitik*.
Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Council of Europe (2001). Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.
Retrieved September 3, 2017 from https://rm.coe.int/1680459f97

Council of the European Economic Community. (1958). *Regulation No 1 determining the languages to be used by the European Economic Community*. (OJ.17, pp. 385-386).
Retrieved July 20, 2017 from http://eur-
lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=CELEX:31958R0001:EN:HTML

Crystal, D. (2002). *The English language: A guided tour of the language*. London: Penguin Books.

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a global language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Czernomoriez, J. (2009). *Internationale Wanderungen von Humankapital und wirtschaftliches Wachstum*. Volkswirtschaftliche Schriften, Berlin. Duncker und Humblodt.

Dahlem Research School (2017). Qualification Program for Junior Researchers – Winter 2017-2018. Retrieved September 3, 2017 from http://www.fu-
berlin.de/sites/promovieren/media/pdf/DRS-Programmheft-2017-2018_Web.pdf

De Solla Price, D.J. (1986). *Little science, big science and beyond.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) (2015). *Wissenschaft weltoffen, 2015*.
Retrieved September 2, 2017 from
http://www.wissenschaftweltoffen.de/publikation/wiwe_2015_verlinkt.pdf

Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) (2017a). *International programmes in Germany*. Retrieved August 15, 2017 from
https://www.daad.de/deutschland/studienangebote/international-programs

Deutscher Akademischer Austauschdienst (DAAD) (2017b). *Wissenschaft weltoffen, 2017*. Retrieved September 3, 2017 from http://www.wissenschaftweltoffen.de/publikation/wiwe_2017_verlinkt.pdf

De Swaan, A. (1998). A political sociology of the world language system (1): The dynamics of language spread. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, *22*(1), 63-75.

De Swaan, A. (2001). *Words of the world – The global language system*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

De Swaan, A. (2004). Endangered languages, sociolinguistics, and linguistic sentimentalism. *European Review*, *12*(4), 567-580.

De Wit, H. (2010). *Internationalisation of higher education in Europe and its assessment, trends and issues*. Den Haag: Nederlands-Vlaamse Accreditatieorganisatie.

Doiz, A., Lasagabaster, D., & Sierra, J. M. (2013). English as L3 at a bilingual university in the Basque Country, Spain. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster & J. M. Sierra (Eds.), *English-medium instruction at universities. Global challenges* (pp. 84–100). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Dollerup, C. (1996). English in the European Union. In R. Hartmann (Eds.), *The English language in Europe* (pp. 24-36). Exeter: Intellect.

Earls, C. W. (2013). Setting the Catherine wheel in motion: An exploration of "Englishization" in the German higher education system. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, *37*(2), 125-150.

Earls, C. W. (2014). Striking the balance: the role of English and German in a multilingual English-medium degree programme in German higher education. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *15*(2), 153-173.

Earls, C. W. (2016). *Evolving agendas in European English-medium higher education: Interculturality, multilingualism and language policy*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Ehlich, K. (2000). Deutsch als Wissenschaftssprache für das 21. Jahrhundert. *German as a foreign language (GFL) 1*, 47-63.

Ehlich, K. (2005). Deutsch als Medium wissenschaftlichen Arbeitens. In M. Motz (Eds.), *Englisch oder Deutsch in internationalen Studiengängen?* (pp. 41-51). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.

Ehlich, K., & Graefen, G. (2001). Sprachliches Handeln als Medium diskursiven Denkens. Überlegungen zur sukkursiven Einübung in die deutsche Wissenschaftskommunikation. *Jahrbuch Deutsch als Fremdsprache 27*, 351-78.

Ehrenreich, S. (2010). English as a business lingua franca in a German multinational corporation: Meeting the challenge. *The Journal of Business Communication*, *47*(4), 408-431.

Erasmus. (2015). *Facts, Figures & Trends. The European Union support for student and staff exchanges and university cooperation in 2013-2014*. Luxembourg. European Commission.

Erling, E. J. (2004). *Globalization, English and the German university classroom: a sociolinguistic profile of students of English at the Freie Universität Berlin* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Edinburgh, Edingburgh.

Erling, E. J., & Hilgendorf, S. K. (2004). *Globalization and its impact on Higher Education in the German context*. LAUD Paper No. 623. Linguistic Agency University of Duisburg-Essen. Retrieved July 13, 2017 from http://www.linse.uni-due.de/laud-downloadliste/articles/globalization-and-its-impact-on-higher-education-in-the-german-context.html

Erling, E. J., & Hilgendorf, S. K. (2006a). Language policies in the context of German higher education. *Language Policy*, *5*(3), 267-293.

Erling, E. J. & Hilgendorf, S. K. (2006b). English in the German university: A means of disadvantage or empowerment? In A. Weideman & B. Smieja (Eds.), *Empowerment through language and education* (pp. 111- 26). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Erling, E. J., & Walton, A. (2007). English at work in Berlin. *English Today*, *23*(1), 32-40.

Ette, A., & Sauer, L. (2010). *Abschied vom Einwanderungsland Deutschland? Die Migration Hochqualifizierter im europäischen und internationalen Vergleich*. Gütersloh: Bertelsmann Stiftung.

