2014

THE IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL COMPLEXITY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ENGLISH-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION (EMI) REFORM CONCEPT IN THREE NORTHERN EUROPEAN UNIVERSITIES

Becky Unites
University of Kentucky, becky.unites@uky.edu

Recommended Citation

STUDENT AGREEMENT:

I represent that my thesis or dissertation and abstract are my original work. Proper attribution has been given to all outside sources. I understand that I am solely responsible for obtaining any needed copyright permissions. I have obtained needed written permission statement(s) from the owner(s) of each third-party copyrighted matter to be included in my work, allowing electronic distribution (if such use is not permitted by the fair use doctrine) which will be submitted to UKnowledge as Additional File.

I hereby grant to The University of Kentucky and its agents the irrevocable, non-exclusive, and royalty-free license to archive and make accessible my work in whole or in part in all forms of media, now or hereafter known. I agree that the document mentioned above may be made available immediately for worldwide access unless an embargo applies.

I retain all other ownership rights to the copyright of my work. I also retain the right to use in future works (such as articles or books) all or part of my work. I understand that I am free to register the copyright to my work.

REVIEW, APPROVAL AND ACCEPTANCE

The document mentioned above has been reviewed and accepted by the student's advisor, on behalf of the advisory committee, and by the Director of Graduate Studies (DGS), on behalf of the program; we verify that this is the final, approved version of the student's thesis including all changes required by the advisory committee. The undersigned agree to abide by the statements above.

Becky Unites, Student

Dr. Beth Goldstein, Major Professor

Dr. Jeff Bieber, Director of Graduate Studies

THE IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL COMPLEXITY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE ENGLISH-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION (EMI) REFORM CONCEPT IN
THREE NORTHERN EUROPEAN UNIVERSITIES

DISSERTATION

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the
College of Education at the University of Kentucky

By

Becky Unites

Lexington, KY

DIRECTOR: Dr. Beth L. Goldstein, Professor of Education

Lexington, KY

2014

ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

THE IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL COMPLEXITY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE ENGLISH-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION (EMI) REFORM CONCEPT IN
THREE NORTHERN EUROPEAN UNIVERSITIES

This study examines university English-medium Instruction (EMI) reform implementation approaches from a comparative organizational perspective. Over the last decade, the number of master's degree programs instructed exclusively in English in non-Anglophone Europe increased dramatically. Europe is an interesting case as it actively promotes multilingual learning; however, many European policies over the last twenty years accelerated the rise of monolingual EMI reforms, especially at the graduate-level. The purpose of this exploratory study is to contribute to our understanding of how widespread EMI reforms impact structures and behaviors at the organizational level in European universities in ways that respond to the organization's embedded policy contexts.

This research aims to advance our understandings of comparative EMI reforms and also, drawing on the concepts of neoinstitutional theory, develop our knowledge of how these processes might be theorized and expanded. I combine the theoretical frames of translation and institutional logics to analyze empirical case studies of the implementation of the EMI reform concept in three Northern European universities in leading EMI provider countries: the University of Oslo in Norway, the University of Göttingen in Germany, and Maastricht University in the Netherlands. The theoretical concept of institutional complexity is used to analyze the contending tensions universities confront when deciding the best way to design and implement EMI reforms.

The three-axis comparative framework developed in this study represents a novel approach to examining variations in EMI reform implementation. Variations in organizational EMI implementation approaches (collegial, targeted, and market) are understood by analyzing comparatively how the three universities interpreted axial tensions between institutional logics for the best way to organize their EMI reform approaches: for academic or economic purposes; cooperative or competitive purposes; and local or global purposes. This comparative case study underscores the importance of examining a university's embedded environment (both European and local levels) to understand university response to widespread EMI reform trends and highlights the

significance of contextual dynamics to European EMI program development policy. The study concludes with policy recommendations and future directions.

KEYWORDS: English-medium Instruction, Higher Education, Institutional Complexity, Institutional Logics, Europe

<div align="right">

_____Becky Unites
Student's Signature

_____July 23, 2014
Date

</div>

THE IMPACT OF INSTITUTIONAL COMPLEXITY ON THE IMPLEMENTATION
OF THE ENGLISH-MEDIUM INSTRUCTION (EMI) REFORM CONCEPT IN
THREE NORTHERN EUROPEAN UNIVERSITIES

By

Becky Unites

Dr. Beth L. Goldstein

Director of Dissertation

Dr. Jeffrey Bieber

Director of Graduate Studies

July 23, 2014

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

EHEA	European Higher Education Area
EMI	English-medium Instruction
ERA	European Research Area
EU	European Union
MESDCs	Major English Speaking Destination Countries
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Background

"Universities have always been affected by international reform trends and to a certain degree operated within a broader international community of academic institutions, scholars, and research; but, twenty-first century realities have magnified these phenomena" (Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2009, p.7). Modern universities are increasingly subjected to and shaped by international regulations, international norms, and international principles (Beerkens, 2010). These highly influential international environments in which universities are embedded impart social, political, and academic pressures to conform to the 'best' or 'right' way to organize.

Governments have increasingly embraced international agendas for university reform promoted by supranational organizations such as the European Union, Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, World Economic Forum, UNESCO, and the World Bank. These international agendas are underscored by the knowledge-based economy narrative which asserts competitive and secure futures hinge on the development of an ideas-driven competitive global knowledge economy. In this view, universities play a central role in competing successfully via the transfer of research findings into innovative products and through bolstering a higher education system that can attract international trade and produce a highly skilled population in key science and technology sectors (UNIKE, http://unike.au.dk/).

Adherence to these principles is rewarded (in reality or perception) by legitimacy imparted by stakeholders, competitive advantage, position in comparative forums (rankings, citation indexes), and accompanying prestigious designations as 'world-class'

institutions of education and research. This pressure to conform to international imperatives can have a profound effect on university organization and explains why on a macro level we see similar reform trends in many universities around the world at the same time. Fashionable university reform ideas, policies, and models travel across the globe and impact varied aspects of higher education such as university governance (e.g., steering at a distance), finance and accountability (performance based funding strategies), research (university-industry linkages), and education (problem based learning models, MOOCs[1]).

However, although higher education is increasingly affected by global trends, universities still function within national boundaries. Higher education remains an essentially national phenomenon where universities function within nations to serve local interests (Altbach, Reisburg, & Rumbley, 2009). Thus, local environments can shape broader reform ideas. Previous research has demonstrated that many widespread reform trends take on distinct variations once implemented in the local context; for example, university internationalization strategies (Huisman & van der Wende, 2004, 2005) and large-scale degree structure reform processes (Witte, 2008).

Over the last decade, one reform trend that has increasingly gained traction in universities across the globe is instructing full degree programs in English in countries where English is not the native language of instruction. The number of English-medium instruction (EMI) programs grew by an estimated 30% worldwide in the past year alone (Rigg, 2013). Today, EMI programs can be found in every corner of the globe: from Rwanda to China, the Arab Gulf countries, Ecuador, and across Europe (Green et al.,

---

[1] Massive Open Online Courses

2012). The introduction of EMI reforms affects core aspects of the university including education (teaching and learning); research (rankings, funding prospects, publications, participation in collaborative international projects); service (social responsibility and development aid initiatives); and university operations (staff language competence, publication of documents and websites in English).

Organizational decisions to conduct research and offer instruction in English in non-Anglophone settings are directly related to efforts to increase international openness, attractiveness, and competitiveness of higher education systems and organizations to varying degrees (Rumbley, Altbach, & Reisberg, 2012). The proliferation of EMI programs is attributed, in part, to the increasing interconnectedness of global society and the spread of the English language on a global scale, as well as the increasing importance of international engagement on higher education strategic agendas and the perceived benefits gleaned from engagement in the global student mobility market.

Key drivers of these reforms are organizational efforts to attract diverse and talented students and staff across the globe. Current leading destination countries for internationally mobile students are the major English speaking destination countries (MESDCs): the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand. In 2010, these five countries hosted nearly half of the total global mobile student enrollment (OECD, 2012). EMI programs represent an attempt to compete with these five countries by creating destination universities with English-language programs offered within countries where English is not the native language of instruction.

European countries were global pioneers of EMI. Programs instructed through the medium of English were available in small numbers as early as the 1950s in the

Netherlands and Sweden and in the 1980s in Finland, Hungary, and Norway. However, large scale expansion of EMI reforms did not initiate until the nineties in European universities (Coleman, 2006). Europe is an interesting case as it actively promotes multilingual learning as part of its Europeanization project; however, many of its soft law policies over the last two decades accelerated the monolingual use EMI, especially at the graduate level. EMI expansion in Europe was triggered by Europeanization efforts in the 1980s and 90s: the Erasmus mobility scheme, Bologna Process reforms, and competitive influences from the European Union's economic agenda via the Lisbon Strategy.

The establishment of the EU's Erasmus program in 1987 facilitated the movement of students and staff between universities in Europe. The aim of European-level initiatives at this time were to produce European-minded citizens, engaged with the expanding European community, and committed to the concept of 'European' culture and values (van der Wende, 2009). As such, Erasmus was promoted as a short-term mobility scheme driven by academic and cultural rationales to increase contact among European students and researchers. The primary participants, undergraduate students, utilized this funding opportunity for short study abroad stays in other European higher education institutions.

As part of the Europeanization effort, universities were tasked with the promotion of "societal and individual multilingualism" (Doiz, Lasagabaste, & Sierra, 2011; European Commission, 2003, p.8). The European Union recognizes twenty-four[2] official languages and the European Commission employs three operational working languages

---

[2] Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Dutch, English, Estonian, Finnish, French, German, Greek, Hungarian, Irish, Italian, Latvian, Lithuanian, Maltese, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Slovak, Slovene, Spanish, and Swedish. Retrieved 2014 from http://ec.europa.eu/languages/policy/language-policy/official_languages_en.htm

(English, French, and German). At the European level, the 'mother tongue plus two' language policy was promoted to encourage learning other European languages as part of the efforts to build a European community (European Commission, 2003). However, in countries whose national language(s) were little taught elsewhere, short-term Erasmus exchanges were only possible if courses are delivered through an international language, most frequently English (Coleman, 2006).

Education and language traditionally coincide with national domains. As such, the higher education sector was not a central policy area in the early stages of the European integration process. Member nations adhered to the subsidiarity principle enshrined in the 1992 Treaty of Maastricht which limits the centralization of power at the European level. Higher education is one of the policy areas to which the subsidiarity principle applies; as a result, European-level institutions are not able to initiate actions intended to harmonize member states' education policies or structures without the explicit consent of the member states. However, by the end of the 1990s, international integration of higher education experienced a remarkable "upward episode" (Maassen & Musselin, 2009, p. 6) due to shared challenges such as reductions in State funding, an ageing populace, lack of perceived attractiveness internationally, and high dropout rates due to long first cycle degrees. Thus, although educational policies were primarily shaped at the national level, they were increasingly affected by international reform agreements (Stensaker et al., 2008).

Over the last decade, European universities have been greatly influenced by both the Bologna Process to create a European Higher Education Area and the Lisbon Strategy to enhance European economic development. The Bologna Process refers to multi-

national reforms undertaken by European states with varying scope and pace in order to implement the goal of creating more 'compatible and comparable' European Higher Education Area (EHEA). To construct the EHEA, national representatives agreed to implement measures and mechanisms for structural convergence of their higher education systems and committed themselves to achieving these goals by 2010 (Papatsiba, 2006). A tension between the aim of harmonization and the will to maintain the diversity of national higher education systems in Europe existed from the introduction of the Bologna process (Witte, 2008). The Bologna declaration states the EHEA should be developed with "full respect of the diversity of languages, national education systems and of University autonomy" (1999). This intergovernmental arrangement between the now forty-seven higher education signatory states consists of nearly all European countries (both EU and non-EU members).

The Bologna Declaration (1999) is soft law, or a nonbinding agreement that involves a set of voluntary commitments aimed at strengthening European cooperation and increasing the attractiveness of European higher education systems through progressive coordination of higher education structures. To accomplish these goals, members agreed to harmonize degree cycles at the undergraduate and graduate levels (bachelor, master, doctorate), recognize equivalences among qualifications, implement a common system of credits, harmonize quality assurance systems, be more responsive to the labor market, and promote mobility of students and staff (Bologna Declaration, 1999). Enhancing student mobility was considered a critical component in the creation of the resulting EHEA. This focus on mobility at the European level was a continuation of earlier measures such as the Erasmus program; however, the degree structure reform also

afforded new opportunities to recruit students outside Europe, particularly to full degree programs at the graduate level.

The objectives of the Bologna reforms have been described as a moving target (Kehm et al., 2009). In the beginning, the Bologna Process focused on the intra-European harmonization and transparency agenda by modifying degree structures for easier recognition and employability in the European labor market. Later, the Process became more oriented to the 'external dimension,' with the aim of enhancing international competitiveness and attractiveness, and to its connections to other global regions. This coincided with the development of the European Research Area (ERA) via the EU's 2000-2010 Lisbon Strategy.

As the national Ministers of Education across Europe were joining the Bologna Process to resolve shared challenges within the higher education sector, the heads of state of the EU met in Lisbon in 2000 and agreed to embark on a strategy to make the European Union the "most dynamic and competitive knowledge-based economy in the world, capable of sustained economic growth with more and better jobs and greater social cohesion by 2010" (European Council, 2000; Gornitzka, 2007a). In the Lisbon Strategy, global knowledge-based economy discourses were incorporated and consequently universities were envisioned as core institutions of "the Europe of knowledge" (European Council, 2000). While the Bologna process is firmly rooted in the higher education sector, the Lisbon process includes education and research much more broadly in making them means to reach the ambition of European social and economic growth. As such, the Lisbon agenda focuses on "*common* concerns and priorities as opposed to taking as a

point of departure the 'celebration' of national diversity of education and research

systems" (Gornitzka, 2007a, p.160).

The Lisbon initiative highlighted the role of education as a core labor market

factor, underscored the role of innovative R&D for economic competitiveness and

growth, and detailed plans for the creation of a European Research Area (ERA)

(Gornitzka, 2007a). The underlying argument was that the crucial sectors of the economy

and higher education needed in-depth restructuring and modernization if Europe was not

to lag behind the global competitors (USA and Asia) in education, research, and

innovation (Kok, 2004). Mobility was identified as a key factor in developing

competitiveness in a global knowledge economy through the promotion of skilled

migration of students, encouragement of international study and work experience, and

support for research collaboration with international partners (Woodfield, 2009). The

Lisbon strategy's close alignment with the objectives of the Bologna Process inevitably

led to the adoption of elements of the Lisbon strategy throughout the EHEA (van der

Wende, 2007).

Problem Statement

EMI is a reform trend adopted by European universities in response to changes in

their task environment over the last two decades. As Brenn-White and Van Rest note,

"the race to develop competitive master's programs that are attractive to both European

and international audiences has made EMI programs one of the closest watched trends in

European higher education" (2012, p.6). The introduction of the master's degree level via

the Bologna Process presented European universities a new opportunity for institutional

profiling, the addition of new programs, and targeting new student clienteles. In addition,

enhancing mobility was an integral aspect of both Bologna and Lisbon agendas.

Furthermore, the new European dimension provided avenues to share innovative ideas,

normative pressures to respond to these agendas, as well as new opportunities to solve

long-standing national issues. Given this, an increasing number of universities in non-

Anglophone Europe now offer degree programs instructed in English to overcome their

linguistic disadvantage in attracting internationally mobile students and staff.

Pan-European research detailed a dramatic increase of EMI master's programs in

recent years from a few hundred programs a decade ago to over 5000 in 2013 (Ammon &

McConnell, 2002; Brenn-White & Faethe, 2013; Wächter & Maiworm, 2008). Additional

research reveals two-thirds of European countries aim to either create or increase

English-medium provision (Teichler, Ferencz, & Wächter, 2011). According to Wächter

& Maiwom, the "Alps constitute a watershed" in European EMI provision trends (2008,

p.10). The Netherlands, Germany, and the Nordic countries in the North are leading EMI

provider countries, while European countries in the South were initially more reluctant to

initiate EMI reforms (Brenn-White & Faethe, 2013; Woodfield, 2009). Thus, the leading

EMI providers in the North have a longer documented history of the provision of EMI

programs compared to the South where universities have only recently begun

implementing EMI on a wider scale.

Large scale studies (Ammon & McConnell, 2002; Brenn-White & Faeth, 2013;

Wächter & Maiworm, 2008) charted the rapid growth of EMI programs across the

Continent and mapped common characteristics: a focus on EMI program offerings at the

master's level; offerings in business and science related disciplines; and hosting an

increasing proportion of international students. Conversely, micro level research

uncovered a number of challenges related to teaching, learning, and implementation in the classroom as a result of the rapid expansion of these programs (Doiz, Lasagabaste, & Sierra, 2011; Hellekjær, 2007, 2010; Ljosland, 2011).

The EMI reform concept is not a prescriptive template in Europe; it allowed for a degree of agency in university decisions as to how to organize the reform. However, European universities are situated in a nested environment; they are responsible for centering local priorities, but at the same time, are integrated into a highly influential European dimension. Consequently, universities must be responsive to both their local and wider field environment when determining the best way to organize EMI reforms. Choices are not clearly laid out for universities; they must be sorted out in an environment that includes both opportunities and constraints (Greenwood et al., 2008). It is in this sorting out process where university EMI reform approaches take place.

Thus, we know the overall trend in the general proliferation of EMI programs and are beginning to develop an understanding of issues impacting the classroom, but we lack an understanding at the organizational level as to how universities in leading EMI provider countries incorporate these abstract EMI reform concepts into observable forms and behaviors. The present study contributes to the EMI literature by examining this gap at the organizational level from a comparative perspective. This study is a foundational effort to advance our understanding of EMI reforms from a comparative organizational perspective. The purpose of this exploratory study is to contribute to our understanding of how widespread EMI reforms impact structures and behaviors at the organizational level in European universities in ways that respond to the organization's embedded policy contexts.

<u>Research Questions & Design of the Study</u>

This study is guided by three questions:

1. Are universities in European countries that lead in providing English-medium Instruction (EMI) master's degree programs converging towards a similar EMI reform model?

2. What influences the ways in which universities in leading European EMI provider countries implement the EU's EMI reform policies?

3. How do universities in leading EMI provider countries respond to institutional complexity in the implementation process?

To answer these questions, I adopt a case study research approach. I combine the theoretical frames of translation and institutional logics to examine empirical case studies of the implementation of the EMI reform concept in three Northern European universities in non-Anglophone Europe. The key feature of the case study research approach is its emphasis on understanding processes as they occur in their specific context (Hartley, 2004). Case studies are useful in situations where it is important to understand how the environmental context has an impact on or influences organizational processes. As Hartley notes, case studies are well suited for exploring new or emerging processes and in illuminating behavior which may only be fully understandable in the context of the wider forces operating within or on the organization (2004, p. 325).

Guided by Pollitt's (2001) analytic frame, I examine how the EMI reform concept is conceptualized in organizational discourse and materialized in organizational decisions and organizational practices in three universities: Maastricht University in the

Netherlands, the University of Göttingen in Germany, and the University of Oslo in Norway. This frame is used to examine comparatively whether these universities are converging towards a similar EMI reform model. Next, six institutional logics, or guiding frames, are identified and applied to analyze how organizational EMI implementation approaches were shaped by the wider university environment. Finally, a comparative framework is introduced to analyze variations in university response to contending tensions for the 'best' way to organize EMI reforms.

Organization & Significance of the Study

The dissertation is structured into six chapters including this introductory chapter. In Chapter Two, I introduce the theoretical perspectives and concepts used to address the research questions. The chapter begins with a discussion of neoinstitutional theory, a sociological view of organization, and its influence on the spread of reform ideas, policy, and models. Next, the theoretical concept of translation is introduced to lay the groundwork for conceptualizing how fashionable reform ideas travel and take root in varying locations. The concept of institutional logics is then introduced to uncover why organizations adopt structures and behaviors in ways that respond to their environmental context. Specific attention is given to the concept of institutional complexity or how organizations contend with competing tensions for the best way to organize. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the importance of combining micro level frames inspired by translation theory and macro level guiding frames from institutional logics to provide a more complete picture of organizational responses to the implementation of global reform ideas, policies, and models.

Chapter Three provides an overview of the reform idea at-hand: English-medium instruction (EMI). This chapter highlights factors influencing the rise of EMI in European higher education and pays particular attention to European policies over the last two decades that have accelerated the use of English as a medium of instruction in European universities, particularly at the graduate level. The chapter concludes with the current state of EMI research and describes how the present study adds to the EMI literature.

Chapter Four details the case study research approach used to examine comparatively three Northern European university EMI implementation approaches. This chapter clarifies the rationale behind the case site selection process of Maastricht University in the Netherlands, the University of Göttingen in Germany, and the University of Oslo in Norway. The Netherlands, Germany, and the Nordic countries in Northern Europe are leading EMI provider countries compared to Southern European countries where universities have only recently begun implementing EMI on a wider scale (Brenn-White & Faethe, 2013; Woodfield, 2009). A 'purposeful sampling' strategy is adopted to select 'information-rich cases' for in-depth study (Patton, 1990). The threes case universities developed EMI policy initiatives in response to similar institutional issues and regional developments and are leading research institutions within each country in terms of size, field coverage, and status. In addition, the EMI setting in each respective country is detailed in Chapter 4 and basic case site university characteristics are introduced. Then, the qualitative methods used to capture the accounts that provide the empirical basis of this study are described. Finally, I introduce a two-part analytic frame to analyze the empirical material.

In Chapter Five, the two-part analytic frame is applied to the empirical material. In part one, I draw on Pollitt's (2001) analytic frame to examine how the three case site universities conceptualized and materialized EMI reforms in organizational discourse, decisions, and practice. This afforded an opportunity to investigate whether the three case site universities in leading EMI provider countries were converging towards a similar EMI reform model. The analysis revealed that the three universities implemented EMI reforms in broadly similar ways, yet varying degrees of distinctiveness in EMI reform implementation were apparent at the organizational level. Thus, they are localized variants of wider patterns within their structured environment.

In part two, six field-level logics were identified that shape the EMI reform implementation process: academic logics, economic logics, cooperative logics, competitive logics, global logics, and local logics. The application of these logics revealed that the three universities utilized all six logics to varying degrees, yet they created three distinct approaches: the collegial approach at the University of Oslo, the targeted approach at the University of Goettingen[3], and the market approach at Maastricht University. A new framework is introduced in Chapter 5 to analyze university response to institutional complexity, or competing institutional demands, in the EMI reform implementation process. Each of the three axes in the comparative framework underscores a tension higher education organizations face when crafting EMI strategies, policies, and practices. Organizational EMI implementation approaches (collegial, targeted, and market) are understood by analyzing comparatively how the three case site universities interpreted three axial tensions between logics for the best way to organize

---

[3] Göttingen and Goettingen are used interchangeably in this study.

their EMI reform approaches: for academic or economic purposes; cooperative or competitive purposes; and local or global purposes. The comparative framework (Figure 5.1) represents a novel approach to examining variations in EMI reform implementation.