European Commission. (1995). *White paper on education and learning. Teaching and learning. Towards the learning society*. Retrieved July 20, 2017 from http://europa.eu/documents/comm/white_papers/pdf/com95_590_en.pdf

European Commission. (2003). *Promoting language learning and linguistic diversity. An action plan 2004-2006*. Luxembourg: European Commission.

European Commission. (2012a). *Eurobarometer 386. Europeans and their languages*. Brussels: European Commission. Retrieved July 16, 2017 from http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf

European Commission. (2012b, July 27). *Press release. Eurobarometer: 98% say language learning is good for their children, but tests highlight skills gap*. Retrieved July 16, 2017 from http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-12-857_en.htm?locale=en

European Commission. (2013). *Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the regions. European higher education in the world*. Brussels: European Commission.

European Council. (2002). *Presidency conclusions – Barcelona 15 and 16 March 2002*. Retrieved July 20, 2017 from http://ec.europa.eu/invest-in-research/pdf/download_en/barcelona_european_council.pdf

European Language Council. (2001). *Multilingualism and new learning environments. Workshop 1: Universities and language policy in Europe. Reference Document*. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin. Retrieved July 15, 2017 from http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/elc/docs/langpolENlong.pdf

European Parliament. (2017). *Language policy*. (Facts sheets on the European Union). Retrieved July 28, 2017 from http://www.europarl.europa.eu/ftu/pdf/en/FTU_5.13.6.pdf

Fandrych, C., & Sedlaczek, B. (2012). Englisch und Deutsch in internationalen Studiengängen: Kompetenz, Verwendung und Einschätzung bei Studierenden und Lehrenden. *FLuL–Fremdsprachen Lehren und Lernen*, *41*(2), 25-41.

Ferguson, G. (2012). English in language policy and management. In R. Spolsky (Eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of language policy* (pp. 475-498). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Flowerdew, J. (2007). The non-Anglophone scholar on the periphery of scholarly publication. *AILA review*, *20*(1), 14-27.

Freie Universität Berlin. (2015). Leistungsbericht der Freien Universität Berlin für 2015. Retrieved August 15, 2017 from https://www.berlin.de/sen/wissenschaft/berichte-und-zahlen/leistungsberichte/

Freie Universität Berlin. (2016a). Facts and figures. Retrieved August 13, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/universitaet/leitbegriffe/zahlen/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2016b). At a glance. A short portrait of Freie Universität Berlin. Retrieved August 15, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/presse/publikationen/media/kurzportraet_en.pdf

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017a). Overall statistics summer term 2017. Retrieved August 13, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/studium/studienorganisation/immatrikulation/weitere-angebote/statistik/daten/SS_2017_gesamtstatistik.pdf

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017b). Times Higher Education World University Rankings 2017–2018: Freie Universität Berlin ranks 88 worldwide. Retrieved September 5,

2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/presse/informationen/fup/2017/fup_17_234-times-higher-education-ranking/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017c). Freie Universität Berlin most popular institution in Germany for leading researchers and outstanding young scholars from abroad. Retrieved September 5, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/presse/informationen/fup/2017/fup_17_229-avh-rangliste-2017/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017d). Bachelor and Master's programs taught in English at Freie Universität. Retrieved August 30, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/studium/studienangebot/english/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017e). Reform process. Retrieved August 30, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/sites/bologna/reformprozess/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017f). Von der Schule an die Freie Universität Berlin. Grundständiges Studienangebot zum Wintersemester 2017/2018. Retrieved August 25, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/studium/docs/DOC/vonderschuleandiefub.pdf

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017g). Master's Programs 2017. Retrieved August 31, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/studium/studienangebot/master/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017h). Language tests for applicants to BA programmes. Retrieved August 18, 2017 from http://www.sprachenzentrum.fu-berlin.de/en/sprachtests/sprachtests_fuer_Studienbewerber/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017i). Language requirements. Retrieved August 20, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/studium/bewerbung/master/konsekutive-masterstudiengaenge/sprachliche-zugangsvoraussetzungen/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017j). Präsident Alt begrüßt HRK-Beschluss zur Förderung der Mehrsprachigkeit. Retrieved August 15, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/presse/informationen/fup/2011/fup_11_364/

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017k). Zentraleinrichtung Sprachenzentrum. Sprachangebot Englisch. Retrieved September 2, 2017 from http://www.sprachenzentrum.fu-berlin.de/sprachangebot/sprachen/englisch/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017l). Zentraleinrichtung Sprachenzentrum. Retrieved September 2, 2017 from http://www.sprachenzentrum.fu-berlin.de/en/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017m). Zentraleinrichtung Sprachenzentrum. Sprachangebot. Retrieved September 2, 2017 from http://www.sprachenzentrum.fu-berlin.de/sprachangebot/sprachen/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017n). Zentraleinrichtung Sprachenzentrum. ABV-Englisch. Retrieved September 4, 2017 from http://www.sprachenzentrum.fu-berlin.de/sprachangebot/sprachen/englisch/abv-englisch/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017o). Vorlesungsverzeichnis. Sprachenzentrum, Wintersemester 2017/2018. Retrieved September 2, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/vv/fach?id=540000