The final chapter presents the conclusions from the findings, discusses policy implications based on the research, and offers suggestions for future research direction. A key contribution of this study is to advance our understandings of comparative EMI reforms and also, drawing on the concepts of neoinstitutional theory, develop our knowledge of how these processes might be theorized and expanded. In addition, I introduced a comparative framework to analyze organizational response to institutional complexity (competing tensions) in university EMI implementation processes. Finally, the comparative case analysis of EMI reform implementation in this study underscores the importance of examining a European university's embedded environment (both European and national levels) to better understand organizational response to widespread EMI reform trends and highlights the significance of context to European EMI program development policy.

CHAPTER TWO: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this study is to contribute to our understanding of how widespread EMI reforms impact structures and behaviors at the organizational level in European universities in ways that respond to the organization's embedded policy contexts. This chapter is guided by the following questions. In what ways are reform ideas modified as they travel across the globe, if any? What helps to explain why organizations adopt forms and behaviors in ways that respond to the organization's context? In Chapter 2, I will introduce the theoretical perspectives and concepts that I will use to address these questions. The chapter begins with a discussion of neoinstitutional theory, a sociological view of organizations, and its influence on the spread of reform ideas, policy, and models across space and time. Next, I introduce two metaphors, diffusion and translation, which provide alternate lenses to examine how ideas travel from one location to another. The concept of institutional logics is then introduced to illuminate why organizations adopt reform ideas in ways that respond to the organization's context. Specific attention will be given to the concept of institutional complexity or how organizations contend with competing tension for the best way to organize new reform policies. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion emphasizing the importance of combining the theoretical frames of translation and institutional logics to provide a more complete picture of organizational responses to global ideas, policies, and models.

New Institutionalism

Early scholars of the neoinstitutional approach (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977) argue that organizations exist in social systems that can exert powerful influences on the forms and behaviors of the organizations within them (Kraatz

& Zajac, 1996). The new institutional school of organizational theory developed over thirty years ago as a response to rational explanations of organization. This sociological view of organizations posits that organizations incorporate elements of the environment into their practice for reasons that often have little to do with "rationality, efficiency concerns, or minimizing the uncertainty of resources and information" (Binder, 2007, p.550). Instead, organizations (e.g., universities) are embedded in socially organized environments that generate rules, norms, and understandings of the issue at hand that constrain and shape organizational forms and behaviors (Hoy & Miskel, 2012).

In other words, organizations are influenced by their institutional context; i.e., by widespread social understandings (rationalized myths) of proper organization. Myths emerge as solutions to widely perceived problems of organizing by delineating the 'best' way to organize regardless of empirical evidence for such claims (Meyer & Rowan, 1977). These rationalized myths are accepted by members of the social system (i.e., the organizational field) as prescriptions of appropriate organizational conduct (Greenwood et al., 2008). As more organizations conform to these myths, the myths become further institutionalized (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008).

Over time, institutionalized forms and practices become taken-for-granted templates for the best way to organize regardless of their inherent rationality or demonstrated empirical evidence for success (Zucker, 1977). Institutional arrangements have regulative, normative, and cognitive roots (Scott, 2008). Some institutions are based on formal, written codes of conduct i.e., laws, constitutions, and standard operating procedures that are enforced by the coercive power of social agencies. Other institutions endure less formally as norms and values i.e., strongly felt obligations that have been

internalized through socialization. Still others persist as cognitive schema i.e., relatively

tacit, shared understandings of a situation (Hoy & Miskel, 2012, p.281).

Organizations conform to environmental institutions or become isomorphic with

their institutional context in order to gain legitimacy, avoid social censure, minimize

demands for external accountability, improve their chances of securing necessary

resources, and raise their probability of survival (Greenwood et al., 2008, p.3). Thus,

similarities in organizational form and practice reflect organizational efforts to conform

to the institutional environment. This pressure to conform helps to explain why

organizational structures and practices appear to homogenize over time.

Diffusion

Scholars in the North American school of new institutionalism investigate the

spread or diffusion of ideas and practices within social systems. The diffusion metaphor

is borrowed from the natural sciences where it is understood as a mechanistic explanation

for the passive transport of molecules or substances from one location to another. The

diffusion concept has been similarly applied in the social sciences to examine how an

idea, policy, or model travels across space and time in an organizational field or sector

(for a review see Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008). Scholars of diffusion examine patterns

of adoption of forms and practices and the mechanisms through which this occur.

Early diffusion literature suggests ideas and policies originated from a particular

known source and were adopted by the recipient without modification. Organizations

were portrayed as passive receptors as the core idea or policy remained unchanged as it

traveled from source to recipient. The idea was considered a prototype, one to be either

adopted or rejected on its merits of perceived success; therefore, diffused policy models did not vary by context.

Diffusion scholars examined the spread of ideas, policies and models at the field or population level in efforts to understand conditions for policy transfer and the reach of the diffused practice. Tolbert & Zucker (1983) investigated the diffusion of civil service employment practices across American cities in the early 1900s. They discovered that civil service reforms diffused gradually until practices became legitimated in professional circles. After social endorsements, the practice diffused rapidly and became institutionalized as organizations perceived it as a necessary component of organizational structure.

A core premise of diffusion is that an idea, policy, or model will remain unaltered as it travels, thus leading to field-level similarities in organizational forms and behaviors. DiMaggio and Powell (1983) identified three mechanisms of diffusion which provide insight into organizational motivations for the adoption of a new practice or form. The first mechanism, coercive pressures, arises from governmental or legal mandates. The second mechanism, normative pressures, evolves from participation in professional networks. The final mechanism, mimetic pressures, influences organizations to copy other organizational forms and behaviors in times of uncertainty. Thus, organizations in a common institutional environment homogenize as they respond to similar regulatory and normative pressures or as they copy structures adopted by perceived successful organizations (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991).

<u>Differences in Practice</u>

Diffusion theory offers considerable insight into how new ideas appear in many places around the same time, but it fails to question what happens to these new ideas during and after adoption (Ansari et al., 2010). A number of early studies employed quantitative models with dichotomous adoption/rejection dependent variables (e.g. Tolbert & Zucker, 1983). Critics note that these researchers make "considerable homogenizing assumptions in order to process their data, treating diffusing practices as uniform entities that do not vary by context and remain stable over time" (Ansari et al. 2010, p.85).

Subsequent studies revealed homogenization is not the only possible outcome. Kraatz and Zajac studied longitudinal data from 631 private liberal arts colleges and discovered that colleges changed in ways contrary to institutional demands (1996). They examined the adoption of professional programs in liberal arts colleges across the field and found no evidence of homogenizing practices. The authors speculate that the field did not homogenize because colleges tailored their responses to varying local demands instead of mimicking other successful colleges in the field.

Likewise, Saka studied the diffusion of Japanese work systems in the practices of Japanese-owned companies in the United Kingdom and found that the companies in the UK attempted to 'translate alternative work systems rather than submit to environmental pressures towards isomorphism' (2004). The Japanese practices were not adopted wholesale because of a conflict in cultural work styles (e.g. individualist vs. collective). Instead, elements of the Japanese policies were 'fused' with existing practices or 'blocked' by actors in UK branch companies.

A final example of discovered variations in diffusing practices is evidenced by Mazza et al.'s study of the diffusion of the American Master of Business Administration (MBA) model to Europe (2005). In a comparative case study of four university programs, Mazza et al. found evidence of difference in the implementation of the label of 'MBA' and the actual MBA model in practice. The authors conclude that although university programs may have the same name in a number of places (MBA label), the actual program forms may be dissimilar due to the modification of programmatic elements to fit the local context.

In sum, compelling arguments exist that indicate field level studies of diffusion that focus on patterns of widespread adoption do not necessarily give us a complete picture of what is happening at the organizational level. Early diffusion studies offer an explanation to why policies, ideas, and models are noticeable in many places around the globe at the same time, but lack explanation as to why on closer inspection these same policies differ in organizational practice.

Translation

"Recent theoretical developments have moved from a diffusion model to a translation model for understanding institutional processes" (Zilber, 2006, p.281). Diffusing ideas, policies, and models have been depicted as "something that is contagious rather than chosen" (Stone 2012, p.484). Critics challenge this portrayal of organizations as mere puppets (Vaira, 2004), passive pawns (Scott, 2008 as cited in Frølich et al., 2013), or institutional dopes (Powell & DiMaggio, 1991). This inattention to agency is a core criticism of the diffusion model.

In contrast to the diffusion metaphor, the Scandinavian school of institutionalism argues that organizational actors are not simply passive adopters of new ideas, but are active participants in the modification of new concepts to fit the local context (Lamb & Currie, 2011). In this perspective, new ideas are interpreted rather than adopted. Thus, ideas are not diffused in a vacuum, but are actively transferred and translated in the context of other ideas, actors, traditions, and institutions (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Czarniawska & Sevon, 2005; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008; Zilber, 2006). See Table 2.1 below for a detailed comparison of the two models.

Table 2.1 The Diffusion vs. the Translation Model of Change

Diffusion model	Translation model
Passive reception of new idea, model, or policy	Active reception of new idea, model, or policy
Know original source	May not know or not need to know original source
Idea remains unchanged	Idea will change; ideas transformed as they are negotiated w/local context
Adoption/rejection	Ideas interpreted; provide own meaning to core idea or change to fit needs; ideas abstract & difficult to imitate; may look different due to context
Ideas as prototypes/prescriptions	Ideas as templates/vague models
Focus on success/failure outcome	Focus on process
Macro/field or population level analysis	Organizational level analysis
Quantitative	Qualitative/case based practice studies
Homogenization in practice	Variation in practice

(Adapted and expanded from Czarniawska, 2008 Table 6.1 p.89)

Translation theory stresses the complexity of context and assumes existing policy processes and sociocultural conditions alter imported ideas (Stone, 2012). The translation metaphor is borrowed from linguistics and illuminates how the meaning of an idea, policy, or model is altered in a new setting when some elements are removed and other elements are added (Boxenbaum & Pedersen, 2009). By contrast, diffusion approaches

tend to focus on the conditions for model or policy transfer rather than the content of new policies or models (Stone, 2012). Therefore, a key difference between the early diffusion and translation perspectives is translation's emphasis on the importance of context.

While the conventional expectation of diffusion across fields is increasing homogeneity due to wider institutional processes (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; Meyer & Rowan, 1977), the Scandinavian institutionalist notion of translation assumes organizational variations in forms and behaviors (Waeraas & Sataoen, 2013). In translation theory, circulating ideas will change because they are subject to local interpretations. The likely outcome of these local interpretations is heterogeneity in practice.

Scandinavian scholars claim that early neoinstitutional researchers devoted too much effort in analyzing the trajectories of macro-diffusion patterns and underestimated the meaning the spreading practices have in the recipient context, as well as the modifications practices undergo in the course of their travels (Meyer, 2008, p.521). The North American branch of institutional theory focused on quantitative field level adoption studies; conversely, their Scandinavian counterparts were more focused on organizational in-depth case studies of practice. As Zilber notes, it is a difference between a question of quantity (how many organizations adopted) rather than quality (what does it mean to adopt, what is exactly adopted) (2008). Research utilizing translation theory is represented in a diverse number of sectors including business (Doorewaard & van Bijsterveld, 2001; Frenkel, 2005), health care (Johnson & Hagstrom, 2005) and education (Stensaker, 2007).

According to Czarniawska and Joerges, legitimating narratives give rise to 'master ideas' of appropriate organization that are fashionable during a certain period of time (1996). These ideas act as taken-for-granted solutions to widespread problems in an organizational field. According to Sahlin and Wedlin, it is not so much a case of ideas spreading extensively because they are powerful, but rather of ideas becoming powerful as they circulate. In this sense, ideas appear popular, not primarily because of their intrinsic properties, but because of who transports and supports them and how they are packaged, formulated, and timed (2008, p.221).

Building on the earlier works of translation theory (Callon, 1986; Latour, 1986), Czarniawska and Joerges' (1996) translation model illustrates how a new idea, policy, or model detaches from its institutional context and then travels through time and space across the organizational field to embed in another location where it is translated to fit the new local context. Over time, this new materialized practice may become institutionalized where it is then disembedded in order to travel through time and space again (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Erlingsdóttir & Lindberg, 2005). Czarniawska and Joerges (1996) envisioned this as a spiraled process where ideas and actors may be continuously shaped and transformed (Sahlin & Engwall, 2002) (See Figure 2.1 below). The resulting translation is never identical to the original: "it comprises what exists and what is created" (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996, p.24).

Figure 2.1 Czarniawska & Joerges' Translation Model
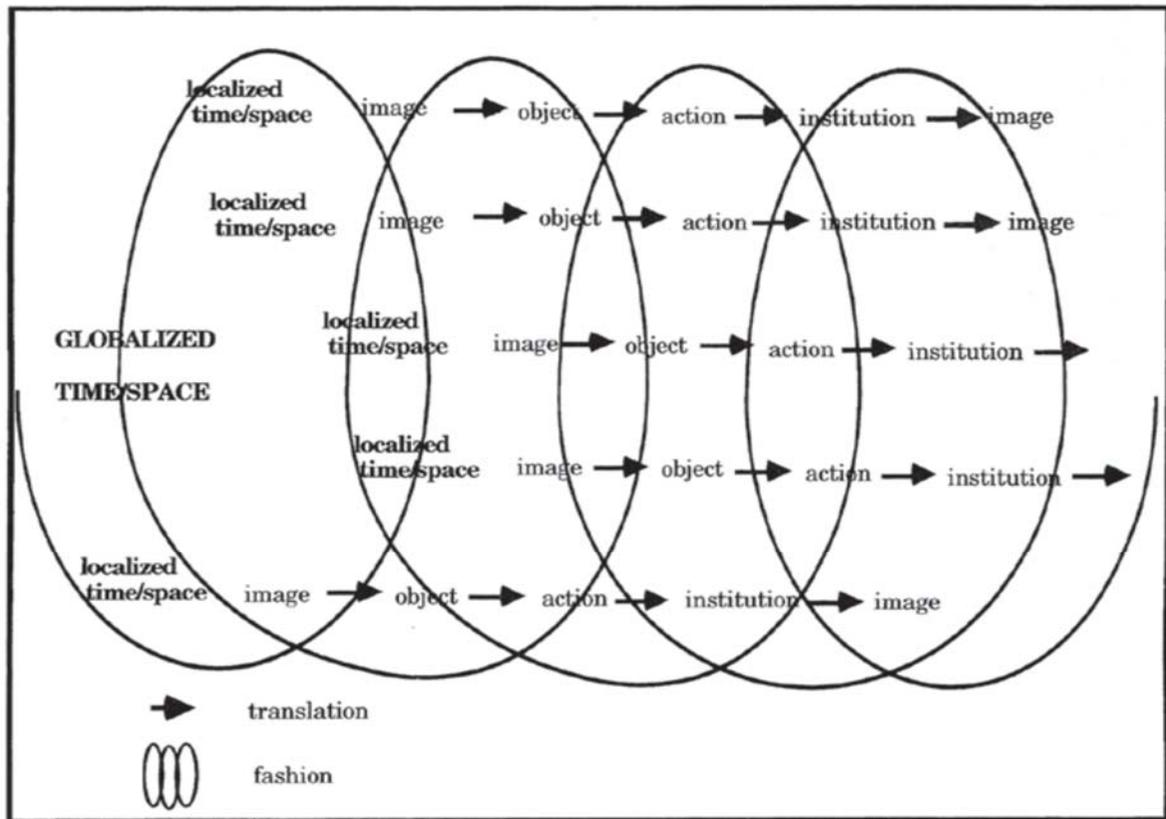
Source: Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996, p.46

Czarniawska (2002) examined the implementation of an international regulatory model for municipal contracting bids in three European capitals: Warsaw, Stockholm, and Rome. The author's findings showed evidence that the translation of the regulatory model into practice in the three cities led to three distinct organizational variations due to different local interpretations. The three resulting translations revealed that global and European forms of big city management regulations were combined with each respective city's own earlier practices. These findings underscored the importance of interpretation and context to translation process.

Interpretation is influenced by the degree of abstraction of an idea, policy, or model. If the components of a new practice are explicitly spelled out, the practice is

25

typically less transformable and thus more likely to be copied than altered (Waeraas &

Sataoen, 2013). However, if ideas travel as templates, not as prescriptions, then these

abstract ideas will more likely invite interpretation. Templates mediate isomorphic

pressures by providing a sense of belongingness in the field, while also leaving room for

differences in organizational practices and identities (Wedlin, 2007).

<u>Strategic Translations</u>

Over time, translation studies highlighted the strategic opportunities associated

with different organizational interpretations. Organizations may intentionally interpret a

new reform idea or practice in a manner that aligns with their own interests (Boxenbaum

& Pedersson, 2009). For example, Boxenbaum (2006) examined the efforts of two

Danish business firms in the translation of the American practice of 'diversity

management' into managerial practice in Denmark. This case study highlighted the

cultural challenges of translating a foreign managerial practice where differences are a

fundamental assumption into a homogenous culture that eschews attention to differences.

The resulting implementation of this policy integrated elements of a previously

established Danish practice with high legitimacy into the American concept of diversity

management. As Boxenbaum notes, "this integration resulted in a hybrid frame — their

translation product — which was received as a legitimate, innovative managerial

practice" in the two Danish firms (2006, p.946).

In addition to business policies and models, trends in higher education reform

policies and models provide fruitful ground for studying the strategic nature of

translations. Gornitzka (2007b) examined the process by which a European reform of

higher education degree structures, the Bologna Process, was translated into the reforms

implemented in Norwegian universities. The aim of the Bologna reform is to increase the compatibility of higher education degree structures across Europe to promote mobility and employability in the region. Instead, Gornitzka argues that the European agenda was used in Norway as a 'menu of solutions' to resolve domestic problems. In this sense, Bologna was used as political leverage in Norwegian policy to expedite national priorities regardless of the intent of the Bologna policy.

Likewise, Beerkens (2010) examined how research university models from the West were translated into flagship universities in Indonesia and Malaysia. The universities in both countries adopted elements of a similar organizational model to their counterparts in the US, Australia, and some European countries. He found that this partial imitation resulted in discrepancies and dissonance between the global model requirements and local contextual needs. Beerkens' finding echoed earlier sentiments from Mok's study of higher education governance reforms in universities in Hong Kong, Singapore, Taiwan, South Korea, and mainland China. Mok argued that even if seemingly similar reform strategies are adopted by different countries, on closer inspection, governments may alter these strategies during implementation to serve their own diverse political agendas (2003). Taken together, these studies point to a degree of agency afforded to relevant parties to adapt wider ideas for the best way to organize to serve local purposes.

Mechanisms of Translation and Implementation Processes

As Sahlin and Engwell note, "new ideas are mixed with traditions and other models and ideas and modified according to the rules and conventions of the local context" (2002, p.287). An alteration of an idea, policy or model occurs through an

editing process (Rovik, 2011; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). Editing

may change the form of an idea, focus, content, or meaning (Sahlin & Engwell, 2002).

Travelling ideas can be conceived of as consisting of different components that can be

copied, omitted, added to, altered, or mixed together with other components into a new

innovation (Rovik, 2011). Depending on the mix of these editing rules, the translating

organization employs a range of options on the continuum from no modification to

radical transformations which become evident in the resulting organizational innovation

(Waeraas & Sataoen, 2013).

During the editing process, ideas may be stratified leading to variations in

outcomes. For example, Erlingsdóttir and Lindberg (2005) examined the translation of

'quality assurance' concept in three cases in the Swedish health sector. They discovered a

confluence of homogenizing and heterogenizing tendencies in the results. Organizational

comparisons led to evidence of similarities and/or differences in name (nymism), form

(morphism), and practice (praxis). For example, Erlingsdóttir and Lindberg considered

organizations isonymic if the edited policy resulted in similar names to each other or

polypraxic if it resulted in variations in practice.

Lamb and Currie (2011) used Erlingsdóttir and Lindberg's analytic tool in their

research of the translation of the U.S. MBA model in five Chinese universities. The

authors discovered evidence of isopraxism (similar practice) among the Chinese

universities. This evidence of similar practice is contradictory to basic assumptions in

translation theory.   A core premise of translation theory is that travelling ideas will look

different in practice in varying locations. Lamb and Currie argue that although a model is

never copied exactly, it may retain a core essence as it circulates. The authors conclude

that translation studies perhaps overstate effects of micro-level processes and underestimate the importance of the macro-level institutional processes (Lamb & Currie, 2011; Vaira, 2004).

In a similar vein, Waeraas and Sataoen investigated the translation process used by twenty-one Norwegian hospitals to adapt the concept of 'reputation management' to their contexts. The findings showed that the hospitals intentionally removed and added components to the reputation management idea in a strikingly similar way. The authors argue that although there is variation in the original idea, one can find patterns in the revisions. This finding challenges the core assumption of translation theory that all translations are unique and suggests that the local versions that emerge in an organizational field share salient features (Waeraas & Sataoen, 2013). These commonalities are related to the organization's situated position in its wider environmental context.

Institutional Logics

Neoinstitutional accounts examine how sociocultural forces affect how organizations conduct themselves. Often, these efforts showed the diffusion of particular practices throughout a given organizational field or they showed how diffusing practices were translated to fit the local organizational context (Boxenbaum & Jonsson, 2008; Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008). As Greenwood et al. note, "taken together, this body of scholarship convincingly demonstrated that institutional processes are at work, but did so without explicitly connecting organizational practices or structures to an overall mode of thinking" (2011, p.321).

Friedland and Alford (1991) were among the first to suggest that institutional

logics, i.e. overarching belief systems, connect macro-level institutions to micro-level

actions (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). Institutional logics are both a theory and analytic tool

(Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). This section discusses the theoretical contributions of

institutional logics; the analytic aspects will be discussed later in Chapter Four.

The institutional logics perspective developed from neoinstitutional theory and

shares with early scholars (Meyer & Rowan, 1977; Powell & DiMaggio, 1991; Zucker,

1977) a concern with how cultural rules and cognitive structures shape organizational

structures. However, the focus is not on isomorphism and homogeneity in organizational

fields, but on the effects of institutional logics on individuals and organizations

(Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). This theoretical concept provides

an important analytical link between institutions at the macro structural level and actors

and actions at the micro level (Thornton et al., 2012).