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017p). Zentraleinrichtung Sprachenzentrum. Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Intensive German language courses. Retrieved September 5, 2017 from http://www.sprachenzentrum.fu-berlin.de/sprachangebot/sprachen/deutsch/news/A1-Deutsch-kurs.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017q). Zentraleinrichtung Sprachenzentrum. Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Modulangebot. Retrieved September 5, 2017 from http://www.sprachenzentrum.fu-berlin.de/sprachangebot/sprachen/deutsch/programmstudierende/kursangebot/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017r). Zentraleinrichtung Sprachenzentrum. Deutsch als Fremdsprache. Retrieved September 5, 2017 from http://www.sprachenzentrum.fu-berlin.de/sprachangebot/sprachen/deutsch/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017s). Berliner Senatskanzlei und Hochschulen einigen sich auf Hochschulverträge. Retrieved September 15, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/presse/informationen/fup/2017/fup_17_060-senatskanzlei-und-hochschulen-einigung-hochschulvertraege/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017t). Gebühren. Retrieved September 26, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/studium/studienorganisation/immatrikulation/rueckmeldung/gebuehren/

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017u). Visual and media anthropology. Retrieved September 26, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/studium/studienangebot/master/visual_media_anthropology/index.html

Freie Universität Berlin. (2017v). European and International Business, Competition, and Regulatory Law. Retrieved September 26, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/en/studium/studienangebot/master/mbl_rechtswissenschaftlicher_master/index.html

Freistaat Bayern. (2017). *Haushaltsplan 2017-2018. Einzelplan* 15. Retrieved September 10, 2017 from https://www.stmflh.bayern.de/haushalt/staatshaushalt_2017/haushaltsplan/Epl15.pdf

Gallagher-Brett, A., & Broady, E. (2012). Teaching languages in higher education. *The Language Learning Journal*, *40*(3), 263–271.

Gardt, A., & Hüppauf, B. (2004). *Globalization and the future of German*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Gerhards, J. (2012a). *From Babel to Brussels. European integration and the importance of transnational linguistic capital*. Berlin Studies on the Sociology of Europe (BSSE) No. 28. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin.

Gerhards, J. (2012b, January). Europäische Sprachenpolitik. Plädoyer für die Förderung der Lingua franca Englisch. *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*. Retrieved August 24, 2017 from http://www.bpb.de/apuz/59771/europaeische-sprachenpolitik?p=all

Gerhards, J. (2014). *Why the EU should change its language policy. Making the case for promoting English as Europe's lingua franca*. BSSE Working Paper No. 32. Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin.

Gerritsen, M., & Nickerson, C. (2009). BELF: Business English as a lingua franca. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini (Eds.), *The handbook of business discourse* (pp. 180-192). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Gnutzmann, C. (1999). English as a global language. Perspectives for English language teaching and for teacher education in Germany. In C. Gnutzmann (Eds.), *Teaching and learning English as a global language. Native and non-native perspectives*. (pp. 157-170). Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Gnutzmann, C. (2008). Fighting or fostering the dominance of English in academic communication? In C. Gnutzmann (Eds.), *English in academia. Catalyst or barrier* (pp.73-91). Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Gnutzmann, C., & Lipski-Buchholz, K. (2008). Englischsprachige Studiengänge: Was können sie leisten, was geht verloren?". In C. Gnutzmann (Eds.), *English in academia. Catalyst or barrier* (pp.147-168). Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Gnutzmann, C., Jakisch, J., & Rabe, F. (2015). Resources for publishing in English as a foreign language: Strategies, peers and techniques. In R. Plo Alastrué & C. Pérez-Llantada (Eds.), *English as a scientific and research language* (pp. 59-84). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Graddol, D. (1997). *The future of English? A guide to forecasting the popularity of the English language in the 21st century*. London: British Council.

Graddol, D. (1999). The decline of the native speaker. In D. Graddol & U. Meinhof (Eds.), *English in a changing world* (pp. 57-68). Oxford: English Book Centre.

Graddol, D. (2001). The future of English as a European lingua franca. *The European English Messenger*, *X*(2), 47–55.

Grundgesetz für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland. (1949). Retrieved September 10, 2017 from http://politische-bildung-rlp.de/fileadmin/download_neu/GG_Grundgesetz__Okt_2006.pdf

Grupen, C., & Lee, M. (2011). Sprachliche Anforderungen in englischsprachigen Studiengängen an deutschen Universitäten–zur Angemessenheit von TOEFL und IELTS für die Zulassung von Studierenden. Retrieved January 4, 2017 from http://www.mumis-projekt.de/mumis/download/grupen_lee_sprachliche_anforderungen_in_englischsprachigen_studiengaengen.pdf

Gundermann, S. (2014). *English-medium instruction: modelling the role of the native speaker in a lingua franca context* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, Freiburg.

Hagège, C. (1996). *Welche Sprache für Europa? Verständigung in der Vielfalt.* Frankfurt: Campus.

Hagen, S. (1993). *Language in European business: A regional survey of small and medium-sized companies*. London: Centre for Information on Languages Teaching and Research: City Technology Colleges.

Hagen, S., Foreman-Peck, J., Davila-Philippon, S., Nordgren, B., & Hagen, S. (2006). *ELAN: Effects on the European economy of shortages of foreign language skills in enterprise*. Brussels: European Commission. Retrieved July 17, 2017 from

https://heimatkunde.boell.de/sites/default/files/downloads/integration/elan_final_rep
ort_english.pdf

Hahn, K. (2004). *Die Internationalisierung der deutschen Hochschulen. Kontext,
Kernprozesse, Konzepte und Strategien.* Wiesbaden: Verlag für
Sozialwissenschaften.

Hale, K. (1998). On endangered languages and the importance of linguistic diversity. In L.
A. Grenoble & L. J. Whaley (Eds.), *Endangered languages: Language loss and
community response*, (pp. 192-216). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hellekjaer, G. O. (2006). Screening criteria for English-medium programmes: a case study.
In R. Wilkinson, V. Zegers & C. van Leeuwen (Eds.), *Bridging the assessment gap
in English-medium higher education* (pp. 43-60). Bochum: AKS-Verlag.

Hellekjaer, G. O. (2007). The implementation of undergraduate level English-medium
programs in Norway: an explorative case study. In R. Wilkinson & V. Zegers (Eds.),
Researching content and language integration in higher education (pp. 68-81).
Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers.

Hettiger, A. (2016). Der Beitrag von Sprachenpolitiken zu einer internationalen und
mehrsprachigen Hochschule. *Fremdsprachen und Hochschule, 91*, 9-22.

Hilgendorf, S. K. (2005). "Brain Gain statt [instead of] Brain Drain": the role of English in
German education. *World Englishes*, *24*(1), 53-67.

Hilgendorf, S. K. (2007). English in Germany: contact, spread and attitudes. *World
Englishes*, *26*(2), 131-148.

Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) (2011). *Language policy at German universities*.
Resolution of the 11th general meeting of 22 November 2011. Retrieved August 12,
2017 from
https://www.hrk.de/fileadmin/_migrated/content_uploads/HRK_Resolution_Languag
e_policy_at_German_universities.pdf

Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) (2012). Erfolgreich internationalisieren. Retrieved August 15, 2017 from https://www.hrk.de/fileadmin/redaktion/hrk-audit/Infothek/Bonn_Konferenzbroschuere.pdf

Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) (2014). Auf internationale Erfolge aufbauen. Retrieved August 10, 2017 from https://www.hrk.de/audit/fileadmin/redaktion/hrk-audit/Infothek/HRK-Audit_Auf_internationale_Erfolge_aufbauen_01.pdf

Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) (2015). Building upon international success. Retrieved August 14, 2017 from https://www.hrk.de/fileadmin/redaktion/hrk-audit/Infothek/HRK-Audit_Building_upon_International_Success.pdf

Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) (2016, October 6). HRK Audit "Internationalisation of Universities": Positive results for the German higher education system seven years on. Retrieved August 14, 2017 from https://www.hrk.de/press/press-releases/press-release/meldung/hrk-audit-internationalisation-of-universities-positive-results-for-the-german-higher-education-s/

Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) (2017a). Implementing Bologna structures and principles in German universities. Retrieved August 17, 2017 from https://www.hrk.de/activities/bologna-process/

Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) (2017b). Higher Education Finance. Retrieved August 16, 2017 from https://www.hrk.de/activities/higher-education-finance/

Hochschulrektorenkonferenz (HRK) (2017c). On the internationalisation of curricula. Retrieved August 17, 2017 from https://www.hrk.de/resolutions-publications/resolutions/beschluss/detail/on-the-internationalisation-of-curricula/

Hoffmann, C. (2000). The spread of English and the growth of multilingualism in Europe. In J. Cenoz & U. Jessner (Eds.), *English in Europe: The acquisition of a third language* (pp. 1-21). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

House, J. (2003). English as a lingua franca: A threat to multilingualism? *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *7*(4), 556-578.

Hübner, M. (2012). Do tuition fees affect enrollment behavior? Evidence from a 'natural experiment'in Germany. *Economics of Education Review*, *31*(6), 949-960.

Hughes, R. (2008). Internationalisation of higher education and language policy. *Higher Education Management and Policy*, *20*(1), 111-128.

Hüppauf, B. (2004). Globalization: threats and opportunities. In A. Gardt & B. Hüppauf, (Eds.), *Globalization and the future of German* (pp. 3-24). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Institut für Demoskopie Allensbach (IfDAllensbach) (2011): *Studienbedingungen und Chancengerechtigkeit an Deutschlands Hochschulen 2011.* Hamburg.

International Monetary Fund (2016). World economic outlook database. Retrieved July 13, 2017 from http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/weo/2016/02/weodata/index.aspx

Jenkins, J. (2014). *English as a lingua franca in the international university: The politics of academic English language policy*. London: Routledge.

Jonkmann, K., Köller, O. & Trautwein, U. (2007). Englischleistungen am Ende der Sekundarstufe II. In U. Trautwein, O. Köller, R. Lehmann & O. Lüdtke (Eds.), *Schulleistungen von Abiturienten: Regionale, schulformbezogene und soziale Disparitäten* (pp. 113-142). Münster: Waxmann.