While varying in their emphases, definitions of institutional logics all "pre-

suppose a core meta-theory: to understand individual and organizational behavior, it must

be located in a social and institutional context, and this institutional context regularizes

behavior and provides opportunity for agency and change" (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008,

p.101; Thornton et al., 2012, p. 46). At the organizational level, logics are organizing or

guiding principles (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Goodrick & Reay, 2011; Greenwood et al.,

2011) that can focus the attention (Lounsbury, 2007; Ocasio, 2011) or channel interests

(Thornton et al., 2012) of key decision makers on prevailing and appropriate issues and

solutions. In other words, logics "shape and create the rules of the game" (Thornton &

Ocasio 2008, p.112) because they represent sets of expectations for structure and behavior.

A core premise of the institutional logics approach is that interests, identities, values, and assumptions of individuals and organizations are embedded within prevailing institutional logics (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008; Goodrick & Reay, 2011). Organizational practices are the result of the interplay between individual agency and institutional structure. As Thornton and Ocasio note, "while organizational actors may seek power, status, and economic advantage, the means and ends of their interests and agency are both enabled and constrained by prevailing institutional logics" (2008, p.103). Thus, organizational forms and practices are manifestations of, and legitimated by institutional logics (Greenwood et al., 2010).

Societal vs. Field Logics

Friedland and Alford (1991) introduced the concept of logics to institutional theory as part of their concern that the wider social context had been neglected. It is their belief that attention to societal level institutional orders was necessary to understand individual and organizational behavior. They argue that each of the most important societal level institutional orders—market, state, democracy, family, and religion— is characterized by a central logic (Friedland & Alford, 1991). Thornton et al. (2012) later modified Friedland and Alford's list of central logics to include: family, community, religion, state, market, profession and corporation.

Greenwood et al. (2010) examined the influence of societal logics on the behaviors of organizations in the manufacturing sector in Spain. The authors argued that *family* and *state* logics mediated overarching *market* logics in organizational downsizing

decision making processes. Their findings suggested the family logic was more influential than the market logic in decisions to downsize in small-scale Spanish firms. Similarly, state logics overrode market logics in larger Spanish organizations whose activities are concentrated regionally or were significant employers in a local Spanish region.

Other research suggests institutional logics may develop at a variety of different levels other than the societal sector; for example, organizations, markets, industries, networks, geographic communities, and organizational fields (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). An organizational field consists of those organizations that in the aggregate represent a recognized area of institutional life (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; for a review see Wooten & Hoffman, 2008). As Lounsbury notes, "by focusing on how organizational fields are comprised of multiple logics, institutional analysts can provide new insight into practice variation and the dynamics of practice (2008, p.354). The following two examples from higher education illustrate variations in field level frames.

In the first example, Bastedo (2009) used the concept of institutional logics to examine higher education policymaking and governance reform in Massachusetts, USA. He identified four core field logics that guided higher educational policy formation and change in the Massachusetts public higher education system: mission differentiation, student opportunity, system development, and managerialism. These four logics directed organizational attention to legitimate ways of organizing. In the second example of field level logics, Dunn and Jones (2010) examined archival research from 1910 to 2005 and found two logics, the logic of care and the logic of science, underpinned medical education curricula. Each logic was supported by distinct groups and interests within the

medical education field, fluctuated in importance over time, and created dynamic

tensions within the field with regard to how to educate future professionals.

In sum, studies utilizing societal level logics pull from Friedland and Alford

and/or Thornton et al.'s list of five to seven core logics (state, market, corporation, etc.).

By contrast, field level logics vary depending on whatever field is under examination.

This is evidenced by the differences in the compendium of logics in Bastedo's study of

higher education governance reform and the study of belief systems guiding medical

education curricula authored by Dunn and Jones.

Institutional Complexity

Most scholars now agree that multiple logics guide the behaviors of actors in a

social system (for a review see Greenwood et al., 2011). However, a core assumption of

early scholarship was that one logic dominated during a specified time period. For

example, Thornton & Ocasio (1999) and later Thornton (2004) analyzed how 'market'

logic displaced 'editorial' logic in the US higher education publishing industry. The

authors argue that a change in dominant logics (from editorial logic to market logic)

triggered a modification of managerial attention and organizational strategies.

Organizational attention guided by the editorial logic focused on the publisher's

relationships with authors and growth in organizational size. By contrast, organizational

attention under market logic was more focused on resource competition and acquisitions.

Thus, one logic, market logic, was the reigning logic.

Recently scholars have begun to address circumstances where multiple logics

exist at the same point in time (Goodrick & Reay, 2011). These findings suggest that

although multiple logics coexist, they may compete with each other for dominance. For

example, Lounsbury (2007) investigated competing 'trustee' and 'professional' logics in the mutual fund industry. These two distinct logics (trustee and professional) influenced different patterns of organizational behavior in regards to how mutual fund companies established contracts money management firms in New York and Boston. However, although multiple logics existed in each location, Lounsbury found evidence that one logic was more prevalent than the other logic in each geographic location.

Further advancements from Reay & Hinnings' (2005, 2009) research of structural reforms in the Canadian health care system found that competing logics can coexist for lengthy periods of time. In other words, logics can coexist with neither logic dominating. The two identified guiding logics in the Canadian study were 'business-like health care' and 'medical professionalism'. The introduction of business logic was backed by government constituents who desired to increase fiscal efficiency in care decisions. By contrast, the professional logic of care was defined by the primacy of physician decisions of appropriate medical care. The authors discovered that business and professional logics successfully coexist in care decisions; therefore, neither logic dominated. Expanding on this idea of enduring coexisting logics, Goodrick and Reay suggest that multiple logics (more than two) exist in a constellation. The constellation concept illustrates "the combination of institutional logics guiding behavior at any one point of time" (Goodrick & Reay, 2011, p.399).

Organizations face institutional complexity whenever they confront "incompatible prescriptions" from multiple institutional logics (Greenwood et al., 2011, p.318). In this perspective, organizations are compelled to simultaneously abide by different 'rules of the game', each prescribing different, and at times contradictory, sets of expectations for

the 'best' or 'right' way to organize (Kraatz & Block 2008; Kodeih & Greenwood, 2014). The degree to which the prescriptions of multiple logics are incompatible influences the relative degree of tension experienced by the organization (Greenwood et al., 2011). Those engaging in this line of scholarship seek to understand how organizations cope with these tensions; i.e., their responses to institutional complexity. Thus, a core interest of institutional complexity scholars is how organizations "experience and respond to these seemingly incompatible, socially derived, expectations" (Greenwood et al., 2011, p.318).

According to Pache and Santos, institutional complexity is prevalent in industries involved in the provision of public or social services (health, education, culture, social services, etc.) (2010, p.472). Universities, in particular, possess multiple, institutionally-derived identities which are conferred upon them by different segments of their plural environments; i.e., universities "may genuinely be multiple things to multiple people" (Kraatz & Block, 2008, p.244). Kodeih and Greenwood (2014) examined how four French management schools responded to pressures to internationalize their management curriculum while also maintaining their traditional French identities as Grands Ecoles. The authors found the schools embraced both new and traditional logics. Guided by the new international logic, the schools enhanced research-related activities and hired research-oriented faculty members from both within and outside France. At the same time, the schools preserved their traditional identities as Grands Ecoles and retained traditional student recruitment practices through the competitive exam; i.e., concours system.

Summary

In the neoinstitutional perspective, organizations exist in social systems that can exert powerful influences on organizational forms and behaviors. Diffusion and translation provide alternate explanations for how ideas, policies, and models travel around the globe. Diffusion scholars aim to determine the extent of field-level homogenization as a new policy is adopted in a number of new locations. However, diffusion studies tend to ignore what happens after adoption, as well as differences in practice at the organizational level. Critics of the diffusion model argue that organizations are not simply passive implementers (i.e., puppets, pawns, or dopes) of new policies and models.

Instead, research from Scandinavian institutionalism's translation theory highlights the influence of agency and interpretation in producing variation at the organizational level. As Campbell surmises, when new practices travel from one site to another, the recipients implement or enact them in different ways depending on their local context (2004). In this view, new policies mix with traditions and other models and ideas which are then modified according to the conventions of their localities. Thus, organizations display differences in form and practice as templates are negotiated with local conditions. However, critics of the translation model suggest an inattention to wider institutional processes may reveal that not all translations are unique.

The institutional logics perspective offers a way to understand how identified patterns of translated organizational behavior are shaped by the macro-level social context. In this view, new organizational practices and behaviors are filtered through frames that originate in the institutional environment. Logics serve the 'rules of the game'

as organizations are both enabled and constrained by the prevailing institutional logics.

Logics not only guide organizations, but may also be mobilized by actors to legitimate

new practices. Recent research suggests that multiple logics coexist in a 'constellation'.

The concept of institutional complexity highlights the tensions organizations face when

they are confronted with competing prescriptions from multiple institutional logics.

Combined Model

Recent scholarship appealed for future research to address multiple levels of

analysis in the study of organizational forms and behaviors (Ansari et al., 2010;

Lounsbury, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012; Vaira, 2004; Waldorff, 2013). Thorton et al.

promotes approaches that bridge the study of field-level institutional logics and practice-

based scholarships in order to "address the blind spots" in each perspective (2012, p.140).

Organizational-level translation approaches underscore the importance of interpretation

and context to organizational decisions, while field-level institutional logics highlight the

importance of wider societal belief systems in framing appropriate responses. Therefore,

this combination of levels of analyses allows for organizational variety, but also

recognizes that organizational decisions are filtered through field-level frames which, in

turn, may lead to observable patterns of reform implementation.

Waldorff (2013) employed both translation theory and institutional logics in her

investigation of the implementation of the 'health care center' concept in eighteen Danish

municipalities. The 'health care center' concept was promoted as part of a Danish

national reform to decentralize select health care responsibilities from the region to local

municipalities. National funding subsidized this reform which led to a redistribution of

responsibilities between the state, region, and municipalities. As a result, municipalities

became key actors in managing health care. They were soon responsible for health promotion, prevention, and rehabilitation outside of hospitalization. The instructions or requirements for implementation of the 'health care center' model were not explicit enabling municipalities to innovate various forms.

Waldorff's analysis of the translation of the health care concept into organizational forms in eighteen Danish municipalities resulted in three distinct organizational innovations: flagship organizations, utilizing organizations, and local growth organizations. The municipalities accounted for their specific version of the health care center concept by linking it to a wider constellation of four societal logics: state, profession, corporation, and community. Although these logics were mobilized in different ways, the community logic showed particular influence in all three resulting organizational forms.

First, the 'flagship' organizational form was created by four of the eighteen municipalities. These locales used funds to invest in a new building for the health care center to serve as a centerpiece of the community. Flagship centers focused on patients with chronic diseases or specific marginalized groups of citizens and provided rehabilitation services to patients with referrals from hospitals. Second, the 'utilizing' organizational form was created by ten of the eighteen municipalities. Utilizing centers were located in existing buildings in efforts to use existing resources. They focused on providing rehabilitation and health promotion activities with the aim to facilitate a change in patient's lifestyle to improve health and cut future health costs. Third, the 'local growth' organizational form was created by the remaining four municipalities. Local

growth centers provided broad rehabilitation services and this form was seen as a way to maintain the local hospital services and employment during difficult economic times.

In sum, the organizational concept of 'health care center' was interpreted by local municipalities during the process of reform implementation. Waldorff suggests these municipal interpretations resulted in three organizational innovations: flagship, utilizing, and local growth organizations. Notably, the eighteen municipalities did not create eighteen distinct variations. As part of the interpretive process, organizational actors sought to account for the new reform model in ways that legitimately fit the local context.

The municipalities mobilized a constellation of four societal logics (state, corporation, professional, and community) to guide organizational decisions. The logics concept links organizational actions to wider belief systems, which accounts for the pattern of reform implementation. Thus, the three organizational forms resulted from the mobilization of four societal logics. Figure 2.2 below illustrates the process by which Waldorff envisioned organizational actors translate an organizational concept into organizational innovations by mobilizing constellations of institutional logics.

Figure 2.2 Waldorff's Combined Theoretical Model
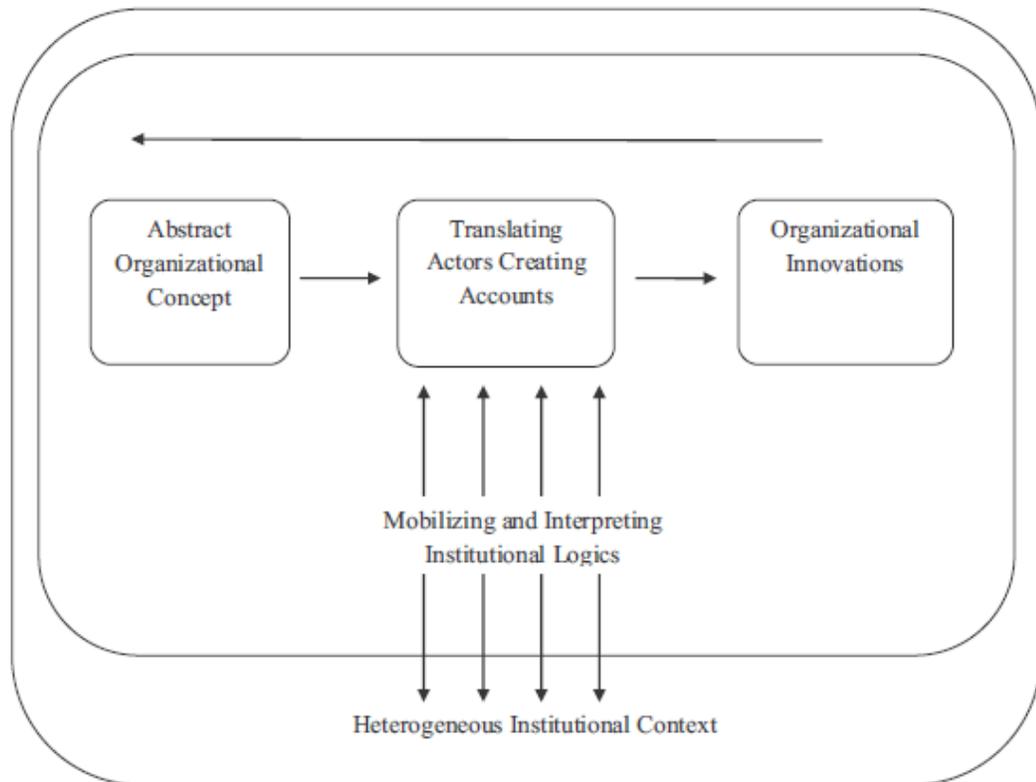
Source: Waldorff, 2013, p.13

The combination of theoretical frames translation and institutional logics underscores the importance of both field and organizational levels of analysis in explaining organizational forms and behaviors. As Nicolini notes, utilizing multiple levels of analysis allows us to 'zoom in' and 'zoom out' with different theoretical lenses which provides a more complete picture of organizational forms and behaviors (2009). Drawing on Waldorff's ideas of combining organizational and field level frames to understand organizational structures and behaviors, I combine the theoretical frames of translation and institutional logics to examine empirical case studies of the implementation of EMI reforms in three universities in leading EMI provider countries in Northern Europe. I investigate how organizational interpretations of the EMI reform

concept are shaped by institutional logics in the European higher education field. Specific

attention is paid to the development of a novel three axis comparative framework in

Chapter 5 to analyze how universities respond to institutional complexity, or competing

institutional demands, in the EMI reform implementation process. Chapter 2 introduced

the theoretical bases for how the spread of global ideas, such as EMI, impact forms and

behaviors at the organizational level in ways that respond to the organization's context.

Chapter 3 focuses on the key reform under investigation, the rise of EMI in Europe, and

provides a review of extant research literature on this topic.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW

The rise of English-medium programs in European higher education is influenced by processes of globalization (and its companion internationalization), as well as Europeanization (Phillipson, 2008). Europe is an interesting case as it actively promotes multilingual learning, but many European-level policies over the last twenty years unexpectedly accelerated the rise of English as a medium of instruction, especially in graduate education.

Chapter 3 is divided into four sections. The first section provides a brief overview of the rise of the English language usage across the globe. The second section explores the impact of the internationalization of higher education on the advancement of English-medium instruction in Europe. Specific attention is paid to the influence of the growing global student mobility market and the dominance of English-speaking destination countries on the spread of English-medium instruction in Europe. The third section examines how the cooperative efforts of the Europeanization process and the competitive aspects of higher education's role in the global knowledge economy greatly affected the extent to which English was adopted in universities. The fourth and final section reviews the current state of research on EMI including both large scale pan-European mapping studies and smaller scale case studies highlighting the challenges related to the rapid expansion of English-medium education in Europe.

The Rise of Global English

"The current enthusiasm for English in the world is closely tied to the complex processes of globalization" (Graddol, 2006, p.13). According to Maringe and Foskett, globalization is a "multidimensional concept that relates to creating a world in which

social, cultural, technological, political and ideological aspects of life become increasingly homogenous and in which economic interdependence and growth are driven by principles in the free market" (Maringe & Foskett, 2010, p.24). This growing world-wide interdependence has accelerated the global spread of the English language especially over the last few decades (for a review see Crystal, 2003; Graddol, 2006; Northrup, 2013; Phillipson, 2003).

The growing use of English around the globe is due in part out of necessity for the ease of communications in diplomatic venues and economic and political alliances. International organizations such as the United Nations and European Union directly influenced the spread of English by using it as a primary working language. In addition to diplomatic venues, political circumstances contributed to the spread of English in Europe. After the fall of the Soviet Union, many former Soviet states chose to promote English instead of Russian in education. More recently, the economic ascendancy of Asia increased the demand for English for the purposes of engagement in the global economic arena. This increased demand for English from the most populous area of the world has a major impact on the growing use of English across the globe (Berns et al., 2007; Coleman, 2006).

English is currently the premier language of business and the only global language of science, research and academic publication (Marginson & van der Wende, 2009). It is the international language of commerce, finance, and other business areas because of the massive growth of international trade. Multinational corporations contribute to the reach of the language by employing English as the primary working language in many different countries, as well as require English as a desirable skill on the

global labor market. The rising popularity of MBA degree training for the next generation of business leaders and entrepreneurs across the globe secured the place of English as the major language of business. In addition to its popularity in global business circles, English dominates in the fields of science and technology as it is considered the global language of scientific cooperation and publication. The advent of the internet accelerated the spread of English by catalyzing a new era of scientific and technological innovation, as well as diffused American popular culture, sports, movies, music, TV programs, design, and fashion to many previously unreached parts of the globe.

Since 1990, English has moved to the forefront of international languages as the world's first global language and is so pervasive that in many contexts 'international' or 'global' have become synonyms for English-speaking (Northrup, 2013, p.137). The increased mobility of people via travel and tourism has affected signs in airports and subways, as well as restaurant menus to include English translations. Additionally, another form of people mobility, student mobility, has greatly affected the spread and prestige associated with the English language. Domestic students in non-native English speaking countries desire to learn English in efforts to prepare for a globalized labor market. Also, the popularity of study abroad programs greatly increased the circulation of mobile students which led to an increase in course offerings in English. Finally, the creation of the international educational marketplace for both *more* and *better* students has reinforced the position of English as the language of international education (Northrup, 2013; see also Altbach, 2013).

On the one hand, many scholars welcome the rise of English as the global language as 'the cultural vehicle par excellence of modernity'. Alternatively, there are

those who denounce the rise of English as the premiere global language as an act of 'malevolent cultural imperialism' (Northrup, 2013, p.19). Regardless of these debates between the enthusiasts and alarmist, there is no doubt English has become the dominant language of international higher education.

Internationalization of higher education and EMI

"One of the most important drivers of global English has been the globalization of higher education" (Graddol, 2006, p.74). Universities are traditionally national institutions; however, as globalization has intensified over the last few decades, higher education organizations have turned to internationalization[4] as both a response and a proactive way of addressing the diverse opportunities and imperatives of globalization (Maringe & Foskett 2010; Rumbley, Altbach, & Reisberg, 2012). Internationalization is a core aspect of university organization impacting issues of social and curricular relevance, institutional quality and prestige, national competitiveness, innovation potential, and finance (Rumbley, Altbach, & Reisberg, 2012).

Internationalization is directly linked to the introduction of English-medium teaching in higher education (Marsh & Laitinen, 2005 as cited in Coleman, 2006). Language is a central issue in discussions of internationalization strategies in a number of the world's higher education institutions and systems. In many parts of the globe, the move to conduct research and deliver all or significant parts of educational programming in English is a strategic decision to increase international openness, attractiveness, and

---

[4] See Knight 2004 for a full discussion of internationalization. Internationalization is interpreted differently in different national and institutional contexts. It can be understood as a national approach or response to educational, economic and social globalization, or be used in relation to institutional strategies related to their various international activities (Becker et al., 2009; Woodfield 2009).

competitiveness (Rumbley, Altbach, & Reisberg, 2012). According to International

Association of Universities (IAU) third global survey, the demand for foreign language

learning is on the rise and the most popular foreign language chosen by students is

English (Egron-Polak & Hudson, 2010). When compared with the results from the 2005

IAU Global Survey, the 2010 survey shows a marked increased emphasis of the

importance of English as an important foreign language for students around the world

(56% in 2010 compared to 43% in 2005).

Although, no definitive statistical data yet document the extent to which English

dominates the academy worldwide (Rumbley, Altbach, & Reisberg, 2012), there is

evidence of its use on all continents. As Marginson and van der Wende (2007, 2009)

note, English-medium instruction is widely used in India and the Philippines, and in

Singapore and Hong Kong, which have close historical links[5] with English-speaking

nations. In Malaysia, English has been reintroduced in the school sector and is dominant

in the growing private higher education sector. It is also in growing use as a medium of

instruction in the education export industry in China and Japan.

Within Europe[6], English is increasingly used as the language of instruction in

selected programs, especially at master's level and those targeting students from Asia.

---

[5] For a discussion of medium of instruction (MOI) in post-colonial contexts see Tollefson
& Tsui, 2004; Tsui and Tollesfson, 2007.

[6] Kachru (1985) described the spread of English in terms of three concentric circles: the
Inner Circle, the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle. The Inner Circle of Kachru's
model refers to countries where English is the mother tongue (USA, the UK, Canada,
Australia and New Zealand).The Outer Circle consists countries where English plays an
important 'second language' role found in former colonies of the UK or the USA, such as
Malaysia, Singapore, India, Ghana, and Kenya. The Expanding Circle refers to countries
that do not have a history of colonization by members of the Inner Circle and where
English is learned as a foreign language. In this sense, English is taught as the most

Nations where English is widely used include the Netherlands, Finland, Iceland, Sweden and Denmark. The European University Association surveyed institutions across the continent in 2013 and found 67% of respondents indicated they offer more courses in English as a direct result of the implementation of an institutional internationalization strategy. While the trend is moving quickly in Europe and Asia, English-medium programs are also available in the Middle East, as well as in Africa and Latin America (Green et al., 2012; Northrup 2013). The table below provides a global snapshot of the overall proportion of English programs by country in 2010.

Table 3.1 Countries Offering Higher Education Programs in English, 2010

Use of English in instruction	
All or nearly all programmes offered in English	Australia, Canada,[1] Ireland, New Zealand, the United Kingdom, the United States
Many programmes offered in English	Denmark, Finland, the Netherlands, Sweden
Some programmes offered in English	Belgium (Fl.),[2] the Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, Iceland, Japan, Korea, Norway, Poland, Portugal, the Slovak Republic, Switzerland,[3] Turkey
No or nearly no programmes offered in English	Austria, Belgium (Fr.), Brazil, Chile, Greece, Israel, Italy, Luxembourg, Mexico,[3] the Russian Federation, Spain

Note: The extent to which a country offers a few or many programmes in English takes into account the size of the population in the country. Hence, France and Germany are classified among countries with comparatively few English programmes, although they have more English programmes than Sweden, in absolute terms.

1. In Canada, tertiary institutions are either French- (mostly Quebec) or English-speaking.
2. Master's programmes.
3. At the discretion of tertiary education institutions.

Source: OECD, compiled from brochures for prospective international students by OAD (Austria), CHES and NARIC (Czech Republic), Cirius (Denmark), CIMO (Finland), EduFrance (France), DAAD (Germany), Campus Hungary (Hungary), University of Iceland (Iceland), JPSS (Japan), NIIED (Korea), NUFFIC (Netherlands), SIU (Norway), CRASP (Poland), Swedish Institute (Sweden) and Middle-East Technical University (Turkey).

Source: OECD, 2012

Mobility and EMI

The internationalization of higher education systems encourages students to be more mobile in efforts to develop skills that are essential to be competitive on global labor markets (Tremblay, 2005). From sending countries' perspectives, student mobility

useful vehicle of international communication (e.g., European countries such as Norway, the Netherlands, and Germany).

often helps address excessive demand for higher education. Factors pushing students to study abroad include lack of world class institutions at home, competitive entry requirements at home institutions, lack of certain specializations, and limited graduate study opportunities (Altbach, 2004; Tremblay, 2005). However, students are not the only drivers of mobility. Higher education institutions have positioned themselves to meet the demands of an increasingly competitive higher education marketplace and the needs for and of millions of globally mobile students (Bhandari & Laughlin, 2009). Given the increasing competition, many institutions have started to consider how they might implement or strengthen their strategic approaches to attract international students. Strong pull factors in international student circulation include academic reputation and quality of particular institution or program; streamlined visa and immigration procedures; tuition and funding opportunities; and notably, the provision of English-medium instruction (de Wit et al., 2008; Findlay, 2010; Kahanec and Králiková, 2011).

Global Trends in Student Mobility

The number of internationally mobile students has grown by 77% over the past decade[78] (OECD, 2012). This has intensified competition between countries and

---

[7] In global and national mobility data, a distinction needs to be made between students who have moved from their country of origin with the purpose of studying (international students) and those who are not citizens of the country in which they are enrolled (foreign students). Some classified as foreign students may actually be long-term residents and not crossing a border for the purpose of education. Most current sources of information and knowledge about international students are derived from national data collection organizations, the results vary widely from country to country in timeliness, data definitions, and scope (Bhandari & Blumenthal, 2011). Country specific data are limited in that it they are not clear about the implications of each country's mobility statistics within a global context. National agencies collect data for their own purposes using different criteria and these data may lack accuracy and comparability (Becker et al., 2009). However, many regard data from the OECD, UNESCO, and EUROSTAT as globally comparative trend data.

providers in their recruitment efforts. The growing global student market is influenced by

two factors: on one hand, the prestige and access to the global labor market represented

by English-speaking destinations such as the United States and United Kingdom; on the

other hand, the purchasing power and demographic weight of China and India. Globally,

the largest concentrations of demand for English-medium instruction are found in the

Asia-Pacific countries (OECD, 2004). Although there is a trend towards increased

competition in international student recruitment (both at national and institutional levels),

mutually beneficial partnerships remain a salient feature of internationalization strategies.

The expansion in international student participation must be contextualized by the

growth of enrollments globally. In 2010, 177 million students participated in higher

education around the globe, an increase of 77 million students since 2000. The number of

foreign students increased during the same period from 2.1 to 4.1 million (OECD, 2012)

and the number of internationally mobile students is projected to reach 8 million by 2025

(Bhandari, Belyavina, & Gutierrez, 2011; OECD, 2012). This rapidly expanding market

partly explains why countries and institutions are seeking innovative strategies to attract

greater numbers of students (Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007).

---

[8] ISCED classified international mobility data is not congruent with the discrete Bologna
Process degree cycles. Statistical data using the ISCED classification (reported by
international organizations such as the OECD) are not disaggregated by bachelor and
master levels. Instead, the ISCED 5A classification lumps together students in bachelor,
master, and single-cycle 'long' degrees. Thus, the ISCED classification has yet to adapt
to recent policy changes in European higher education degree levels and comparable
disaggregated data by level are unavailable at this time.

Asian students represent 52% of foreign students enrolled worldwide in 2010. Regionally, Asia is followed by Europe (24%), particularly EU 21[9] citizens (17%). Students from Africa account for 9.6% of all international students, while those from North America account for only 3.7%. The predominance of students from Asia and Europe is also clear when looking at individual countries of origin. Students from China represent, by far, the largest group of internationally mobile students with 19% of all international students enrolled in the OECD[10] area. The figures from China are followed by those from India (7.0%), Korea (4.6%), Germany (3.8%), France (2.0%), and Malaysia (1.8%) (Figure 3.1) (OECD, 2012).

Figure 3.1 Leading Places of International Student Origin, 2010.
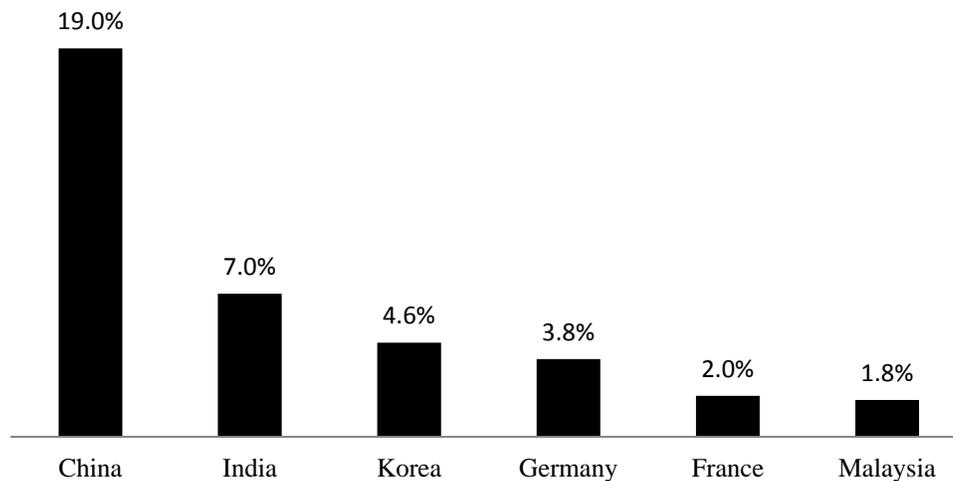
Source: OECD, 2012

[9] EU 21: Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom.
[10] Organization for Economic Cooperation & Development member countries include: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, Chile, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Korea, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom, United States

Destination Countries

       In 2010, the United States received the largest share, with 17% of all foreign students worldwide, followed by the United Kingdom (13%), Australia (7%), Germany (6%) and France (6%) (Figure 3.2). Although these destinations account for half of all students pursuing their studies abroad, new destinations emerged on the international education market in the past few years, namely, Canada (5%), the Russian Federation (4%), and Japan (3%) (OECD, 2012).

Figure 3.2 Leading Destination Countries for International Student Origin, 2010.
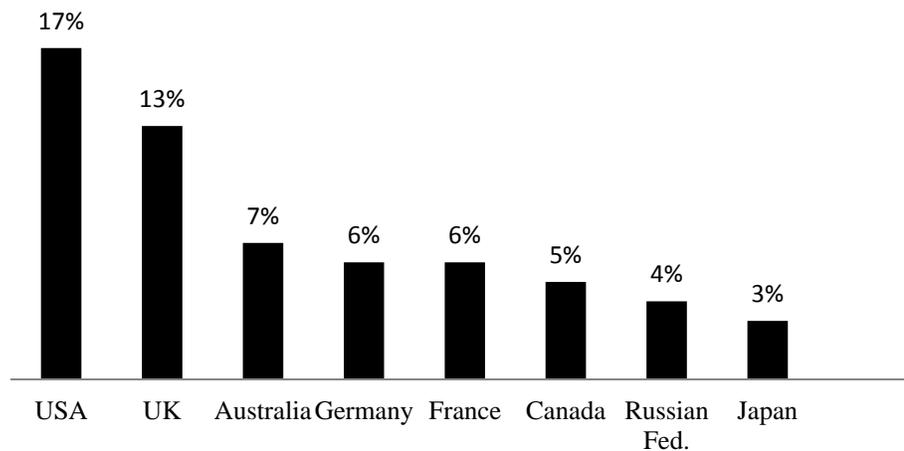
Source: OECD, 2012

       Over the past decade, the share of international students who chose the United States as their destination dropped from 23% to 17%. Shares fell two percentage points for Germany and one percentage point for the United Kingdom. In contrast, the shares of international students who chose Australia, New Zealand, or the Russian Federation as their destination grew by almost two percentage points (OECD, 2012). However, it is important to note that while the share of international students dropped in the U.S. over the last decade, the actual enrollment of international students in the U.S. increased from 547,867 in 2000/01 to 723, 277 in 2010/11 (Institute of International Education, 2012).

The combined international student enrollment in the United States, United Kingdom, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand, the major English-speaking destination countries (MESDCs), was 1.6 million in 2010 (Figure 3.3), which accounted for nearly half the total global enrollment (Bhandari, Belyavina, & Gutierrez, 2011). The demand for MESDCs is projected to reach 2.6 million places in 2020 and Asia is predicted to dominate demand for the MESDCs, representing 1.8 million places or 76% of the global demand for the five major English-speaking destination countries by 2020 (Bohm et al., 2004; de Wit et al., 2008; Gürüz 2008).

Figure 3.3 International Student Enrollments in MESDCs, 2010
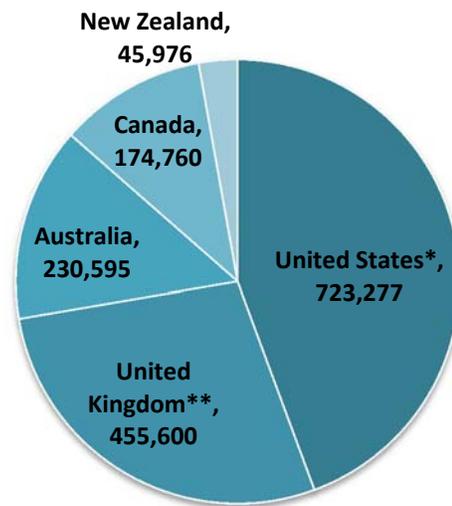
*year 2010-11
**year 2009-10
Source: Institute of International Education, 2012

The popularity of MESDCs reflects the dominance of English as a global language of higher education demand. Given this pattern, an increasing number of institutions in non-English-speaking countries now offer programs in English to overcome their linguistic disadvantage in attracting foreign students (OECD, 2012).

Trends in Student Mobility-Europe

According to the OECD, two million foreign students enrolled in Europe in 2010 which represents an overall share of 48% of the global foreign student market. The countries belonging to the European Union[11], a subset of the Europe data, hosted 41% of foreign students globally in 2010. Europe is followed by North America with a 23% share.

Figure 3.4 Foreign Student Enrollment, by region, by year

	2010	2005	2000
North America	880,427	738,401	569,640
Europe	1,968,418	1,385,763	918,179
World	4,119,002	2,982,588	2,071,963
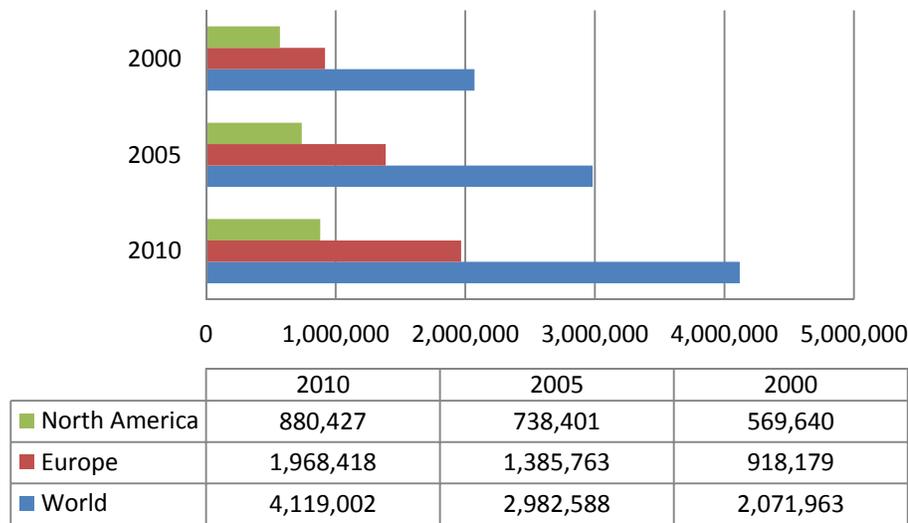
Source: OECD, 2012

Within the OECD area, EU 21[12] countries host the highest number of foreign students, with 40% of total foreign students. These twenty-one countries also host 98% of foreign students in the European Union. EU mobility policies become evident when

---

[11] EU 27: Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Cyprus, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom.

[12] EU 21: Austria, Belgium, Czech Republic, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, United Kingdom.

analyzing the composition of this population. Within the share of foreign students

enrolled in EU 21 countries, 72% of students come from another EU 21 country (OECD,

2011). However, European averages say little about the situation in each country. The

U.K., Germany, and France together have close to two-thirds of all foreign students in the

Europe. Any European averages are heavily influenced by the values of these countries

(Teichler, Ferencz, & Wächter, 2011).

As the data reveal, Europe is highly successful on the student market due to a

strong record of intra-European mobility. However, most of the foreign students in

Europe are from another European country, while North America has a more globally

diversified profile of students. The IAU global survey of higher education institutions

found 67% of European universities indicated English is the primary language of student

demand (Egron-Polak & Hudson, 2010). In addition, a global student survey conducted

by the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) found Asian students (the largest

internationally mobile group) cited Europe's major disadvantage as a destination is that

the English language is not the "mother tongue" (2006, p.12).

European Higher Education Policies and EMI

Over the past two decades, the spread of EMI in European higher education has

been significantly influenced by three European level policy developments: (1)

European-level mobility schemes Erasmus and Erasmus Mundus (2) higher education

reforms initiated by the Bologna Process, and (3) the European Union's Lisbon Strategy

for jobs and growth. The Bologna Process is an intergovernmental commitment of 47[13]

---

[13] The forty-seven Bologna Process members include: Andorra, Armenia, Austria,
Azerbaijan, Belgium, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Czech Republic,
Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Georgia, Germany, Greece, Holy See, Hungary,

signatories to restructuring higher education systems which extends beyond the EU and the Lisbon Strategy is part of the European Union's wider economic platform that extends beyond the higher education sector (Keeling, 2006). The following discussion reviews the three policy areas, paying close attention to their impact on EMI reforms in European universities.

Erasmus[14] Mobility Scheme

The initial impetus for increasing English-medium provision across European universities is attributed to participation in higher education exchange programs (Coleman, 2006). Although international higher education has always existed to some extent and was long associated with student mobility, it took greater importance during the Europeanization process. Until the early 1990s, the EU's higher education initiatives were primarily internally-oriented toward the internationalization of study programs, curricula, student mobility, and research with other European institutions (Robertson & Keeling, 2008). The aim of European-level initiatives were to produce European-minded citizens, engaged with the expanding the European community, and committed to the concept of 'European' culture and values (van der Wende, 2009). The establishment of the EU's Erasmus program in 1987 facilitated the movement of students and staff between universities in Europe. It was a short-term mobility scheme driven by academic and cultural rationales to increase contact among European students and researchers. The

Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Kazakhstan, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Moldova, Montenegro, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Russian Federation, Serbia, Slovak Republic, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, FYRO Macedonia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom

[14] ERASMUS-**EuR**opean Community **A**ction **S**cheme for the **M**obility of **U**niversity **S**tudents

primary participants, undergraduate students, utilized this funding opportunity for short study abroad stays in other European higher education institutions.

As part of the Europeanization effort, universities were tasked with the promotion of "societal and individual multilingualism" (European Commission, 2003; Doiz, Lasagabaste, & Sierra, 2011). Language policies at the European level promote learning other European languages as part of the efforts to build a European community. The EU language policy encourages learning 'mother tongue plus two' languages. In countries whose national language(s) were little taught elsewhere, Erasmus exchanges were only possible if courses are delivered through an international language, most frequently English (Coleman, 2006). The demand for English was not just from mobile students, but also from the desire of many universities to create more international classrooms for domestic students. This struggle between multilingual language policies and monolingual language practice would intensify over the next decade.

The Bologna Process

In the late 1990s, awareness of global competition was on the rise and despite all the success that had been achieved in enhancing intra-European mobility in the eighties, the picture in relation to extra-European mobility was a less successful one. Europe had lost its position as the top destination for international students and researchers to the United States. Globally mobile students were deterred by the less efficient degree structures in European institutions; i.e., longer duration first degrees and graduates entering the labor market at an older age (van der Wende, 2009). Heightened awareness of these deterrents and other factors related to an ageing populace, reductions in State funding, and high dropout rates led to large scale reform initiatives.

The Bologna Declaration[15] (1999) aimed to strengthen European cooperation by coordinating higher education degree structures into discrete qualification levels (bachelor, master, doctorate) and credit accumulating systems[16] in efforts to increase comparability, employability, and the attractiveness of European higher education globally. Enhancing student mobility was considered a critical component in the creation of the resulting European Higher Education Area (EHEA). This focus on mobility at the European level was a continuation of earlier measures such as the Erasmus program; however, the new degree structures also provided opportunities for students outside Europe to matriculate for a full degree.

The newly created master's degree level provided an opportunity for higher education institutions to target new student clienteles, profile the institution, and add new programs. Universities encountered difficulties recruiting students domestically and in efforts to persuade students from outside the nation or region to attend their programs, many universities offered programs instructed in English. Offering English-medium programs provided opportunities for institutional visibility on a global scale and recruitment of talented students who would otherwise not attend the university if

---

[15] The Sorbonne Declaration (1998) is the predecessor to the Bologna Declaration (1999). In 1998, the French minister for education, Claude Allègre invited the Italian, German and English education ministers to the 800th anniversary of the Sorbonne in Paris. He proposed a voluntary, multilateral agreement aimed at a European resolution to differing national higher education issues. The result, the Sorbonne Declaration of 1998, aimed to create a European area of higher education by "harmonisation of the architecture of the European higher education system" (Sorbonne Declaration, 1998). The fundamental building blocks for creating this European higher education space was a university degree structure with two cycles (undergraduate and graduate) and the use of a common credit accumulating system. The Sorbonne Declaration was signed by representatives from four countries (France, Italy, Germany, and England). The Bologna Declaration the following year included an expanded signatory list of 29 countries in total.
[16] ECTS-European Credit Transfer System

programs were instructed in the native language. However, critical voices argued "the Bologna Process undermined the European goal of multilingualism or 'mother tongue plus two' policy and advanced the marketization of higher education through Englishising the curriculum, without enhancing mobility, comparability or equity" (Costa & Coleman 2012, p.2).

The objectives of the Bologna reforms have been described as a moving target (Kehm et al., 2009). In the beginning, the Bologna Process focused on the intra-European harmonization and transparency agenda by modifying degree structures for easier recognition and employability in the European labor market. Later, the Process became more oriented to the 'external dimension,' with the aim of enhancing international competitiveness and attractiveness, and to its connections to other global regions. This coincided with the development of the European Research Area (ERA), as part of the Lisbon Strategy[17] of 2000 which aimed to make "Europe the most competitive and dynamic knowledge economy in the world by 2010" (European Council, 2000; van der Wende, 2009).

The Lisbon Strategy

The rationale of the Lisbon Strategy was that higher education needed in-depth restructuring and modernization if Europe was not to lag behind global competitors. Key aspects of this modernization agenda include the creation of the European research area (ERA); changes to university governance models towards more professionalization and autonomy; diversifying financing models; and increasing the attractiveness of higher education by setting up 'excellent' programs with an international dimension, selection

---

[17] The Lisbon Strategy, completed in 2010, has now been replaced by the Europe 2020 strategy which is focused on achieving smart sustainable economic growth in the EU.

criteria, and (in some cases) higher tuition fees (European Council, 2005). Governments identified mobility as a key factor in developing national competitiveness in a global knowledge economy through the promotion of skilled migration of students, encouragement of international study and work experience, and support for research collaboration with international partners (Woodfield, 2009).

The Lisbon Strategy emphasized the key role of European higher education institutions in enabling Europe to become a leading knowledge economy through their contributions to national competitiveness, while the Bologna Process focused on enhancing the attractiveness of the EHEA in terms of its quality of education and research activities for which the importance of graduate student mobility is critical (Egron-Polak & Hudson, 2010). The driving rationale behind both Bologna and Lisbon was that Europe was lagging behind in research and development, innovation and change, in comparison with its global competitors, particularly the U.S. (de Wit et al., 2008). Although EU focused, the Lisbon strategy's close alignment with the objectives of the Bologna Process inevitably led to the adoption of elements of the Lisbon strategy throughout the EHEA (van der Wende, 2007). EMI is the primary tool used by many European countries to attract the best and brightest students from abroad and to establish strategic partnerships across the globe (Rumbley, Altbach, & Reisberg, 2012).

The creation of a new master's degree level via the Bologna Process, the earlier success of Erasmus mobility initiative, and the Lisbon Strategy's focus on economic growth led to the development of the Erasmus Mundus initiative. The Erasmus Mundus program was initiated in 2004 to create high-level joint master's degree programs between EU institutions and those elsewhere in the world (de Wit & Merkx, 2012). While

the earlier Erasmus program encouraged short-term (primarily undergraduate) credit

mobility within Europe for the purposes of Europeanization; the Erasmus Mundus

program, in contrast, encouraged full degree mobility for graduate students for the

purposes of global competitiveness. Most of these joint Erasmus Mundus initiatives are

instructed in English (even if the countries involved are not primarily English speaking)

in efforts to attract top-quality students from outside Europe (Ferencz & Wächter, 2012).