Kachru, B. B. (1990). World Englishes and applied linguistics. *World Englishes*, *9*(1), 3-20.

Kaplan, R. B., & Baldauf, R. B. (1997). *Language planning from practice to theory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Kauder, B., & Potrafke, N. (2013). Government ideology and tuition fee policy: Evidence from the German states. *CESifo Economic Studies*, *59*(4), 628-649.

Kennedy Institute for North American Studies. (2017). Frequently asked questions. Language requirements. Retrieved August 31, 2017 from http://www.jfki.fu-berlin.de/en/academics/ma/FAQ

Kingsley, L. (2009). Explicit and implicit dimensions of language policy in multilingual banks in Luxembourg: An analysis of top-down and bottom-up pressures on practices. *Language Problems and Language Planning*, *33*(2), 153-173.

Knapp, A. (2014). Language choice and the construction of knowledge in higher education. *European Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *2*(2), 165-203.

Knapp, A. & Münch, A. (2008). Doppelter Lernaufwand? Deutsche Studierende in englischsprachigen Lehrveranstaltungen. In A. Knapp & A. Schumann (Eds.), *Mehrsprachigkeit und Multikulturalität im Studium* (pp. 169–193). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.

Knight, J. (2004). Internationalization remodeled: Definition, approaches, and rationales. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, *8*(1), 5-31.

Knight, J. (2008). *Higher education in turmoil. The changing world of internationalisation.* Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Kroth, A. J. (2015). *The effects of the introduction of tuition on college enrollment in Germany: Results from a natural experiment with special reference to students from low parental education backgrounds.* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Michigan, Michigan.

Kruse, J., & Ammon, U. (2013). Language competence and language choice within EU institutions and their effects on national legislative authorities. *Exploring the dynamics of multilingualism. The DYLAN project*, 157-178.

Kymlicka, W. (2007): *Multicultural odysseys. Navigating the new institutional politics of diversity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lauridsen, K. M. (2013). Higher education language policy. Working Group under the European language council. *European Journal of Language Policy*, *5*(1), 128-138.

Lauridsen, K. M. (2016). The role of languages in the European Higher Education Area. *European Journal of Language Policy*, *8*(1), 121-129.

Lauridsen, K. M. & Lillemose, M. K. (2015). *Opportunities and challenges in the multilingual and multicultural learning space. Final document of the IntlUni Erasmus Academic Network project 2012-15.* Aarhus: IntlUni.

Limbach, (J.) (2012, January). Europäische Sprachenpolitik. Plädoyer für die Mehrsprachigkeit in der Europäischen Union. *Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung*. Retrieved August 24, 2017 from http://www.bpb.de/apuz/59771/europaeische-sprachenpolitik?p=all

Lillis, T., & Curry, M. J. (2006). Professional academic writing by multilingual scholars: Interactions with literacy brokers in the production of English-medium texts. *Written Communication*, *23*(1), 3-35.

Ljosland, R. (2005, September). *Norway's misunderstanding of the Bologna process: when internationalisation becomes Anglicisation.* Paper presented at the conference Bi- and Multilingual Universities: Challenges and Future Prospects, Helsinki University, 1-3 September 2005, Finland. Retrieved August 19, 2017 from http://www.palmenia.helsinki.fi/congress/bilingual2005/presentations/ljosland.pdf

Louhiala-Salminen, L., Charles, M., & Kankaanranta, A. (2005). English as a lingua franca in Nordic corporate mergers: Two case companies. *English for Specific Purposes*, *24*(4), 401-421.

Lueg, K. (2015). The internationalization of higher education and social inequality. In A. Graf & C. Möller (Eds.), *Bildung–Macht–Eliten: Zur Reproduktion sozialer Ungleichheit* (pp. 46-68). Frankfurt am Main: Campus Verlag.

Mackiewicz, W. (2001, June 13). The quest for linguists in Europe. *The Guardian.* Retrieved September 5, 2017 from https://www.theguardian.com/education/2001/jun/13/tefl.highereducation

Mackiewicz, W. (2002). *Lifelong foreign language learning*. Paper presented at the European Seminar on Foreign Language Learning Needs in Educational Systems, Valencia, Spain. Retrieved August 12, 2017 from http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/elc/docs/Mackiewicz-Valencia.pdf

Mackiewicz, W. (2003). Language policy and language education policy at European Union level. In D. Head, E. Jones, M. Kelly & T. Tinsley (Eds.), *Setting the agendas for languages in higher education*, (pp. 89-100). London: CILT.

Mackiewicz, W. (2004, November). *Foreign languages for a European knowledge-based society*: Paper presented at the 5th annual IALIC conference, Dublin, 11-14 November 2004, Ireland.