These programs are prestigious and receive sponsored funding from the European

Commission; consequently, they have been highly influential in the spread of English

throughout Europe. Universities clamoring to be selected for the Erasmus Mundus

scheme and graduate degree programs competing with the selected switched to English-

medium instruction as a direct result of the success of the Erasmus Mundus program.

In sum, globalization, internationalization, and Europeanizing processes were key

influences over the past two decades affecting the spread of English-medium instruction

in European higher education. The increasing interconnectedness of societies fostered the

spread of English in a variety of venues, most notably higher education.

Internationalization of higher education led to an increase in the number of degree

programs instructed in English due in part to the growing international student mobility

market and the preferences of students for English speaking destinations. The English-

medium trend intensified due to higher education policy initiatives reforming degree

structures, promoting student mobility, and including higher education institutions in

wider competitive economic platforms. Due to its effect on enhancing attractiveness,

English has become the "academic lingua franca in European higher education, despite

the European level attempts to boost multilingualism and multiculturalism at universities"

(Doiz, Lasagabaste, & Sierra, 2011, p.347).

Studies of EMI Programs

The previous sections reviewed key contextual factors assisting the expansion of

English-medium instruction in European universities. The following section provides a

review of relevant EMI research. First, an examination of three large-scale, pan-European

studies uncovers the extent to which this English-medium trend has spread across the

continent and overviews the basic characteristics of these programs. Second, a review of

smaller scale case studies identifies a number of unexpected challenges related to the

rapid expansion of English-medium programs. These organizational challenges include

disparities in EMI provision, teaching and learning difficulties, and implementation

issues. In the concluding section, I discuss how this study addresses a gap in the

literature.

Large-scale European Studies: Mapping the Field

English as an Academic Language in Europe

Ammon and McConnell's (2002) pan-European survey was one of the first

attempts to document the extent of English-medium instruction in higher education in

Europe. Their study was prompted by the introduction of *international study programs*,

programs instructed wholly or partially in English, in German universities during the

mid-nineties. The authors collected survey data from twenty-three countries across

Europe during the 1999/2000 academic year in efforts to determine the extent English-

medium instruction had spread to universities across the continent. The survey was an

exploratory first attempt to begin mapping this phenomenon and as such the research team was not able to approach data collection with a statistically representative sample.

However, the authors were able to uncover the following general trends related to English-medium provision in Europe. First, English-medium instruction was available in most European countries by 2000. Second, the introduction of English was viewed as a way to attract foreign students and researchers, as well as equip domestic students with language skills for the global labor market. Third, EMI was perceived as an opportunity to compete with the perception that Anglo Saxon universities were more prestigious (Ammon and McConnell, 2002). Fourth, the findings revealed that northern European countries (e.g. Netherlands, Norway) were more apt than the southern European countries (Italy, Greece) to offer programs taught in English. Fifth, countries with widely spoken languages (e.g. France, Germany) were more reluctant to introduce English than so-called small language countries (e.g. Finland, Sweden). Lastly, programs in the natural sciences were more likely to offer programs taught in English than either the social sciences or humanities.

Survey of English-Taught Programs in Europe

In 2002, and again in 2008, the Academic Cooperation Association (ACA) published studies devoted to the provision of English-medium programs in European countries where English was not (one of) the domestic languages. Of the 2,218 higher education institutions in 27 European countries[18] surveyed in 2008, 851 institutions responded. The authors uncovered an estimated 2,400 total English-medium programs in Europe in 2008, up from 700 in 2002. For the purposes of their research, English-

---

[18] Those surveyed include all EU member states except for UK, Ireland, Malta, and Luxembourg; all EFTA countries except Liechtenstein; and Turkey.

medium programs were defined as degree programs taught entirely in English; i.e.

programs taught in a mix of English and the domestic (or any other) language were not

included. The 2008 study included both bachelor and master programs; however,

programs were excluded if they included English as the object of the study, such as

English language or literature or American Studies (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008).

For many European institutions, a separate master's degree level presented a new

opportunity for institutional profiling, the addition of new programs, and targeting new

student clienteles. According to Wächter and Maiworm, on average, 79% of all English-

medium programs were offered at the master's level. The introduction of the majority of

these programs took place over the last decade since the adoption of the Bologna

Declaration; seventy-nine percent of all English-medium degrees were introduced since

the year 2000. The 2008 data suggests the provision of English-medium programs tripled

since 2002 with the majority of programs (51%) set during the last four years of data

collection (2004-2008).

EMI is predominantly but not exclusively created for international students. The

2008 report showed a trend towards a higher share of foreign students (when compared to

2002 data), who comprised on average 65% of enrollment in English-medium programs.

Of the foreign student population, slightly over one third were Europeans (27%

EU/EFTA[19] and 9% 'other' Europe), 34% Asians (of whom over one third Chinese), and

the rest from other world regions. According to survey responses from university

administrators, the top motivations for creating English-medium programs were: (1) to

attract foreign students who would not enroll in a program taught in the domestic

---

[19] EFTA-European Free Trade Association countries include Norway, Switzerland,
Iceland, & Liechtenstein

language (2) to sharpen the profile of the institution in comparison to other institutions (3) to make domestic students fit for global labor markets and (4) to secure a research base of the institution by attracting future Ph.D. students (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008).

English-Taught Master's Programs in Europe-MastersPortal.eu Data

In an *IIENetworker* article published in July 2010 by the Institute of International Education, Brenn-White and van Rest reported that the MastersPortal.eu[20] database tallied 3,543 English-medium master's programs offered in European countries where English is not the primary language of instruction. By 2012, the website included more than 960 public and private universities from across Europe and listed over 18,000 master's degree programs. Listings in MastersPortal.eu are voluntary and provided by program managers, department staff, or central marketing/admissions staff. The authors estimate that 90% of the total number of English-medium master's programs offered throughout Europe are listed on this site.

In 2012, the Institute of International Education released a related briefing paper authored by Brenn-White and van Rest. The authors examine the growth of English-medium master's programs in Europe, including the total number of programs offered by country and academic discipline, their duration, and data on prospective students who searched the website. The authors examined data from the site launch in 2007 to fall 2011 and found that by October 2011, the number of programs instructed entirely in English listed on MastersPortal.eu had risen to 3,701. A recent addendum published by the authors in 2013 indicated the number of English-medium master's programs rose from

---

[20] MastersPortal.eu is an online directory of information about master's degree programs in Europe

3,701 at the end of 2011 to 5,258 in June 2013, an increase of 42 percent (Brenn-White &

Faethe, 2013).

The authors attribute this dramatic growth to the implementation of the three-

cycle system in universities in accordance to the Bologna Declaration and the growing

popularity of the MastersPortal.eu website with university staff. Smaller countries (such

as the Scandinavian countries and the Netherlands) have switched a large portion of their

graduate-level teaching to English, while the large countries (Germany, France, Spain)

have adopted only a small part of their educational offerings in English, in spite of the

comparatively large absolute number of programs (Brenn-White & van Rest, 2012).

The Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, France, and Spain are the countries with

both the largest number of English-medium program offerings and the largest number of

institutions offering them. The majority of English-medium master's programs are two

years in length and approximately 20% of all programs listed in 2011 were joint degree

programs. The most popular disciplines both for university offerings and for prospective

student searches are (i) business and economics and (ii) engineering and technology.

Prospective students using MastersPortal.eu were primarily from Europe, followed by

Asia, and more specifically from the U.K., Germany, U.S., India, and Greece.

Discussion

Internationalization policies differ substantially between the various European

countries and within nations between the individual institutions of higher education

(Huisman and van der Wende, 2004, 2005). Regardless of this variation, three large-scale

studies found a common trend of establishing English-medium programs (particularly at

the master's level) across the continent over the past decade. Data indicated that as of

2013, over 5000 English-medium master's programs were offered in non-Anglophone

Europe (Brenn-White & Faethe, 2013). Additionally, Teichler, Ferencz and Wächter

estimate that at least two-thirds of the thirty-two[21] European countries covered in their

study on mobility in Europe aim at either creating or increasing English provision and

conclude that "English-medium provision has no doubt become one of the key measures

in most of Europe for the attraction of incoming (degree) mobile students" (2011, p.182).

The growing international student market partly explains why countries and

institutions are seeking innovative strategies to attract increasing numbers of students

(Verbik & Lasanowski, 2007). Another important contributor is that the Bologna Process

created a new entry point at the master's level into most European higher education

systems for both European and international students. Brenn-White and van Rest

conclude that the English-medium master's program has become "one of the most

important calling cards for European universities looking to raise their international

profile or locate possible Ph.D. students" (Brenn-White & van Rest, 2010, p.20).

In sum, the three large-scale pan-European studies (Ammon & McConnell,

Wächter & Maiworm, and Brenn-White & van Rest) mapped the prevalence of EMI

across the Continent over the last decade and detailed basic characteristics of English-

medium programs in European universities. The following list highlights important

findings from the studies:

- The number of degree programs instructed in English in non-Anglophone
  countries in Europe has dramatically increased over the past decade. From
  a few hundred a decade ago to over 5000 today.

---

[21] EU-27, EFTA-4, and Turkey

- Most English-medium programs are situated at the master's degree level.

- Top disciplines offering English-medium programs are business & economics; engineering & technology; and the natural sciences.

- English-medium programs were created to attract international students and to serve domestic demand for higher education offerings instructed in English.

- English-medium programs host an increasing proportion of international students.

- Northern European countries offer more English-medium programs than the South. The Netherlands, Germany, and the Nordic countries are leading EMI providers.

- Countries with larger numbers of native speakers (Germany, France) were slower to introduce English provision on a wider scale than countries with smaller numbers of native speakers (Finland, Sweden). However reluctant at first, over time, an increasing number of programs are available in so-called big language countries.

Small-Scale Case Studies: the Challenges of EMI in Practice

Catalyzed by the large-scale studies, a number of smaller scale case studies investigated the impact of EMI on operational practice. This growing body of literature details a number of unintentional consequences related to the rapid expansion of English-medium education in Europe. These include disparities in EMI provision, teaching and learning challenges, and implementation issues.

As noted in the pan-European studies in the previous section, geography impacts underlying rationales for the provision of English-medium programs. The following studies offer explanations as to why the offerings of English-medium programs differ between select countries.

Alexander's (2008) review of English-medium programs in Germany noted that German universities did not have an urgency to quickly expand their offerings as they were established large international student importers in their native language. Overall, the proportion of programs taught in English at the graduate level in Germany is in the minority compared to what is offered in the domestic language. This is a selective strategy to attract not only *more* but *better* international students and to raise the profile of German universities globally.

Conversely, many so-called small language countries are moving a majority of their master's programs to provision in English in attempts to attract larger numbers of students who would not otherwise attend in the native language. In contrast to large international student receptor countries, small language countries initiate EMI, in part, for survival imperatives. Saarinen's study of English-medium programs in Finland uncovered that offering programs in English was perceived as a 'necessity' to participate in the global student market (2012). Finland is not a traditionally large receptor of international students and a declining pool of local students due to an ageing populous magnified the need to adjust strategies to recruit internationally for institutional survival.

Geographical differences related to English-medium offerings are most apparent between northern and southern European countries. Wächter and Maiworm's study noted

the "Alps constitute a watershed for English-taught programs" (2008, p.10). In the North, the Netherlands is the leading provider in absolute numbers and overall proportion of English-medium education in Europe (Brenn-White & van Rest, 2010; Wächter & Maiworm, 2008). Maastricht University in the Netherlands is considered one of the pioneers of English-medium instruction as the first programs began in the mid-80s. Wilkinson's longitudinal case study of Maastricht University revealed underlying reasons for offering English-medium instruction have shifted from academic to increasingly economic rationales (2013). Consequently, today, nearly all graduate programs at Maastricht University are taught in English.

On the other hand, southern European countries have been more reluctant to adopt English-medium provision than Northern European countries. Costa and Coleman recently surveyed one of southern Europe's largest countries, Italy, to determine the extent English-medium instruction in Italian universities in 2010. The authors confirmed EMI is present and expanding, although at a less rapid pace than neighbors to the North. They determined that even within Italy, there were more programs in the northern and central parts than the southern part of Italy. The few programs that are available in the south typically use Italian in addition to English, so truly English-only programs were a rarity in 2010.

Teaching & Learning Challenges

As competition increases, universities search for new recruits and programs in English are a powerful draw. However, while the number of programs in English offered by European universities has increased dramatically, their quick implementation poses various questions related to: (i) the adequacy of the teachers' linguistic competence to

deliver the courses in English; (ii) the students' understanding of the content knowledge; and (iii) the possible detrimental effect of English-medium instruction on the quality of the programs (Doiz, Lasagabaste, & Sierra, 2011).

In many instances, English is a foreign language to instructors and delivering a lecture in English raises a number of issues. In addition to concerns regarding an instructor's language proficiency, research finds preparing for and delivering instruction in English is more time consuming for instructors (Hellekjær, 2007). Many revise course materials as they are unable to teach the same amount of information in a foreign language. Instructors also find that lectures are easier to conduct in English compared to seminars and small groups (Hellekjær, 2007). Students in smaller groups are more likely to converse in their native language and ask for clarifications in their native language. Additionally, there is evidence that students in English-medium programs may have difficulties understanding and learning from lectures in English (Hellekjær, 2010). In addition to lecture comprehension issues, students may have difficulties reading English texts and textbooks, delivering presentations in English, and completing exams in English (Hellekjær, 2007). The lack of adequate language support from the university is cited as a key deficiency in English-medium education (Hellekjær, 2003, 2007).

Difficulties in teaching and learning in a foreign language also provoke questions related to quality and equity. As Hughes notes, a curriculum may be extremely high quality in terms of the teaching culture and communicative norms of the country in which it originates; however, it may be highly inaccessible to a diverse student body with very different expectations and language abilities. The question then is where should the changes be made? Should the institution adapt to the student body, or should the student

body adapt to the institution? What are the implications of these changes for an academic community (Hughes, 2008)? Questions of equity also arise when the university "elite" are educated in a language that is not the mother tongue (Hughes, 2008, p.127).

Implementation Issues

A few studies have also expressed evidence of a gap between espoused policy and practice in the classroom. Ljosland's in-depth case study of an Industrial Ecology program in a Norwegian university found that although the department had an English-only policy, observations from the classroom revealed instances of reliance on the native Norwegian language (2011). Additionally, Ljosland discovered times when lectures were instructed exclusively in English; however, moments arose in smaller group discussions which prompted instructors to respond in a mix of English and Norwegian to facilitate learning. This can be a concern for international students if programs are promoted as English-only, but entail a mix of languages on site.

Evans and Morrison's longitudinal study of Hong Kong Polytechnic University found similar issues in the classroom. Their study is based on the findings from two campus surveys and 137 semi-structured interviews. Their research examined patterns of in-class and out-of-class language use at an English-medium university in Hong Kong between 2000 and 2010 in efforts to identify the challenges that the University's mainly Cantonese-speaking students experience when listening to and speaking English in lectures and seminars. Similar to Ljosland, Evans and Morrison found evidence of mixed language use in small-group settings such as seminars and tutorials and in practical group-based activities such as laboratory sessions and workshops. The authors noted students revealed they would wait until breaks to speak to professors in Cantonese

instead of participating in class discussions in English because of their lack of confidence in their English competency. This raises questions as to whether the expansion of English-medium programs outpaced support structures for the primarily Cantonese speaking population.

Additional 'growing pains' associated with the expansion of EMI are related to global-local dynamics. Universities are tasked with finding a balance between engaging internationally and maintaining local needs. This can be especially difficult in multilingual universities. For example, The University of the Basque Country is a multilingual Spanish university where majority (Spanish), minority (Basque), and now foreign (English) languages coexist. This case study unearthed a number of difficulties associated with the introduction of a third language (English) to an already bilingual university. Key operational challenges arose related to balancing efforts to maintain indigenous languages and cultures, while also enhancing the visibility of the university internationally (Doiz, Lasagabaste, & Sierra, 2011).

Similarly, Kerklaan, Moreira, and Boersma found evidence of this global-local debate at the University of Aviero in Portugal (2008). The authors examined policy documents and interviewed university administrators and members of the Department of Language and Culture at the university. The authors uncovered two distinct perceptions related to the expansion of EMI. One the one hand, administrators perceived the addition of English-medium education as a way to secure the visibility of the university as a modern institution and ensure the communication of its activities on an international scene. On the other hand, the Department of Languages and Cultures, which includes

Humanities and Language professionals, perceived EMI as a threat to the visibility of the Portuguese language and culture internationally (Kerklaan, Moreira, & Boersma, 2008).

Gap in the Literature

There is evidence of a growing trend within European higher education towards developing master's degree programs instructed exclusively in English. Over the last decade, the number of English-medium programs offered in non-Anglophone Europe increased from an estimated 700 programs in 2002 to over 5000 master's programs in 2013 (Brenn-White & Faethe, 2013; Wächter & Maiworm, 2008). Additional research reveals two-thirds of European countries aim to either create or increase English-language provision (Teichler, Ferencz, & Wächter, 2011).

The creation of full degree programs offered in English in universities where English is not traditionally the primary language of instruction is a strategic response to growing issues in European higher education related to reductions in funding from the state, an aging populace, the increasing demands of knowledge economies, and the market intruding on higher education. For many continental European institutions, a separate master's degree level presented a new opportunity for institutional profiling, the addition of new programs, and targeting new student clienteles. The expansion of these programs was catalyzed by the Europeanization efforts through the Erasmus scheme, degree structure reforms through Bologna, and increasingly competitive influences from wider economic agendas.

Europe is a leader in the global student mobility market due to a strong record of intra-European mobility. However, the region is less successful in attracting students from the top sending countries in Asia who represent 52% of all international students

enrolled worldwide in 2010 (OECD, 2012). Researchers surveyed students globally and found Asian students (the largest internationally mobile group) cited lack of English language instruction as Europe's major disadvantage as a destination country (ACA, 2006).Given this pattern, an increasing number of European universities now offer programs in English to overcome their linguistic disadvantage in attracting international students.

Internationalization policies differ substantially between the various European countries and within nations between the individual institutions of higher education (Huisman and van der Wende, 2004, 2005). Regardless of this variation, large scale pan-European studies found a common trend of establishing EMI programs across the continent over the past decade. These macro level studies mapped overall trends in English-medium provision across Europe and identified common characteristics (master's level, certain disciplines, etc.). Conversely, smaller scale case studies investigated micro level issues associated with decisions to expand EMI offerings. Important findings from this body of literature uncovered disparities in provision between northern and southern countries, as well as a number of unintended consequences related to teaching, learning, and classroom implementation as a result of the rapid expansion of these programs.

Nordic countries, the Netherlands and Germany were early leaders in EMI programs, while countries where Romance languages[22] are spoken offered few English-medium master's programs (Brenn-White & Faethe, 2013). Thus, the leading providers in the North have longer documented history of the provision of EMI programs compared to

---

[22] France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, and Romania

the South where universities have only recently begun implementing EMI on a larger scale. Previous research charted the rapid growth of these programs over the last decade and detailed the unintended consequences of this rapid initiation and expansion. However, we lack understanding at the organizational level as to how universities implement EMI reforms in ways that respond to their embedded (national and European) context. The present study contributes to the EMI literature by advancing our understanding of EMI from a comparative organizational perspective. In what ways do European universities in leading EMI provider countries conceptualize and materialize the EMI reform concept? Are universities in leading EMI provider countries converging towards a similar EMI reform model? How does the organization's environmental context impact EMI reform approaches? To answer these questions, I examine how the EMI reform concept is implemented in three universities in Northern Europe: Maastricht University in the Netherlands, the University of Göttingen in Germany, and the University of Oslo in Norway. I then introduce a comparative framework (Figure 5.1) to examine how these organizations respond to institutional complexity, or competing demands, in the implementation process. This framework represents a novel approach to examining comparative EMI reform implementation processes. Chapter 4 discusses the case study approach used to examine comparatively the three respective Northern European university approaches to the implementation of the EMI reform concept.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESEARCH DESIGN & METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this exploratory study is to contribute to our understanding of how widespread EMI reforms impact structures and behaviors at the organizational level in European universities in ways that respond to the organization's embedded policy contexts. Accordingly, I utilize a combination of theoretical frames of translation and institutional logics to examine empirical case studies of the provision English-medium instruction in universities in non-Anglophone Europe. As established in the previous chapter, Europe is an interesting case as it actively promotes multilingual learning; however, many of its policies over the last twenty years unexpectedly accelerated the rise of English as a principal medium of instruction, especially in graduate education.

This chapter details the case study approach used to examine comparatively three Northern European university approaches to the provision of English-medium master's degree programs. The three universities included in this study are Maastricht University in the Netherlands, the University of Göttingen in Germany, and the University of Oslo in Norway. The first section of Chapter 4 reviews the case study research approach adopted in this study. The second section clarifies the rationale behind the case site selection process. In the third section, I describe the methods used to capture the accounts that provide the empirical basis of this study. Following the theoretical arguments presented in the previous chapters, the final section discusses a two part analytic frame to analyze the empirical material.

Case Study Research Approach

The key feature of the case study research approach is the emphasis on understanding processes as they occur in their context (Hartley, 2004). Case studies are

useful in situations where it is important to understand how the environmental context is having an impact on or influencing organizational processes. As Hartley notes, "case studies are well suited for exploring new or emerging processes and in illuminating behavior which may only be fully understandable in the context of the wider forces operating within or on the organization" (2004, p.325).

The goal of case study research is to provide an analysis of the context and processes which inform the theoretical issues being studied. In this view, the phenomenon under examination is not isolated from its context but is of interest precisely because the intent is to understand how organizational behavior and processes are influenced by and influence environmental context. Thus, the case study approach is "particulary suited to research questions which require detailed understanding of social or organizational processes because of the rich data collected in context" (Hartley, 2004, p.323). Additionally, case study approaches "may be essential in cross-national comparative research where an intimate understanding of what concepts mean to actors and organizations, the meanings attached to particular behaviors, and how behaviors are linked is essential" (Hartley, 2004, p.325).

Case study research is an approach where the researcher explores a bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) in its natural context over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information (e.g. observations, interviews, documents, and reports) (Yin, 2003). Gathering data through multiple sources enables the issue to be explored through a variety of lenses and offers possibilities for triangulation in efforts to increase the reliability of the research. Typically, information is explored and mined in the case study environment to identify

and examine key issues. The researcher reports a richly detailed case description and case-based themes (Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). Case studies may explore a single program (within site study) or several programs (multi-site study). A multiple case study enables the researcher to explore similarities and differences within and between cases (Yin, 2003).

In this study, the case is bound to three universities in leading EMI provider countries in Northern Europe and the time frame for organizational data is bound to 2007-2013. The start year was chosen for two reasons: First, the year 2007 signaled the beginning of EMI as part of institutional discussions in strategic plans at the universities and/or incorporation of EMI in formal internationalization strategies. Second, the 2007 start year allowed time for the Bologna degree structure reforms to be fully implemented in the three case site universities.