Mackiewicz, W. (2009a, March). *Multilingualism – the fundamental principle of the EU's language policy and language education policy*: Paper presented at the China-EU multilingualism conference, Beijing, China. Retrieved July 17, 2017 from http://www.celelc.org/archive/Archiv-Texte/113_Mackiewicz_China-EU-keynote_2009.pdf

Mackiewicz, W. (2009b, December*). Better taught in English? Institutional language strategies in European higher education*: Paper presented at the 23rd ACA European policy seminar, Brussels, Belgium. Retrieved July 14, 2017 from http://www.celelc.org/archive/Archiv-Texte/101_Mackiewicz_ACA_2009.pdf

Mackiewicz, W. (2012a, September). *Multilingualism in the framework of the Europe 2020 strategy and the Erasmus for All programme*: Paper presented at the Multilingualism in Europe Conference, Limassol, Cyprus. Retrieved August 7, 2017 from http://www.celelc.org/archive/Archiv-Texte/036_Mackiewicz_-Multilingualism-in-Europe_2012.pdf

Mackiewicz, W. (2012b). *Arbeitsgruppe zur Entwicklung eines Konzepts für die sprachliche und interkulturelle Absicherung der Internationalisierungsstrategie der Freien Universität Berlin* (Working Group for the Development of a Concept for the Linguistic and Intercultural Safeguarding of Freie Universität Berlin's Internationalization Strategy) (2012). (Unpublished report). Freie Universität Berlin, Berlin.

Maiworm, F. (2014). *Internationalität an deutschen Hochschulen, Fünfte Erhebung von Profildaten 2014*. Gesellschaft für empirische Studien. Retrieved August 13, 2017 from https://www.hrk.de/uploads/media/dok_und_mat_band_78.pdf

Marten, H. F. (2016). *Sprach(en)politik: Eine Einführung*. Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto.

Mauranen, A. (2003). The corpus of English as lingua franca in academic settings. *TESOL Quarterly* 37(3). 513–527.

McKinsey Deutschland (2010). *Willkommen in der volatilen Welt. Herausforderungen für die deutsche Wirtschaft durch nachhaltig veränderte Märkte*. Frankfurt am Main: McKinsey Deutschland.

Mead, R. (1990). Cross-cultural management communication. New York: Wiley.

Montgomery, S. (2004). Of towers, walls, and fields: perspectives on language in science. *Science*, *303*(5662), 1333-1335.

Morrison, B. (2005). Evaluating learning gain in a self-access language learning centre. *Language Teaching Research*, *9*(3), 267-293.

Motz, M. (2005). Internationalisierung der Hochschulen und Deutsch als Fremdsprache. In M. Motz (Eds.), *Englisch oder Deutsch in internationalen Studiengängen?* (pp. 131-152). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang Verlag.

Nancy Declaration. (2006). *Multilingual universities for a multilingual Europe open to the world*. Retrieved August 14, 2017 from https://www0.sun.ac.za/taalsentrum/assets/files/Nancy%20Declaration.pdf

Nekvapil, J., & Nekula, M. (2006). On language management in multinational companies in the Czech Republic. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, *7*(2-3), 307-327.

Neeley, T. (2012). Global business speaks English. Why you need a language strategy now. *Harvard Business Review, 50*(5), 116-124.

Nickerson, C. (2007). English as a lingua franca in business contexts: Strategy or hegemony? In G. Garzone & C. Ilie (Eds.), *The use of English in institutional and business settings. An intercultural perspective* (pp. 351-363). Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.

Nißl, S. (2011). *Die Sprachenfrage in der Europäischen Union: Möglichkeiten und Grenzen einer Sprachenpolitik für Europa*. München: Herbert Utz Verlag.

Olsson, A., & Sheridan, V. (2012). A case study of Swedish scholars' experiences with and perceptions of the use of English in academic publishing. *Written Communication*, *29*(1), 33-54.

Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. London: Longman.

Pérez-Llantada, C., Plo, R., & Ferguson, G. (2011). You don't say what you know, only what you can: The perceptions and practices of senior Spanish academics regarding research dissemination in English. *English for Specific Purposes*, *30*(1), 18-30.

Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Phillipson, R. (2003). *English only Europe? Challenging language policy.* London: Routledge

Phillipson, R. (2014, June). *English, the lingua nullius of global hegemony*: Paper presented at the university of Genève: The politics of multilingualism: linguistic governance, globalisation and Europeanisation, Genève, Switzerland. Retrieved July 17, 2017 from http://www.linguistic-rights.org/robert-phillipson/Robert_Phillipson_English_in_global_hegemony.pdf

Phillipson, R. (2015). English as threat or opportunity in European higher education. In S. Dimova, A. K. Hultgren & C. Jensen (Eds.), *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education* (pp. 19-42). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Piller, I. (2016). *Linguistic diversity and social justice: An introduction to applied sociolinguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Pinto, S., & Araújo e Sá, M. H. (2013). Language education at the University of Aveiro before and after Bologna: practices and discourses. *Language Learning in Higher Education*, *2*(2), 463-478.

Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin. (2011). FU-Mitteilungen 48/2011 vom 28.09.2011, pp. 1165-1280. Retrieved September 2, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/service/zuvdocs/amtsblatt/2011/ab482011.pdf?1318414678=true

Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin. (2013a). FU-Mitteilungen 38/2013 vom 06.09.2013, pp. 425-596. Retrieved August 31, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/service/zuvdocs/amtsblatt/2013/ab382013.pdf

Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin. (2013b). FU-Mitteilungen 37/2013 vom 04.09.2013, pp. 317-424. Retrieved September 12, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/studium/studienangebot/abv/Neufassung-StO-PO-ABV-37-2013.pdf

Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin. (2014). FU-Mitteilungen 35/2014 vom 27.08.2014, pp. 748-792. Retrieved August 31, 2017 from https://www.mi.fu-berlin.de/inf/stud/bachelor/SPO-BSc-Informatik-2014-08-27.pdf?1411655251

Präsidium Freie Universität Berlin. (2017). Internationale Netzwerkuniversität 2020: Internationalisierungsstrategie für die Freie Universität Berlin. Retrieved September 2, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/international/profile/strategy/17-07-20-Internationalisierungsstrategie-zur-Veroeffentlichung_formatiert1.pdf

Preuss, H. (2008). Fremdsprachen in den Studiengängen der Freien Universität Berlin – die Rolle des Sprachenzentrums. In K. M. Lauridsen & D. Toudic (Eds.), *Languages at work in Europe* (pp. 163-178). Göttingen: V&R unipress.

Preuß, R., & Osel, J. (2014, October 17). "Akademiker sollen fürs Studium zahlen". *Süddeutsche Zeitung*. Retrieved September 15, 2017 from

http://www.sueddeutsche.de/bildung/vorstoss-zu-neuen-studiengebuehren-akademiker-sollen-fuers-studium-zahlen-1.2176671

Rechnungshof von Berlin. (2017). *Jahresbericht 2017*. Retrieved September 4, 2017 from https://www.berlin.de/rechnungshof/aktuelles/veroeffentlichungen/artikel.357519.php

Ritz, R. (2006). *The relevance of language learning to the Bologna Process and the Lisbon strategy*. Paper presented at the ENLU closing conference, Nancy, 7-8 April 2006, France.

Schluer, J. (2015). English as a lingua franca in linguistics? A case study of German linguists' language use in publications. In R. Plo Alastrué & C. Pérez-Llantada (Eds.), *English as a scientific and research language* (pp. 233-260). Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton.

Scott, P. (2005). Europe on the higher education world map. In F. Muche (Eds.), *Opening up to the wider world*: *The external dimension of the Bologna process* (pp.13-22). Bonn: Lemmens.

Shohamy, E. (2013). A critical perspective on the use of English as a medium of instruction at Universities. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster & J. M. Sierra (Eds.), *English-medium instruction at universities. Global challenges* (pp. 196–210). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Shuibhne, N. N. (2007). Minority languages, law and politics. Tracing EC action. In D. Castiglione & C. Longman (Eds.), *The language question in Europe and diverse societies: political, legal and social perspectives* (pp 123-147). Oxford: Hart Publishing.

Skudlik, S. (1990). *Sprachen in den Wissenschaften. Deutsch und Englisch in der internationalen Kommunikation.* Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Soltau, A. (2008). *Englisch als Lingua Franca in der wissenschaftlichen Lehre: Charakteristika und Herausforderungen englischsprachiger Masterstudiengänge in Deutschland* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Universität Hamburg, Hamburg.

Spolsky, B. (2004). *Language policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Statistisches Bundesamt [Federal Bureau of Statistics] (2016). *Schulen auf einen Blick*. Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt. Retrieved July 23, 2017 from https://www.destatis.de/DE/Publikationen/Thematisch/BildungForschungKultur/Schulen/BroschuereSchulenBlick0110018169004.pdf?__blob=publicationFile

Tassinari, M. G. (2017). Encouraging autonomy through a community of practice: The role of a self-access centre. *Studies in Self-access Learning Journal*, 8(2), 157-168.

Technische Hochschule München. (2017). Sprachenzentrum. Englische Lehrveranstaltungen. Retrieved September 11, 2017 from https://www.sprachenzentrum.tum.de/sprachen/englisch/english-courses/

Tinsley, T. (2013). *Languages: The state of the nation. Demand and supply of language skills in the UK*. London: British Academy.

Tomasi, L. (2017). The European Commission's language policy: challenges and priorities. *European Journal of Language Policy*, *9*(1), 121-131.

Trabant, J. (2014). *Globalesisch oder was? Ein Plädoyer für Europas Sprachen*. München: Beck Verlag.

Truchot, C. (2002). *Key Aspects of the use of English in Europe*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe. Retrieved July 11, 2017 from: http://www.coe.int/T/DG4/Linguistic/Source/TruchotEN.pdf

Tsunoda, M. (1983). Les langues internationales dans les publications scientifiques et techniques. *Sophia Linguistica: Working Papers in Linguistics*, (13), 70-79.

Tudor, I. (2005a). The challenge of the Bologna Process for higher education language teaching in Europe. *Brussels: Universite Libre de Bruxelles*. Retrieved July 10, 2017 from http://www.celelc.org/archive/Projects-and-Reports/999-ENLU/Resources_ENLU/Bologna_ENLU_OK.pdf

Tudor, I. (2005b). Higher education language policy in Europe. A snapshot of action and trends. Retrieved July 12, 2017 from https://www.eurashe.eu/library/modernising-phe/mobility/language/WG4%20R%20HE_LP_Snapshot.pdf

Tudor, I. (2006, June). Trends in higher education language policy in Europe: The case of English as a language of instruction. Paper presented at the conference on challenges of multilingual societies, ECORE. *Brussels: Universite Libre de Bruxelles*

Tudor, I. (2008). Higher education language policy: Why and how?. In K. M. Lauridsen & D. Toudic (Eds.), *Languages at work in Europe. Festschrift in Honour of Professor Wolfgang Mackiewicz*. (pp. 51-64). Göttingen: V. & R. Unipress.

Tudor, I. (2009). Promoting language learning in European higher education: an overview of strategies. *European Journal of Language Policy*, *1*(2), 188-205.

Tudor, I. & Mackiewicz, W. (2009). Bologna and languages: Reference points for higher education language policy development. In M. L. Pérez Cañado (Eds.), *English language teaching in the European credit transfer system*, (pp. 35-53). Bern. Peter Lang.

Unterberger, B. (2012). English-medium programmes at Austrian business faculties. A status quo survey on national trends and a case study on programme design and delivery. *AILA Review*, *25*(1), 80-100.

Unterberger, B. (2014). *English-medium degree programmes in Austrian tertiary business studies* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Wien, Wien.

Vandermeeren, S. (1999). English as a lingua franca in written corporate communication: Findings from a European survey. In F. Bargiela-Chiappini & C. Nickerson (Eds.), *Genres, media and discourses* (pp. 129-152). London: Pearson Education.

Van Els, T. (2005). Multilingualism in the European Union. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *15*(3), 263-281.

Van Parijs, P. (2004). Europe's linguistic challenge. *Archives Européennes de Sociologie 45*(1): 111-152.

Van Parijs, P. (2011). *Linguistic justice for Europe and the world*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vereinigung der Bayerischen Wirtschaft. (2010). *Arbeitslandschaft 2030 – Auswirkungen der Wirtschafts- und Finanzkrise*. Basel: Prognos AG.

Verschueren, J. (1989). English as object and medium of (mis)understanding. In O. García & R. Otheguy (Eds.), *English across cultures, cultures across English: A reader in cross-cultural communication*, (pp. 31-54). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

Viereck, W. (1996). English in Europe: Its nativisation and use as a lingua franca, with special reference to German-speaking countries. In R. Hartmann (Eds.), *The English language in Europe* (pp. 16-23). Oxford: Intellect.

Vinke, A. A. (1995). *English as the medium of instruction in Dutch engineering education* (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Delft University of Technology, Delft.

Vinke, A. A., Snippe, J., & Jochems, W. (1998). English-medium content courses in non-English higher education: a study of lecturer experiences and teaching behaviours. *Teaching in Higher Education*, *3*(3), 383-394.

Wächter, B. (2005). Will European higher education go English? In M. Woolf (Eds.), *I gotta use words when I talk to you: English and international education* (pp. 15-25). Amsterdam: European Association for International Education.

Wächter, B., & Maiworm, F. (2002). *English-taught programmes in European higher education: Trends and success factors.* Bonn: Lemmens.

Wächter, B., & Maiworm, F. (2008). *English-taught programmes in European higher education: The picture in 2007.* Bonn: Lemmens.

Wächter, B., & Maiworm, F. (2014). English-taught programmes in European higher education. *The state of play in 2014.* Bonn: Lemmens

Walsh, J. (2012). Language policy and language governance: a case-study of Irish language legislation. *Language Policy*, *11*(4), 323–341.

Weiterbildungszentrum Freie Universität Berlin. (2017a). Sprachen lernen an der Freien Universität. Retrieved September 15, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/sites/weiterbildung/weiterbildungsprogramm/hv/sprachen/index.html

Weiterbildungszentrum Freie Universität Berlin. (2017b). Weiterbildendes Zertifikatsprogramm ProFI. Retrieved September 15, 2017 from http://www.fu-berlin.de/international/faculty-staff/mobility-staff/Flyer_ProFI.pdf

Wilkinson, R. (2008a). English-taught study courses: principles and practice. In C. Gnutzmann (Eds.), *English in academia. Catalyst or barrier?* (169-182). Tübingen: Gunter Narr Verlag.

Wilkinson, R. (2008b). Locating the ESP space in problem-based learning: English-medium degree programmes from a post-Bologna perspective. In I. Fortanet-Gómez & C. A. Räisänen (Eds.), *ESP in European higher education*: *Integrating language and content* (pp. 55-73). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: Benjamins.

Wilkinson, R. (2011). If all business education were in English, would it matter? *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, *(161)*, 111-123.

Wilkinson, R. (2013). English medium instruction at a Dutch university: Challenges and pitfalls. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster & J. M. Sierra (Eds.), *English-medium instruction at universities. Global challenges* (pp. 3–24). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Worton, M. (2009). *Review of modern foreign languages provision in higher education in England*. London: Higher Education Funding Council for England.

Wright, S. (2007). English in the European Parliament: MEPs and their language repertoires. *Sociolinguistica Jahrbuch*, *21*, 151-165.

Wright, S. (2009). The elephant in the room: Language issues in the European Union. *European Journal of Language Policy*, *1*(2), 93-119.