With the considerations above in mind, I examine comparatively the approaches to the provision of EMI in three Northern European universities from an organizational perspective. The focus is on the organizational level, not the individual actor. In addition, this study focuses on full degree programs taught in English and excludes programs that are partially taught in English and/or lone courses taught in English (when possible). The majority of the data are from the master's level as this is the primary level of EMI in Europe, but bachelor level information will be provided where relevant for comparative and contextual purposes.

<u>Selection of the Case Sites</u>

According to Wächter & Maiwom, the "Alps constitute a watershed" in European EMI provision trends (2008, p.10). The Netherlands, Germany, and the Nordic countries

in the North were early leaders in the provision of EMI programs, while European

countries in the South were more reluctant to initiate EMI reforms (Brenn-White &

Faethe, 2013; Woodfield, 2009). Thus, the leading EMI providers in the North have a

longer documented history of the provision of EMI programs compared to the South

where universities have only recently begun implementing EMI on a wider scale. Both

the Netherlands and Germany were consistent leaders in Northern European EMI

program offerings during the study's 2007-2013 time frame (Brenn-White & Faethe,

2013). During this period, three of the five Nordic countries underwent a time of

organizational upheaval due to the introduction of tuition fees and were consequently

excluded from this study: Denmark (2006), Finland (2010), and Sweden (2011). The

remaining two Nordic countries, Iceland and Norway, continue to offer tuition-free

higher education regardless of national origin; however, Iceland was excluded from this

study due to its low number of EMI programs.

In efforts to examine the impact of EMI at the organizational level, three

universities from leading provider countries were selected: the University of Oslo

(Norway), the University of Göttingen (Germany), and Maastricht University

(Netherlands) (see Figure 4.1). An underlying assumption of this study is that context

matters. Therefore, three universities were selected for an in-depth comparison of how

the EMI reform concept was implemented at the organizational level in universities

where English is not the native language of instruction. This investigation adopted a

'purposeful sampling' strategy in that it entailed the selection of 'information-rich cases'

for in-depth study (Patton, 1990). The selection was based on Patton's idea of 'maximum

variation' which entails "purposefully picking a wide range of cases to get variation on

dimensions of interest" (Patton, 2002, p. 243). According to Wächter and Maiworm, the profile of the higher education institution most likely to offer EMI is a large (greater than 10,000 students), multi-disciplinary, Ph.D.-awarding institution (2008). Given this, the research universities selected in each country are leading institutions in terms of size, field coverage, and status. These three universities developed EMI policy initiatives in response to similar institutional issues and regional developments. In addition, all three case sites committed in their strategic plans to the provision of and expansion of EMI programs and were willing to work with me to collect institutional data.

The next section takes a closer look at EMI reforms in each country (Norway, Germany, and the Netherlands) and provides an introduction to the university selected in each country (University of Oslo, Norway; University of Göttingen, Germany; and Maastricht University, the Netherlands).

Figure 4.1. Map of Case Study Sites

As late as in the mid-1950s, there were not more than 6,000 total students in higher education in Norway (Carlsson et al., 2009). In early post-war years of the 20th century, the Norwegian economy was based on agriculture and consequently Norway could not afford a comprehensive higher education system to meet the demand of domestic students during this time period. As a result, many Norwegians, especially those at the graduate level, undertook university education in other Nordic countries, the UK, USA, and Germany (Ferencz & Wächter, 2012). Over time, investments in higher education increased substantially due to Norway's newfound wealth from the oil and gas export industries and by then end of the 20th century, Norway's student population reached 200,000 (Carlsson et al., 2009). An underlying principle in Norwegian society is that higher education is a public good. Norway's egalitarian principles ensure equal access to higher education for all qualified and a tuition free policy for both domestic and international students.

The English language is taught during compulsory schooling from elementary school onwards; however for many, further language training is needed to fully participate in EMI at the college level. In the past this was accomplished by study abroad periods for undergraduates encouraged by the national government. For this reason, bachelor's level programs are instructed in the national language and master's level programs are instructed in English (Carlsson et al., 2009). Early EMI programs in 1980s in Norway were implemented for development aid and European exchange purposes. In 2007, Wächter and Maiworm recorded 53 EMI programs in Norway (2008). Recent data

from Cox suggests EMI programs have grown over four-fold over the last five years to 220 master's programs and a reported 5 bachelor's programs nationally (Cox, 2012).

Norway's higher education system includes 8 universities and 9 specialized university institutions (vitenskapelige høgskoler) that offer programs at the graduate level in architecture, theology, music, business studies, sports science and veterinary science. In addition, there are 36 høgskoler (university colleges) that primarily offer 3-year bachelor's degree programs with a professional focus in specializations such as nursing, social work, communication studies, engineering, and teacher-training programs (Nuffic, 2012b). In 2012, the total number of students in Norwegian higher education was 226,841 and of these, 19,327 were international students. The top three places of international student origin in 2012 were Sweden (8.4%), Russia (7.8%), and Germany (7.2%) (IIE Project Atlas, 2013).

Norway is not an EU member, but is part of the European Economic Area (EEA). As part of the EEA, Norway participates in the Internal Market, but does not assume the full responsibilities of EU membership. This agreement has allowed Norway's participation in EU research and education programs since the early nineties. The development and expansion of English-medium instruction at university level is heavily influenced by Norway's participation in the pan-European Bologna reforms and the implementation of its national companion, the Norwegian Quality Reform.

In accordance to the Bologna and Quality reforms, Norway implemented the new degree structure reforms in 2002/2003. The underlying premise of the Quality Reform is that the quality of education and research should be improved, their intensity should increase, and the process of internationalization needs to be strengthened (Frølich &

Stensaker, 2010). The goal for increased internationalization efforts is the improvement

of the quality of Norwegian education and research. The Quality Reform encouraged

universities to increase the number of courses taught in English, the number of

international themed educational programs, international cooperation, and the number of

students studying abroad for short-term stays (Frølich, 2008). The reform's emphasis is

on international visibility of Norwegian research; in particular through publications in

international (primarily English-language) journals. Large scale EMI expansion increased

dramatically due to the Quality reform's focus on internationalization and student

exchange (Hellekjær, 2007). Norway's approach to internationalization policy is framed

by being positioned in a geographic periphery of Europe and to some extent the

knowledge periphery of the world (Huisman & van der Wende 2004, 2005). As such, the

development EMI is politically supported at the national level:

> The Ministry believes that Norwegian institutions should be at the forefront the academic collaboration and student exchange across borders. This can be promoted by placing increased emphasis on participation in international programs and institution-based exchange. It is a goal that all higher education institutions to offer students a study abroad part of the Norwegian degree course. The Ministry will consider whether it can be appropriate to require educational institutions to offer study abroad for students who wish it. **The Ministry believes it is important that the Norwegian universities and colleges continue to build up supply of courses in English**. The institutions should decide for themselves what services they will facilitate other languages (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2001, p.21, author translated).
>
> Internationalization involves new and interesting opportunities for institutions. Efforts to attract students and academic staff are growing in importance. **Training centers in countries that do not have English or another world language native speakers, are facing particular challenges with regard the competition for students and academic staff**. International cooperation in terms of the exchange and development of skills is an important quality-enhancing instrument (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2001, p.21, author translated).

Norway's internationalization strategy released in 2008 encourages the use of EMI for the purposes of attracting students and staff, internationalizing the home campus, and cooperation initiatives:

> The **number of courses in English should increase, especially masters programs**, and institutions should attract students from outside and facilitate more foreign teachers and researchers. This will **increase the attractiveness** of the institution and can make it more robust to foreign competition. This will **also help the students not taking part of their studies abroad**…(Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2009, author translated).

> **Language skills are important for internationalization**. **Cooperation** between Norwegian schools and schools abroad is mostly in English, too with countries where English is not the first language (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2009, p.28, author translated).

According to Ljosland, in 2002, the Norwegian government removed a provision in the Universities and Colleges Act that stated Norwegian as the language of instruction in higher education. The removal of this provision opened the door for the expansion of EMI in universities in efforts to attract more exchange students to Norway (Ljosland, 2007). In a Norwegian survey of EMI programs, Schwach (2009) found 19% of all master's degree programs in Norway were English-medium, encompassing 27% of the total student population. Furthermore, Schwach uncovered an increasing trend in the numbers of English-medium master's programs offered in Norway and that 85% of those students enrolled in EMI programs were Norwegian citizens (Schwach, 2009). However, these figures do not include instances when a course or program not advertised as English-medium switches spontaneously to English upon receiving one or more foreign students (Ljosland, 2011).

Universities in Norway are tasked with deciding the extent to which their universities will offer EMI and at the same time tasked with safeguarding the heritage of

Norwegian academic traditions and cultural especially with regard to national languages (bokmål, nynorsk) and literature (Carlsson et al., 2009). In June 2008, the Norwegian government released a report on language related issues in higher education. In this report, the implications of an emerging language shift from Norwegian to English within higher education was debated, but without reaching any final conclusion beyond a desire for continued parallel language use (Norwegian, English) in the higher education sector (Ljosland, 2011). The parallel lingual policy supports the safeguarding of Norwegian languages, but simultaneously supports the use of English especially at the graduate level. In this case, both Norwegian and English languages hold status and universities are tasked with finding a balance:

> **The Ministry believes it is important that the Norwegian universities and colleges continue to build up supply of courses in English.** For a further internationalization of academic courses and student communities should these offers be open to both foreign and Norwegian students and could be included as part of a Norwegian degree. Institutions should choose the offers they will facilitate other languages. **It is also important that institutions still committed to safeguarding the role of Norwegian cultural institutions** (Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research, 2001, author translated).

University of Oslo, Norway

The University of Oslo (UiO) is Norway's leading institution of research and higher education located in the country's capital city on the southeastern coast. UiO, Norway's oldest and largest university, was founded in 1811 three years before the country's independence from Denmark. The university has a long history of educational cooperation with its Nordic neighbors. International partnerships and exchange within and outside the Nordic region is an essential part of all the university's core activities. UiO historically championed social responsibility issues and aided developing countries from across the globe. UiO is organized around eight faculties: Medicine, Dentistry, Law,

Theology, Humanities, Mathematics and Natural Sciences, Social Sciences, and Education Sciences. In 2012, UiO hosted about 27,000 students of which 13% were international students and nearly 3,500 were academic staff of which 17.5% originated from outside Norway. Leading countries of origin of international students were Germany, Sweden, and the USA. As is consistent with Norwegian policy, the University of Oslo does not charge tuition to domestic or international students. In 2012, UiO was ranked 69th in the world and 1st in Norway according to the Shanghai Rankings[23].

EMI in Germany

In the mid-nineties, the German higher education system faced a number of challenges as a study destination for international students: traditionally lengthy time to degree, lack of flexibility within the structure of the higher education system, and strict German language requirements (Earls, 2013). EMI programs were initiated by DAAD[24] in 1996 as a pilot project in efforts to increase attractiveness to the international student market and to retain domestic students who departed for English speaking destinations (Earls, 2013, Summer). The success of the initial pilot led to the expansion of EMI programs in 2002. Wächter & Maiworm's pan-European survey tallied 65 EMI programs in Germany in 2002; by the 2008 follow-up survey, EMI numbers had increased three-fold to an estimated 214 programs. The number of EMI programs more than doubled the following year (2009) to 505 programs due, in part, to the wide-scale implementation of the Bologna degree structure in Germany (Earls, 2013).

---

[23] Academic Ranking of World Universities (ARWU) http://www.shanghairanking.com/

[24] *Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst or* the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) is the German national agency for the support of international academic cooperation. The DAAD is a publicly-funded independent organization of higher education institutions in Germany. https://www.daad.org/

As a rule, the language of instruction in higher education is German. Individual

courses and programs may also be conducted in a foreign language, typically English, if

it serves the objectives of the course of study. This development is supported by the

increasing internationalization of institutions of higher education and the Bologna

Process (Eurypedia, 2014). EMI programs in Germany are referred to as *international*

study programs. This terminology is a legacy from their introduction in the mid-nineties

that still applies today. In 2011, DAAD recorded 669 EMI programs taught fully in

English. Of the 669, 615 were at the master's level (Earls, 2013). Data pulled from the

mastersportal.eu website in March 2013 shows an estimated growth in EMI programs at

the master's level, the primary level for these programs, to 713 programs. Although

Germany is considered one of the leading providers of EMI programs in Europe in terms

of absolute numbers, the overall proportion of EMI programs offered of all degree

programs is small. EMI programs have expanded rapidly over the past decade in

Germany; however there are no plans to change large proportions of degree program

offerings to English at this time.

Germany is a federal republic comprised of 16 Länder that are each responsible

for governance and financing of their individual higher education sectors. German

universities are influenced by the Humboltian[25] academic model characterized by

academic freedom and the close link between instruction and research. A distinctive

aspect of the German higher education system is the strong influence of intermediary

---

[25] The Humboldtian academic model (after Wilhelm von Humboldt's foundation of the
University of Berlin in 1809) of a research university which was characterized by the
entrenched rights of professors and students to freedom of study and teaching, and in
which independent research and study was intended to provide the guiding principle of
the student's university program (e.g., Germany, the Netherlands and to some extent
Sweden) https://bei.leeds.ac.uk/partners/ncihe/r11_065.htm

organizations. The 'Alliance' of leading education and research associations act as counselors for the German government and Federal Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) in the policy field of science and academic education (Bhandari, Belyavina, & Gutierrez, 2011). These central actors include DAAD, DFG (German Research Foundation), AvH (Alexander von Humboldt Foundation), HRK (German Rectors' Conference), GWK (Joint Science Conference), KMK (Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs).

The higher education system in Germany has a binary structure. In 2013, there were 392 HEIs in Germany, of which 121 are universities, 215 are universities of applied sciences (UAS or Fachhochschulen), and 56 are colleges of art and music (HRK, www.hrk.de). Fachhochschulen were introduced in the early seventies with a practice-oriented or vocational focus to teaching and research. Of the 16,144 total degree programs offered in Germany in 2013, approximately 14,000 are Bologna compliant degrees: 7,233 are bachelor degrees and 6,796 are master's degrees. The remaining offerings are pre-Bologna degrees (i.e., Diplom, Magister, Staatsexamen). In 2012, an estimated 2.5 million students were enrolled in German higher education institutions of which 1.64 million students were enrolled in universities, 828,260 enrolled in UAS, and 35, 144 in colleges of art and music (HRK, www.hrk.de).

A recorded 265,292 foreign students enrolled at German higher education institutions in 2012 which accounts for 11.1% of all students. Leading origins of foreign students were China (23,883), Russia (10, 401), Austria (7,887), and Bulgaria (7,026) (Wissenschaft Weltoffen, 2013). Of the total number of foreign students, approximately 193,000 are Bildungsauslaender (students who did not do their schooling in Germany)

and 72,000 are Bildungsinländer (foreign nationals with a German university entrance qualification). The majority of Bildungsauslaender are enrolled in universities and an increasing number are enrolled in master's degree programs. Over one-third of Bildungsauslaender (34.5%) come from Asia (Wissenschaft Weltoffen, 2013).

German was a leading language in science until the 1930s (Altbach, 2013). However, the English language surpassed German due to its influence in world economic, political, and scientific affairs during post-war periods of the 20th century (Earls, 2013). The use of English as the first foreign language in lower level schooling dates back to 1937 Nazi influence (Ammon, 2006). The reach of English was enhanced by the U.S.'s involvement in West Germany post-war and later eastern Germany after reunification in the early 1990s (Ammon, 2006). In addition, English plays a large role in global business. As Earls notes, Germany is the world's fourth largest economy with an export market heavily dependent on the processes of globalization (Earls, 2013, Summer, p.5).

References to EMI and/or international study programs were conspicuously absent from policy documents until recently. EMI and/or international study programs were not mentioned as part of the 2008 Federal Ministry of Education and Research's internationalization strategy. However, by the follow-up strategy released in 2013, EMI was noted for its use in attracting international (graduate) students and staff:

> Globalisation is also changing the contents and methods of teaching and studying and calls for intercultural sensibility, a global overview and a command of various foreign languages. Not all students will be able to acquire study-related experience abroad. For this reason too, the higher education institutions should make more systematic use of the potential that international students and foreign teaching staff can offer German students. **Classes that are given in a foreign language make it easier** for students to acquire specialist terminology and for higher education institutions **to employ foreign lecturers** productively. Study

courses offered in a foreign language (**particularly English**) are of particular importance in this context. **Such courses, especially those for master's students, make our higher education institutions more attractive for internationally mobile students** as well as offering German participants new opportunities to acquire intercultural and language skills (BMBF & GWK, 2013)

Similarly, the German Rectors' Conference (HRK) released language policy guidelines in 2011 that recognized the benefits of EMI to attract top scientific researchers and international students, as well as efforts to enhance institutional profiles and visibility:

> Universities have responded to the challenge of internationalization by intensifying the use of English in teaching and research. The **use of English has created favorable conditions for leading researchers from outside the German-speaking world to engage in research activity in Germany. Similarly, it has been possible to enhance the appeal of individual degree programmes for international students** (HRK, 2011).

> With the help of undergraduate and postgraduate programmes delivered in English, universities have **enhanced their international profile and attract students and young researchers from around the world** (HRK, 2011).

> In order for work carried out at a university to be **internationally "visible", it is important that findings be published not only in German but also English** (HRK, 2011).

This change in policy is due to increased political support for EMI and a new national strategy to promote the use of German in tandem with EMI. In the past, the invisibility of English in policy documents was due to concerns of protecting the status of German as an academic language globally. However, a change in political tactics now supports the promotion of the German language alongside EMI. Learning German is promoted as an 'added value' for integration purposes and future work prospects. Reciprocity underpins this initiative in the sense that German universities offer EMI and in turn encourage mobile students to learn German. Thus, German policy now embraces

EMI as part of its strategy to promote German to a previously untapped population of students and researchers.

University of Göttingen, Germany

Founded in 1737, the University of Göttingen is a comprehensive research university located in central Germany. Prior to the early 20th century, the university was considered one of the top universities in the world for math and science. This position was lost in 1933 when students and faculty were forced to leave under Nazi rule. Today, the university aims to regain its previous position as an academic leader. In 2007, the university initiated a Brain Gain/Brain Sustain initiative at the university to attract and retain top scientific talent as part of its winning proposal for the German Excellence Initiative[26]. In 2012, the university hosted 21,623 students and 5,190 staff[27]. Göttingen's twelve faculties are organized under three larger headings: (i) Natural Sciences, Mathematics, & Informatics; (ii) Law, Economic Sciences, & Social Sciences; and (iii) Humanities & Theology. In addition, the university hosts a Medical Center and cooperates with a number of other centers and institutes in the region. The university is distinguished by its close integration with a network of top extra-university research institutes: the Göttingen Academy of Sciences, the German Primate Center, the German Aerospace Center and five Max Planck Institutes. The decision to charge tuition is up to

---

[26] The Excellence Initiative sponsored by the German federal government and the governments of the Länder is a Germany-wide competition aimed at the promotion of outstanding research projects at German higher education institutions. From 2006–2017 a total of 4.6 billion euros will be invested to promote top-level research and to improve the international competitiveness of German higher education and research. The first round of funding was for the period of 2007-2012. For more information: http://www.excellence-initiative.com/

[27] This does not include numbers from the Faculty of Medicine. There are a total of 25,377 students and 11,921 staff when the Faculty of Medicine is included.

the individual German Länder (16 federal states); however, tuition levels are low in comparison to the Netherlands. In 2003, the university became a foundation under public law which increased autonomy and financial responsibilities to the university. As of 2012, international students comprise 12% of the University of Göttingen's student population with the largest numbers of international students originating from China, Turkey, Poland, and Russia. In 2011, the university was ranked 86th in the world and 4th in Germany according to the Shanghai Rankings.

EMI in the Netherlands

EMI programs were documented in the Netherlands as early as the 1950s (Huang, 2006; Woodfield, 2009). Today, the number of English-medium degree programs offered by Dutch higher education institutions is among the highest in continental Europe as over half of all degree programs in the Netherlands are instructed in English (Becker & Kolster, 2012). The Netherlands was one of the first to switch their degree structure system in line with the Bologna agreement opening an avenue for increased EMI offerings. In 2011/12 Dutch institutions offered 850 English-medium master's programs and 232 English-medium bachelor's programs (Nuffic, 2012). By February 2013, the number of documented EMI master's programs increased to 928 (mastersportal.eu). The increased influence of English in the Netherlands can be traced back to an open attitude towards Anglo-Saxon culture after the Second World War. Most Dutch are highly proficient as English is a compulsory subject in lower levels of schooling.

The Netherlands has a binary system of higher education, which includes 13 research universities and 39 universities of applied sciences (the higher professional hogescholen sector) (2011-12). From the academic year 2002/03 onwards, Dutch HEIs

have been able to award bachelor and master's degrees. Of the 666,859 total students in 2011-12 academic year, 423,173 students were in universities of applied sciences and 243,686 students were in universities (Nuffic, 2012). In the 2011-12 academic year, there were an estimated 87,100 foreign students in the Netherlands. Of these, 41,100 were EU/EFTA citizens; 19,459 were non-EU/EFTA; 8,900 students were Erasmus students or held residence permits for internships (short-term students); and 17,650 were other inbound diploma and credit mobile students (Nuffic, 2012). An estimated 60,000 foreign students were enrolled in full degree programs. Approximately 74% of all international students in the Netherlands are enrolled at bachelor's level, while 26% are enrolled at master's level. However, the number of international students enrolling at Dutch research universities is growing at a faster pace than the number of students entering Dutch universities of applied sciences, as is the number enrolling in master's rather than bachelor's degree programs (Richters, Roodenburg, & Kolster, 2012). The largest number of foreign students is from Germany (26,050), followed at a distance by China (5,700) and Belgium (2,900).

The increased use of English in the Netherlands is due in part to the country's dependence on international trade and successful multinational Anglo-Dutch corporations (Shell, Unilever). According to Ferencz and Wächter, the higher education 'market' is mentioned for the first time in 2001 government documents (2012). As such, higher education was perceived as a marketable good and Dutch HEIs were encouraged to seize the opportunities that this market offers. These efforts aimed to increase the inflow of talented foreign students who, in turn, would contribute to economic growth and increase the international reputation for the Netherlands as a country of knowledge and culture

(Ferencz & Wächter, 2012). There was an increased focus towards internationalization

and the use of EMI for the purposes of attracting international students to combat the

declining Dutch demographic trends and related skilled migration needs, as well as to

enhance international recognition of the Dutch university sector.

> The **earning capacity** of Dutch society is highly dependent on our international position. That is why the government is **striving for a higher education system with international allure, world-class research that attracts scientific top talent and reinforcement of the international position of the business community** by reinforcing the top sectors and our export position, while providing an excellent climate for innovation and establishing a business. (Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science, 2011, p.4)

> Because of the open character of the Dutch economy, it is under constant pressure

to invest in improving its long-term economic competitiveness. As a consequence, the

Dutch higher education and research sector is expected to play a significant role in Dutch

knowledge economy and innovation aims (Westerheijden, 2009). This increased focus

on higher education's role in the knowledge economy encourages universities to compete

for highly skilled personnel and students in critical science and technology areas.

> The government wishes to equip the Netherlands for a position in the **vanguard of the knowledge economies.** The triangle of research, education and entrepreneurship is the foundation of our prosperity. It is enterprising top scientists, innovative entrepreneurs with a long-term view and passionate teachers and students who constitute the basis thereof. Cross-pollination between these groups **strengthens the earning capacity and economic growth potential** of the Netherlands and helps to resolve the big social issues of today and tomorrow (Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science, 2011, p.4).

> In response to the increasing numbers of EMI programs and pressures on

universities to contribute to the Dutch knowledge economy, the Dutch Education Council

released a policy statement in 2011, *A Judicious Use of English in Higher Education*,

advocating for a balanced language policy in the Netherlands. Their policy position is

cautionary; it both encourages the development of *high-quality* English-medium

programs but, at the same time underlines the importance of Dutch as the language of culture and science in the Netherlands. The Education Council perceives higher education as the guardian of Dutch language and culture, but also concedes that higher education also fulfills an essential role in the international knowledge economy. This is illustrative of the tightrope that universities must navigate with regard to decisions related to what extent to move their programming to English-medium. The Education Council recommends universities focus on the enhancing the quality of EMI programs, ensuring all incoming students have proper English language proficiency, and providing opportunities for long-term international students and staff to learn the Dutch language and culture.

Conversely, the Netherlands Bureau for Economic Policy Analysis (CPB) released a report in 2012, *The Cost and Benefits of Internationalisation in Higher Education*, to analyze the economic effects of the international students in the Netherlands. The overall conclusion is that the current flow of international students contributes to government financial prosperity in the Netherlands especially if these students stay in the Netherlands to work after graduation. The CPB report notes that the effects of internationalization are likely to be predominantly positive for the Netherlands and calculates this could result in an annual positive effect on government finances of an estimated €740 million based on current mobility numbers. The CPB study revealed that good quality international students could have a positive effect on the Netherlands and advocates for greater focus on ensuring the quality of international mobility in the future.

A *Code of Conduct* pertaining to international students in Dutch Higher Education has been developed and implemented by the Dutch government. This initiative is

intended to guarantee the quality of higher education offered to international students. Only those higher education institutions that sign the Code of Conduct may recruit international students and benefit from the services offered by the Nuffic Neso[28] offices. Nearly all Dutch higher education institutions have signed the Code. As part of the Code, universities are required to disclose the language of instruction and language requirements for English-medium programs, as well as ensure that instructors are proficient in English.

Maastricht University, the Netherlands

Maastricht University (UM) is one of the youngest universities in the Netherlands, founded in 1976. It began as a regional university (borders Germany and Belgium) with a strong medical focus to supplement the need for medical doctors in the Netherlands. The university is located in the southeast Limburg region and was built, in part, for the purposes of reviving the area after a decline in the mining industry. In the last 30 years, Maastricht has undergone tremendous development. Today, Maastricht markets itself as a highly international university offering international and European themed programs. The university is organized around six faculties: Arts & Social Sciences; Business & Economics; Health, Medicine, & Life Sciences; Humanities & Sciences; Law; and Psychology & Neuroscience. In 2012/13, Maastricht University hosted nearly 16,000 students of which 47% are international students. Top countries of origin in 2010 were

---

[28] Netherlands Education Support Offices (Neso): Nuffic supports the internationalization of higher education and research in the Netherlands. Nuffic has set up Neso offices in locations that are strategically important for Dutch higher education (Brazil, China, India, Indonesia, Mexico, Russia, South Korea, Taipei, Thailand and Vietnam). The main task of a Nuffic Neso is to promote Dutch higher education and foster international institutional cooperation in order to increase student and staff mobility and related activities. https://www.nuffic.nl/en/education-promotion/neso-activities

neighboring Germany and Belgium. A core aspect of the university is its use of a student-centered instruction philosophy, the Problem Based Learning model. Tuition fees are comparatively high for those outside the EU/EEA area. In the Times Higher Education worldwide rankings, Maastricht placed in the top 100 (98th) for the first time in the 2013/14 edition. In 2013, UM ranked 6th in the Times Higher Education '100 under 50[29]' worldwide rankings and placed 6th in the QS 'top 50 under 50'[30] worldwide ranking.

Data Sources

A hallmark of case study research is the use of multiple data sources, a strategy that also enhances data credibility (Yin, 2003). Case site visits were conducted over a four month stay in Europe in the fall of 2012 to collect institutional documents and data, as well as to conduct informational meetings with key information gatekeepers. Following Hwang and Suarez (2005), I consider websites and institutional documents (e.g. strategic plans) as 'presentations of self'; therefore, they are considered artifacts that embody the modern ideology of organizations as bounded and purposive actors with identities and interests (Goffman, 1959; Meyer et al., 1994 as cited in Hwang & Suarez, 2005, p.73-74). All documentary materials and institutional data were collected from publically available sources.

Data sources for this study include:

Publically Available Documents & Websites

- National and international policy and research reports

---

[29] http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/world-university-rankings/

[30] http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings

- Institutional records, policy documents, strategic plans, internationalization plans, recruitment initiatives, and strategic marketing information

Table 4.1 Publically Available Documents

	Document
Norway	Internationalization of Education in Norway (2008-9)
	National Language Policy (2007-8)
	Quality Reform (2000-01)
University of Oslo	Strategy 2020 (2010)
	Strategic Plan 2005-2009
	Recruitment Plan 2013
	Action Plan for Internationalisation 2012-14
	A Knowledge Portal for Norway (Annual report 2012)
	Language Policy (2010)
	Prospectus 2011-12; 2012-2013; 2013-2014
Germany	Strategy of the Federal and *Länder* Ministers of Science for the Internationalisation of the Higher Education Institutions in Germany (2013)
	Strategy of the Federal Government for the Internationalization of Science and Research (2008)
	Language Policy at German Universities (2011)
	DAAD 2020 Strategy
	DAAD Action Program 2008-11
University of Goettingen	Internationalization Strategy (2013)
	Institutional Strategy 2007-12
	International Study Programmes guide 2009; 2011
	Corporate Brochure 2011
Netherlands	Strategic Agenda for Higher Education, Research, and Science Policy: Quality in Diversity (2011)
	Strategic Agenda for Higher Education, Research, and Science Policy: Het Hoogste Goed (2007)
	Addendum to 2007 Strategic Agenda: International Position of the Dutch Educational and Research Institutions (2008)
	Strategic Agenda for Higher Education, Research, and Science Policy: Koers op kwaliteit (2004)
	Costs and Benefits of Internationalization (CPB) (2012)
	Education Council: a Judicious Use of English (2011)
	Veerman Report 2010

	International Student Code of Conduct (2006, ongoing revisions)
Maastricht University	Strategic program 2012-16 Inspired by Quality
	Strategic Program 2007-10 Inspired by Talent
	Vision Document on Educational Quality
	Corporate Brochures 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013

Publically Available Databases

- National and institutional websites

- National and international statistical data sets from governments, national higher education agencies, and international organizations

- Institutional statistical data (where available)

Informational Meetings with Key Administrators

- Twenty-two informational meetings with key personnel as a supplement to document and database data. These meetings varied for each location; for example, an official at the program level in one university or an administrator that cuts across many programs at another. Meetings were carried out with senior executive officers in central administration and at the faculty level, as well as with program coordinators and professors who pioneered programs. I asked each key member for referrals to others involved with EMI efforts at each respective university. These meetings were efforts to gain access to institutional data and documents relevant to the study and for informal conversations related to historical and contextual background information.

According to Heck, it is often useful to develop several analytic questions to give focus to the data collection and help with the initial organization of the data (2004). Likewise, Yin suggested developing a protocol for the case (or each specific case) as a

documentary map of the topics and activities that will be covered in the investigation and to guide the course of the investigation and the collection of data (2003). Before reviewing the data protocol, a review of the research questions is provided:

1. Are universities in European countries that lead in providing English-medium Instruction (EMI) master's degree programs converging towards similar EMI reform model?

2. What influences the ways in which universities in leading European EMI provider countries implement the EU's EMI reform policies?

3. How do universities in leading EMI provider countries respond to institutional complexity in the implementation process?

The data protocol topics listed below guided my data collection and were selected for the relevance to my research questions.

- Historical information related to institutional and national context

- History of English-medium initiatives at institutions

- Rationales for the provision of English-medium programs

- Internationalization strategies

- Recruitment initiatives

- Enrollment data and demographic profiles of students participating in EMI programs

- Numbers of EMI degree programs offered and in what disciplinary areas

- Institutional language policies

- Related policies (tuition, immigration, etc.) that enable and constrain English-medium initiatives

- Issues related to the implementation of English-medium programs

- Future plans to change the proportion of program offerings

I used the data protocol listed above to guide my data collection; however, institutional data related to student enrollment and student demographic information was difficult to ascertain. Institutions either did not collect these data at the organizational level or the data could not be disaggregated as requested. Considering the theoretical frame presented in earlier chapters, variations in data availability were expected. However, the lack of student data impacted the direction of both data collection and research focus. In the absence of student data discovered in the field, campus visits became an important alternative source of university data. My tenure in Europe provided an opportunity to query the data sets in context for a richer understanding of EMI implementation approaches and contextual influences affecting the EMI implementation process.

The principal criticisms of the case study approach are related to issues of generalizability and rigor. A chief complaint about the approach is that it is difficult to generalize from one case to another (Yin, 2003). The institutions in this study do not represent all institutions within a country, but they are indicative of trends within countries. They are leading institutions in terms of size, field coverage, and status. Exploring how similar trends in higher education are approached in different countries provides opportunities to improve our understandings of the impact of nested contexts on the implementation of EMI reforms.

Case studies are deemed less rigorous when data are not collected systematically or if the researcher allows interpretive bias in the findings. To buffer against this, I took

steps to ensure validity and reliability in the study. Construct validity was accomplished

by using multiple sources of evidence and establishing a chain of evidence. Additionally,

I used replication logic across the case studies to ensure external validity. Reliability was

also enhanced by using a case study protocol detailed in the data collection section (Yin,

2003).

This study was limited to three case site institutions, one exemplar per country. A

more complete analysis of organizational EMI strategies would include a larger selection

of universities in each country, documents from the middle and lower levels of the

organizations (e.g., individual faculty plans, differences across faculties), a longitudinal

review of student enrollment data, inclusion of universities of applied sciences in addition

to universities, expansion of the case time frame to see how the logics evolve over time,

as well as more qualitative analysis of decision-making and implementation phases - for

example, in-depth formal interviews with key decision makers.

<u>Data Analysis</u>

Data collection and analysis occurred together in an iterative process. The

multiple sources of data listed above were converged in the analysis process rather than

handled individually. Each data source is one piece of the "puzzle," with each piece

contributing to the understanding of the whole. This convergence adds "strength to the

findings as the various strands of data are braided together to promote a greater

understanding of the case" (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p.11).

This comparative case study comprises two different steps of analysis: the within-

case case analysis and the cross-case analysis. First, I examined the data from each of the

three proposed cases individually to identify key information according to the research

questions and analytic frames, uncover patterns, determine meanings, and construct conclusions. Each case was constructed separately first, using a standard analytic protocol that also permitted subsequent comparison. I used the analytic frames and procedures noted in the data analysis section below to guide my analysis, but gave allowance for an inductive approach to the sources for any additional categories that emerged throughout the analysis. With this in mind, I searched the data for these analytic topics by scanning the data, taking notes, and coding the data according to the analytic frames discussed below.

Documents and websites were analyzed according to qualitative content analysis procedures. According to Marshall and Rossman, the "analysis of documents is potentially quite rich in portraying the values and beliefs of participants in the setting…documents help develop an understanding of the organization" (2010, p.160). Following Ali (2013), qualitative content analysis was used to extract the phrases and paragraphs related to language, language policy, language of instruction, and other statements related to the context of medium of instruction. The qualitative content analysis focused on these phrases of significant meaning rather than on frequency of use (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005; Marshall & Rossman, 2010; Weber, 1990; Zhang & Widemuth, 2009). All documents gathered were read repeatedly and coded and the relevant data were organized as categories.

Second, I analyzed the cases in a comparative method strategy that looks for overall patterns and themes across the data collection categories and matched the different methods and data in order to compare the cases. I made comparisons across cases keeping in mind the study's purposes. I began by looking for patterns or regularities

that occur across the cases. After noting similarities, I noted differences and speculated about what might explain these differences. The next section discusses the two part analytic frame guiding the analysis.

<u>Two Part Analytic Frame</u>

Organizational-level implementation approaches underscore the importance of interpretation and context to organizational decisions, while field-level institutional logics highlight the importance of wider societal belief systems in framing appropriate organizational responses. This combination of levels of analyses allows for organizational variety, but also recognizes that organizational decisions are filtered through common societal or field level frames which, in turn, may lead to observable patterns of implementation. As Nicolini notes, utilizing multiple levels of analysis allows us to 'zoom in' and 'zoom out' with different theoretical lenses which provides a more complete picture of organizational forms and behaviors (2009).

The following analytic section is divided into two parts. The first part introduces the analytic frame utilized to examine how the selected universities implemented the EMI reform concept into organizational discourse, decisions, and practices. This allows us to see whether the selected universities are converging towards a similar EMI reform model. In the second section, I present the analytic frame used to examine the environmental influences shaping these organizational approaches.

<u>Analytic Frame for Organizational EMI Reform Convergence</u>

In the Scandinavian translation school of thought, organizational actors interpret or modify new concepts, policies, and practices to fit the local context (Czarniawska & Joerges, 1996; Czarniawska & Sevon, 2005; Sahlin-Andersson, 1996; Sahlin & Wedlin,

2008; Zilber, 2006). Interpretations are influenced by the degree of abstraction of a reform idea, policy, or model. This 'fuzziness' is an advantage from an organizational point of view, where implementing the reform concept to fit specific needs is important (Stensaker et al., 2008).The translation frame is best suited to guide our understanding of what happens after an organization adopts a new reform policy or program. Previous research uncovered organizational interpretations that can lead to homogeneity (similarity) or heterogeneity (variation) in forms and behaviors (Erlingsdóttir and Lindberg 2005; Lamb & Currie 2011; Mazza et al. 2005; Sahlin & Wedlin 2008; Wæraas & Sataøen 2013). As Zilber (2008) notes, it is not a question about quantity (how many organizations adopt a new program), but questions about quality (what exactly is adopted). Drawing on Pollitt's analytic frame detailed below, I examined how EMI policies are conceptualized in organizational discourse and materialized in organizational decisions and organizational practices in each case setting. Pollitt's frame was used to determine whether EMI reforms in the case site universities in leading EMI provider countries are converging towards a similar EMI reform model.

Building on earlier work from Brunsson (1989), Pollitt (2001) devised a frame to analyze the extent to which *new public management reform* was a phenomenon where 'everyone is travelling along roughly the same road' (p.472). His aim was to move past the point of organizational adoption to unpack whether organizations *talked* about public management reforms in the same ways, whether organizational implementation *decisions* were similar, and if organizational *practice* was similar across organizations. Thus, the frame was developed to compare the degree of similarity of reform policy implementation across organizations.

Drawing on Pollitt (2001), I present the analytic frame in the chart below (Table 4.2) to analyze how organizations *talk* about a new reform concept; what aspects organizations *decide* to implement; and what occurs in *practice*. Specifically, I utilized this frame to examine the way in which universities talk about the EMI reform concept in institutional documents and on university websites. Additionally, I used the frame to determine how EMI is implemented into curricular decisions related to university language policy, degree level offerings, and disciplinary offerings by examining institutional policy documents, websites, and institutional data. Finally, I utilized the frame to examine how EMI is implemented into practice, specifically examining issues that arose during case site visits and informational meetings with key administrators related to what is actually happening 'on the ground' at the three case universities. This analytic frame allows for a cross-case examination of whether the three case site universities are converging towards a similar EMI reform policy model.

Table 4.2 Analytic Frame for Organizational-level EMI Policy Convergence

Organizational Policy:	**Description of Analytic Application**
Discourse	-*Organizational discourse* describes the way organizations **talk** about a new reform concept -How is the EMI reform concept 'talked' about in university documents (strategic plans, corporate brochures etc.) & websites? How do universities represent themselves in organizational documents?
Decisions	-*Organizational decisions* examines what aspects organizations **decide** to implement. -How have universities implemented the EMI reform concept into curricular decisions related to language policy, degree level offerings, and disciplinary offerings?
Practice	-*Organizational practice* examines what is happening 'on the ground' in organizational **practice**.

	-How is the EMI reform concept implemented into practice? What occurs in practice?

Analytic Frame for Institutional Logics

The following discussion opens with a brief review of important theoretical aspects of institutional logics followed by a more in-depth discussion of the analytic contributions of institutional logics as ideal types. Institutional logics (Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton et al., 2012) provide an important link between the macro institutional context and actors and actions at the organizational level (Thornton et al., 2012; Waldorff, 2013). This theoretical lens allows us to see how organizational forms and behaviors at the micro level are filtered through frames that originate in the macro institutional environment. Logics serve the 'rules of the game'; they not only guide organizations, but may also be mobilized by actors to legitimate new practices. Logics are reflected in the policies and programs that are implemented in organizations and provide actors with vocabularies, identities, and rationales for action (Dunn & Jones, 2010; Friedland & Alford, 1991; Thornton, 2004).

Organizations confront situations of institutional complexity when faced with varied signals and pressures from their environment (Greenwood et al. 2010; Thornton et al. 2012). In this study, institutional complexity refers to the presence of multiple logics which each exert different pressures and influences on a particular organization. In this sense, organizations are compelled to simultaneously abide by different 'rules of the game', each prescribing different, and at times contradictory, sets of expectations for the 'best' or 'right' way to organize (Kodeih & Greenwood, 2014; Kraatz & Block 2008). This line of scholarship unpacks how organizations cope with these tensions; i.e., their

responses to institutional complexity. Therefore, a way to understand how universities

respond to their nested organizational context is to assess the play of logics in the

processes of implementation of the EMI reform concept.

Studies utilizing societal level logics as analytic tools typically draw from

Friedland and Alford and/or Thornton et al.'s list of five to seven core societal logics

(state, market, corporation, etc.) introduced in Chapter Two. However, these societal

level logics did not provide the analytical leverage needed to examine university EMI

reform implementation at the organizational field level. Logics may develop at a variety

of different levels other than the societal sector; for example, organizations, markets,

industries, networks, geographic communities, and organizational fields (Thornton &

Ocasio, 2008). An organizational field consists of those organizations that in the

aggregate represent a recognized area of institutional life (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983; for

a review see Wooten & Hoffman, 2008). As Lounsbury notes, "by focusing on how

organizational fields are comprised of multiple logics, analysts can provide new insight

into practice variation and the dynamics of practice" (Lounsbury 2008, p.354). Although

studies of field level logics exist, none were comprised of the combination of logics

needed to analyze the data in my research. In this study, the organizational field is

comprised of European research universities that offer programs instructed in English

when English is not the native language of instruction. Thus, the first step in this analytic

process was to identify field-level institutional logics shaping the EMI reform process.

Following these distinctions, I identified six institutional logics that shape the

EMI reform implementation process: academic logics, economic logics, cooperative

logics, competitive logics, local logics, and global logics. I derived these six logics from

an iterative process tacking back and forth between data coding and informed by relevant literature (Huisman and van der Wende 2004, 2005; Marginson and van der Wende, 2007; van der Wende, 2007). Each of the six logics represents a distinct set of interests, identities, and values of organization. Table 4.3 illustrates each of the six institutional logics and provides the key elements which characterize each logic. Data were coded according to procedures from Miles & Huberman (1994) to uncover relevant field-level EMI logics. During the first round of coding, I identified four logics framing organizational EMI implementation: cooperative logics, competitive logics, local logics, and global logics. I then tried to map the case site universities according to these codes and I was unable to clearly visualize the differences apparent in the data. I then coded the data again and during the second round of coding, I uncovered two additional logics guiding the EMI reform process: academic logics and economic logics.

Academic logics focus organizational attention to implementing EMI for student learning enrichment purposes and enhancing the quality of education and research activities. This touches on traditional public good notions of education. Using EMI as part of campus internationalization-at-home initiatives is a key example of the influence of academic logics. Integrating foreign experiences into academic programs promotes mutual understanding and intercultural learning, as well as equips students for work after graduation. Academic logics underpin mobility and exchange programs, as well as group study abroad that include the international experience as a key element of learning. Lastly, academic logics are present in utilizing EMI for social responsibility initiatives such as research on climate change and pandemics, as well as development aid and capacity building efforts.

Economic logics focus organizational attention to offering EMI for the purposes of revenue generation or other financial incentives. This touches on the private good notions of education and focuses organizational attention towards a market orientation. The economic logic is evident in the use of EMI for income generation through the charging of differential fees to international students who participate in EMI programs. This also includes other financial gains related to performance agreement incentives for English-language publications, hiring EMI faculty for the purposes of increased publications, or incentivizing current staff for publications in top English-language journals. Economic logics underscore the recruitment of talented staff and students via EMI to financially contribute to the local knowledge economy (including both economic development and commercial research activities). This also relates to enhanced prospects to access new markets, especially with regard to emerging economies i.e., BRICs.

Cooperative logics focus institutional attention towards initiating EMI for the purposes of creating partnerships. Cooperative logics underpin EMI's use to facilitate joint/double degree initiatives between universities and/or EMI's use to facilitate international cooperative research projects. This logic is evident in the use of EMI for cooperative citizenship initiatives (e.g., in EU mobility initiatives to facilitate contact among EU citizens). Cooperative logics focus organizational attention to leveraging EMI for mutual partnership or collective goals.

Competitive logics focus organizational attention towards using EMI as part of their aspirational efforts to be perceived as 'world-class', as well as to increase position in global rankings/international league tables and global citation indexes. Competitive logics are most commonly evidenced in the quantitative and qualitative recruitment of

students and staff. Competitive logics manifest in university efforts to utilize EMI to

build strategic networks with universities of equal or (more likely) greater status. This

logic underpins EMI's use for enhancing 'the self': status, profile, reputation, prestige,

and relevance to a wider audience. Enhanced position is important as it can relate to

opportunities to access prestigious competitive research projects (and associated

funding). Lastly, this logic is evident in EMI's use as part of a university's marketing,

branding, and recruitment efforts.

   Local logics focus organizational attention towards using EMI to serve local

purposes and/or benefit the local area/population. This is most commonly evidenced in

utilizing EMI for skilled migration purposes and in using EMI to train the domestic

workforce in areas where there are labor shortages and/or to satisfy skills needed for local

innovation aspirations.

   Global logics focus organizational attention towards using EMI for global-facing

purposes. In this sense, organizational attention is focused on using EMI programs to

engage internationally. For example, EMI's use for training students to work on the

globalized labor market or EMI's use to engage in global research initiatives.

   These six logics (cooperative, competitive, academic, economic, local and global)

underpin EMI reform decisions implemented by case universities and are considered in

this study as analytical ideal types. Ideal types are formal analytical models by which to

compare empirical observations (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008). According to Thornton et

al., "each institutional logic can be described as an ideal type characterized by key

elements" (2012, p. 73). Ideal types represent a "pure case in which the relevant features

are distinct and unambiguous" (Weber, 1949, p. 88 as cited in Goodrick & Reay 2011).

By providing a stable point, ideal types facilitate systematic comparison of empirical variation (Freidson, 2001 as cited in Goodrick & Reay, 2011). They are a method of interpretive analysis for understanding the meaning that actors invest in their actions (Thornton & Ocasio, 2008, p.110). They do not precisely conform to reality because of deliberate simplification to afford comparative analysis. Thus, ideal types are an abstract model used to gauge the relative distance of observations from the pure form or ideal type (Thornton et al. 2012,p.53). In Chapter 5, I apply these six analytical ideal type logics to the data. I evaluate the ways in which each of the six logics was reflected in the EMI reform design at the three case site universities. The application of logics allows us to uncover the environmental frames shaping the EMI implementation process. A novel three axis comparative framework (Figure 5.1) is introduced in Chapter 5 to analyze variations in university response to institutional complexity, or competing institutional demands, in the EMI implementation process. Each axis underscores a tension higher education organizations face when crafting EMI strategies, policies, and practices

Table 4.3 EMI Institutional Logics and Key Characteristics

	Axial Tension 1		Axial Tension 2		Axial Tension 3	
	Academic Logic	Economic Logic	Cooperative Logic	Competitive Logic	Local Logic	Global Logic
Key Characteristics	-Academic logics focus organizational attention to implementing EMI for student learning enrichment purposes and enhancing the quality of education and research activities. This touches on traditional public good notions of education. -Using EMI as part of campus internationalization at home initiatives are key examples of the influence of academic logics. Universities use EMI to attract talented students from diverse backgrounds in efforts to create opportunities for student learning.	-Economic logics focus organizational attention to offering EMI for the purposes of revenue/income generation or other financial incentives. This touches on private good notions of education and focuses organizational attention towards a market orientation. -Income generation through the charging of differential fees to international students who participate in EMI	-Cooperative logics focus institutional attention towards initiating EMI for the purposes of creating partnerships. -Using EMI to facilitate joint/double degree initiatives between universities. -Utilizing EMI/English to facilitate international cooperative research projects. -Implementing EMI for cooperative	-Competitive logics focus organizational attention towards using EMI as part of their aspirational efforts to be perceived as 'world-class', as well as to increase position in global rankings/ international league tables and global citation indexes. -Competitive logics are most commonly evidenced in	-Local logics focus organizational attention towards using EMI to serve local purposes and/or benefit the local area/population. -Most commonly evidenced in utilizing EMI for skilled migration purposes -Using EMI to train the domestic workforce in areas where there are labor shortages	-Global logics focus organizational attention towards using EMI for global-facing purposes. -Organizational attention is focused on using EMI programs to engage internationally -For example, training students to work on globalized labor markets.

Table 4.3 (continued).

| | The aim is for the university to create spaces for students to be exposed to international contexts and learn from other students and staff from different cultural and educational backgrounds. Integrating foreign experiences into academic programs promotes mutual understanding and intercultural learning, as well as equips students for the world of work after graduation.

--Mobility and exchange programs, as well as group study abroad which include the international | -Other financial gains related to performance agreement incentives for English-language publications /recruiting more English speaking faculty for the purposes of publications or incentivizing current staff for publications in top journals; i.e., in English.

-The recruitment of talented staff and students via EMI to financially contribute to the local knowledge economy including both | citizenship initiatives (e.g., In the EU to facilitate contact among EU citizens).

-This logic focuses organizational attention to leveraging EMI for mutual partnership or collective goals. | the quantitative and qualitative recruitment of students and staff.

-Competitive logics manifest in university efforts to utilize EMI to build strategic networks with universities of equal or (more likely) greater status.

-EMI for enhancing 'the self': status, profile, reputation, prestige, and relevance to a wider audience. | and/or to satisfy skills needed for local innovation aspirations. | |

Table 4.3 (continued).

	experience as a key element of learning fall under this heading. -Academic logics are present in utilizing EMI for social responsibility initiatives such as research on climate change and pandemics, as well as development aid and capacity building efforts.	economic development and commercial research activities. This also relates to enhanced prospects to access new markets, especially with regard to emerging economies; i.e., BRICs.		- Enhanced position is important as it can relate to opportunities to access prestigious competitive research projects (and associated funding) - EMI used as part of the universities marketing, branding, and recruitment efforts.	

In Chapter 5, I employ the two part analytic frame discussed in the above section to analyze empirical case studies of the implementation of the EMI reform concept in the three selected universities in non-Anglophone Northern Europe: the University of Oslo in Norway, the University of Goettingen in Germany, and Maastricht University in the Netherlands. Guided by Pollitt's frame, I examine if the universities are converging towards a similar EMI reform model by examining how the EMI reform concept is conceptualized and materialized at the organizational level in organizational discourse, decisions, and practices. Then, I analyze how the EMI reform implementation process at each university is shaped by field-level institutional logics.

CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYSIS

The aim of this study is to contribute to our understanding of how widespread EMI reforms impact structures and behaviors at the organizational level in European universities in ways that respond to the organization's embedded policy contexts. The three case universities were afforded a degree of agency in interpreting EMI reforms at the organizational level due to the lack of prescriptive EMI reform templates at the European and national levels. This chapter details the two part analytic approach of this study: (i) an analysis of how the EMI reform is conceptualized and materialized at the organizational level in efforts to determine whether universities in Northern Europe are converging towards a similar EMI reform model and (ii) an analysis of institutional logics in the EMI implementation process to examine variations in university response to contending pressures in their embedded organizational environment for the best way to organize EMI reforms.

In section one, *organizational EMI reform convergence*, the analytic frame presented in Table 4.2 is used to analyze the extent to which EMI reform implementation is a phenomenon where 'everyone is travelling along roughly the same road' (Pollitt, 2001); that is, whether the universities are converging towards a similar EMI reform model. EMI reform convergence is analyzed by examining comparatively organizational EMI reform discourse, decisions, and practice in three Northern European universities: Maastricht University in the Netherlands, the University of Göttingen in Germany, and the University of Oslo in Norway. Section one is divided into three parts. First, I examine how the three universities discuss *rationales* (aims and objectives) for offering EMI programming in institutional strategic plans, internationalization agendas, related

institutional documents, and websites. Each of the three case site institutions are considered thematically and data excerpts are used to illustrate the themes for comparative purposes. Second, I review institutional policy documents, websites, and institutional data to uncover organizational EMI implementation *decisions* related to university language policy, degree level offerings, and disciplinary offerings. Section one concludes with an examination of operational effects evidenced in *practice* after EMI reforms are implemented. Specifically, I examine issues that arose during case site visits and informational meetings with key administrators.

In section two, *comparative organizational EMI approaches*, the analytic framework for institutional logics (Table 4.3) is applied to evaluate the ways in which field level frames are reflected in EMI reform design and implementation in the three case site universities. Organizational approaches to the implementation of the EMI reform concept illuminate how EMI is conceptualized and materialized in the various university settings and the logics that are emphasized reveal overall EMI approach strategies. A comparative framework (Figure 5.1) is presented as a tool to explain variations in university response to contending pressures in their organizational environment during the EMI implementation process. Each of the three axes in the comparative framework underscores a tension universities must resolve when crafting EMI strategies, policies, and practices.

Organizational EMI Reform Convergence

In section one, *organizational EMI reform convergence,* Pollitt's analytic frame is used to analyze the implementation of the EMI reform concept into organizational discourse, decisions, and practices in three Northern European universities. I examine

both the ideational aspects represented by how institutions discuss *rationales* (aims and objectives) for offering EMI programming and the material aspects represented both by organizational EMI implementation *decisions* and operational effects of EMI evidenced in *practice*.

Section one is divided into three parts. In part one, I examine how the English-medium reform concept is interpreted by the case site universities by examining organizational *discourse (rationales)* represented by English-medium reform 'talk' espoused in institutional strategic plans, internationalization agendas, related institutional documents, and websites. In part two, I examine how the EMI reform concept is materialized in curricular *decisions* related to institutional language policy, degree level offerings, and disciplinary offerings. This is followed in part three by an examination of operational effects to organizational *practice* after the EMI reform is implemented.

Institutional Discourse

The following discussion details the ways in which the three universities 'talk' about the EMI reform concept in institutional documents and websites. All three case universities committed in their respective institutional strategic plans and/or internationalization plans to offer English-medium education and to the continued development of these programs in the future. EMI may be explicitly linked to rationales in institutional materials and/or the use of the medium is implied through the respective goal it aims to achieve (Ali, 2013; Saarinen, 2012). The degree of ambiguity of the EMI reform concept allows universities to address rationales for EMI implementation for more explicit aims (to attract students and staff) and for more implicit aims (image-building).

The institutional discourse discussion opens with an overview highlighting the strategic directions underpinning EMI initiatives at each of the three respective case site universities. This is followed by an examination of six institutional rationales espoused in institutional documents and websites for offering programs instructed in English. Universities cite the importance of EMI reforms to: (i) attract students and staff, (ii) internationalize the home campus, (iii) facilitate partnerships, (iv) increase visibility, (v) increase research and educational quality, and (vi) enhance institutional research efforts. Each of the three case site institutions are considered thematically and data excerpts are used to illustrate the themes for comparative purposes.

<u>Overview of Institutional Strategic Direction</u>

<u>University of Oslo</u>

According to the University of Oslo's Action Plan for Internationalisation 2012-14, global perspectives 'play a more fundamental role in [the university's] strategic direction than previously.' English-medium reforms are an integral part of achieving institutional ambitions set out in the primary strategic documents, Strategy 2020 (2010-2020) and the Action Plan for Internationalisation 2012-14, to 'transcend borders' and become 'more visible, attractive, and involved' academically on a global scale. To accomplish these ambitions, the strategic plans denote educational programs will be given an 'international profile' and the institution will invest in improving 'language skills'. This stands in contrast to the 2005-2009 strategic plan where there is no explicit or implicit reference to EMI. Thus, present strategies express openness to the external environment and note specific objectives to increase international engagement. In this

sense, language skills are promoted as a tool to orient itself within a broader global community.

> Current **global perspectives** regarding the roles, responsibilities and academic focus of universities **play a more fundamental role in their strategic directions** than previously (University of Oslo, 2012a).

> By 2020, UiO will be considerably **more visible, attractive and involved in the international arena** than it is at present**.** [Action Plan for Internationalisation, p.1]

> All educational programmes will be given an **international profile** and cooperation with foreign institutions will be increased in order to achieve greater relevance and a higher level of quality (University of Oslo, 2010, p.6).

> A stronger focus on internationalisation requires investment in Norway in **improving language skills in research, instruction and administration** (University of Oslo, 2010).

University of Goettingen

The University of Goettingen introduced its strategic direction for international policy as part of its institutional strategy submitted for the 2007 German Excellence Initiative competition. The objective of the German Excellence Initiative is to fund and promote top quality research in German universities with the aim of making them more globally competitive and in turn, increase the prestige of the German scientific community on a global scale. The University released a stand-alone internationalization strategy in 2013 that builds on the foundational elements in the 2007 strategic direction. Institutional materials underscore national level ambitions by specifying plans for the future expansion of EMI programs to contribute to the university's aims to recruit 'excellent foreign students and junior researchers' and (most importantly) to increase the university's global position and profile.

In recent years, the range of international degree programmes offered by the university has expanded substantially at all three levels of study (Bachelor, Master, PhD) and is to be extended further…**International degree programme here refers to programmes taught in the English language or with a high English language content and/or leading to an international degree qualification, as well as programmes aimed specifically at foreign students** (University of Göttingen, http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/192982.html).

We are pursuing three main targets: (I) a significant **increase in the proportion of our faculty from abroad**, (II) quantitative and qualitative improvement of the **recruitment of excellent foreign students and junior researchers,** and (III) the focusing and intensifying of our international activities for the advancement of research and of young scientists and scholars. The measure *Göttingen International* is targeted at the latter two points. In addition, the **number and size of our international Master and Ph.D. programmes**, currently 16 with slots for 521 students, **will be increased**. By 2010, the University expects to have 28 international degree programmes with about 800 students (University of Göttingen, 2007, p.23).

On the basis of its Institutional Strategy, Tradition – Innovation – Autonomy, Göttingen University was one of the universities to emerge successfully in the Initiative of Excellence of the German Federal and State Governments in 2007. In this competitive process, Göttingen was identified as one of the nine German universities able to **command international visibility and worthy of a place amongst the world's foremost institutions of higher education** (University of Göttingen, 2011b).

Maastricht University

Maastricht University 'explicitly opts for an international profile.' EMI features prominently as a core aspect of the internationalization process in both the Strategic Programme 2007-10 and Strategic Programme 2012-16, as well as the institutional website. Nearly half of all students and more than a third of faculty originate from outside of the Netherlands. Maastricht is a fully bilingual university with designs to provide an environment that is 'fully accessible to students and staff with a command of only English'. The master's degree level in particular follows an 'English unless' language policy where the majority of programs 'should be' instructed in English. The focus on

EMI at the master's degree level orients it towards the international market. EMI at the bachelor's level remains predicated on the nature of the subject area.

> Maastricht University **explicitly opts for an international profile**. This is expressed in the themes and orientation of its education and research, in the composition of its staff and its student population, and by its participation in international partnerships. **Thanks to the use of the English language, the university is in every way accessible to all** (Maastricht University, 2007, p.7).

> Maastricht University considers itself to be the international university of the Netherlands. Much of our education and research focuses on international and European themes: European Public Health, European Studies, European Law, Globalisation and Law, European Public Affairs, International Business and so on. **As a bilingual university, virtually all teaching takes place in English** (Maastricht University, 2012, p.16).

> Maastricht University has taken the decision to develop into a **fully bilingual university** (English-Dutch). It is intended that the university will be fully accessible to staff and students **with a command of only English. The principle applied to master's degrees is that the language of instruction should be 'English, unless…'**; for bachelor's degrees the nature of the programme or the subject area determines whether the programme is taught in English. The language used in the supporting administrative organisation follows suit. This means that the English language will be used in management and administration where this is efficient in terms of education and research (Maastricht University, 2007, p.57).

All three universities underscore the importance of EMI to their strategic organizational directions and express openness towards their external environment. However, there are varying degrees of EMI integration between the universities. EMI is gradually becoming more visible in central strategic plans at UiO. The University of Oslo's Strategy 2020 released in 2010 was the first institutional strategic plan to reference language skills and the language of programs as part of international engagement efforts. In contrast, Maastricht University is fully bilingual; EMI is an integral aspect of organizational operations. UM's niche international strategy relies heavily on EMI. The University of Goettingen expresses plans to increase EMI at the

graduate level in efforts to target 'excellent' foreign students and junior researchers to contribute to aims to enhance international status.

Institutional Rationales for Implementing EMI Reforms

The following discussion details organizational rationales for implementing EMI reforms. The three case universities cite the use of English-medium reforms to attract students and staff who might not otherwise attend due to a language barrier; for internationalization at home purposes to diversify the learning environment and prepare domestic students for a work in a globalized world; and facilitate partnerships for academic and research exchange opportunities by providing a common academic language. In addition to utilizing English-medium reforms to enhance quality, they are leveraged by universities for visibility and status building purposes, as well as competitive ambitions to appeal to ranking and publication bodies. Finally, EMI plays an important role in research related activities at each university. Document and website excerpts from the three case universities are presented under each of the six institutional EMI reform rationales for comparative purposes.

Attract students and staff

European universities have a long history of student mobility, but centralized recruitment strategies are a newer phenomenon. Changes in university task environments over the last decade have increased awareness of and pressures for enhanced recruitment strategies. A key reason universities offer English-medium programs is to increase the attractiveness of the university and its programs to those who would otherwise not attend the university in the native language. This section focuses on the ways in which the three

universities 'talk' about EMI as part of formal organizational recruitment initiatives and

who they aim to attract with these programs.

University of Oslo

The University of Oslo offers English-medium courses and programs across a

variety of disciplines to attract international students to matriculate as either exchange or

full degree students. EMI is a featured component of UiO's first centralized student

recruitment strategy implemented in 2013. The strategy notes plans for the further

expansion of EM program offerings to attract 'well qualified' international students,

particularly to the master's degree level. The underlying drive is to increase the quality of

international students. The University is one of the rare few that offer fee-free tuition to

domestic and international students. The goal of recruitment is to attract a diverse group

of talented students to enrich the campus academic 'community'. The focus is on the

local benefits derived from recruitment.

> Student mobility is an integral part of the University's study programmes. The broad range of **courses and programmes in English have made the University of Oslo an attractive destination for a growing number of international students.** At the University of Oslo campus you will meet students from some of the best universities in the world (University of Oslo, 2011).

> This [recruitment] plan concentrates on the measures that should be implemented to promote offers to international students….There is however a prerequisite for **attracting more qualified applicants, the portfolio of English language courses and programs are attractive and that this be developed….**to provide all study programs with an international profile and to increase the number of joint degrees and **this work is crucial to improve the attractiveness of UiO studies** (University of Oslo, 2013, author translated).

> The plan for the recruitment of international students aims to describe how the University will **attract well-qualified international students** who are qualified for study at an outstanding research university and **strengthen UiO communities** (University of Oslo, 2013, author translated).

The University of Gottingen's English-medium initiatives are targeted to

attracting 'exceptional' scientists and scholars to contribute to the science-based

educational and research focus of the university. The University charges nominal fees

when compared to Maastricht University to students outside the EU/EEA area. In

addition, a number of national level scholarships are available to support high quality

students and programs. The recruitment of talented scholars and staff was an integral part

of the University's proposal for the 2007 German Excellence Initiative. University

recruitment initiatives are professionalized and targeted towards scientific communities.

These recruitment initiatives are both to *gain* and *retain* scientists and scholars for

institutional profiling ambitions and to combat the brain drain of high level scientists to

other countries, especially the United States. Retaining staff and students for skilled

migration is a national focus. Nationally, 'quantity' recruitment has been achieved as

Germany is one of the top international student receptors. The focus is on increasing the

quality of students and retaining them to contribute to national scientific and innovation

aims.

> The University of Göttingen's central objective is to find the **brightest scientists and scholars** from in and outside Germany, and **to recruit and retain them** by providing the best possible environment (University of Göttingen, 2007).

> The University and its non-university partners are convinced that the proposed Institutional Strategy…will create an environment for research and teaching **with high international appeal**. Having formed a strong and highly motivated research community, we want to **recruit and retain exceptional scientists and scholars,** not only in the research areas already well established, but in a range of research areas reflecting the breadth of our University's disciplines (University of Göttingen, 2007).

The highly internationalized composition of Maastricht University's student and staff population requires a professionalized recruitment strategy to sustain. The university has pursued a centralized policy of international student recruitment since 2006. Recruitment efforts are arranged according to country teams and recruitment webpages are directed to country-specific audiences. These country-specific pages include testimonials from students at Maastricht from the same region (e.g., Chinese student testimonials on Maastricht's Chinese recruitment page) and may also have information in the foreign country's native language (e.g., the Belgian page contains both Dutch and French; the Bulgarian page is in Bulgarian).

Maastricht's competitive recruitment strategy discusses using 'market research' and making strategic choices with regard to 'UM's positioning'. This strategy evaluates recruitment pools from 'target countries' based on 'quantitative parameters.' Strategic plans from 2007-10 and 2012-16 discuss aims to attract both *more* and the *better* students, especially to the master's degree level. Professional recruitment abroad is 'urgent'. The international student market is important as UM charges differential fees to international students outside the EU/EEA area which garner necessary revenues for the university in a time of declining government funding. The recruitment of faculty 'talent' is noted in reference to increasing opportunities to secure 'indirect government funding'. This underscores the influence of both decreased government funding and openness towards the market.

> As an **increase in the number of foreign students is particularly important** to UM, **professional recruitment *abroad* is most urgent.** Such an approach starts with defining a strategy which in turn is **based on market research** and choices with regard to **UM's positioning**. The university wishes to communicate the

added value of studying at UM to prospective students from abroad. Part of the strategy that will be developed involves an **evaluation of the target countries** on the **basis of quantitative parameters** and concrete aims (number of students per degree programme/faculty per country) (Maastricht University, 2007).

In the near future, Maastricht University will therefore be faced with **the task of recruiting sufficient numbers of students for bachelor's as well as master's degrees**. Due to the decrease in average government funding per student and the possible effects of the learning rights system, the minimum requirement for keeping the total size of the **UM budget** at the same level will be to achieve a slight rise in inflow of bachelor's degree students. At the same time, the expected outflow of graduate bachelor's from UM must be **compensated by a relatively high inflow of master's students from other institutions within the Netherlands and in particular from abroad.** Active and successful recruitment at home and abroad will, therefore, become ever more important (Maastricht University, 2007, p.21).

Given that Maastricht University's performance in **securing indirect government funding** needs to be further improved, we will have to pay extra attention to this matter in the 2012-2016 period by **recruiting talent** (Maastricht University, 2012, p.26).

EMI is a key component of all three university recruitment strategies; however, the three universities under examination vary with respect to the degree of formalization of these strategies. Maastricht has a seasoned competitive recruitment strategy to support its highly internationalized student and staff population, while Oslo recently released its first centralized recruitment strategy in 2013. Recruiting talented students to the master's degree level is a priority in all three university strategies. Oslo recruits for the localized benefit of enriching the academic campus 'community'. Goettingen targets its recruitment efforts towards 'exceptional' students and staff in selected disciplinary fields. Maastricht aims to expand its student and staff recruitment both quantitatively and qualitatively to satisfy increasing financial demands (e.g., revenues through differential fees to non-EU/EEA students, securing indirect government funding).

Internationalization at home

All three universities offer English-medium programs to attract students and staff

from different parts of the globe in efforts to provide an international experience 'at

home'. This is universally perceived across the three universities as serving students and

reinforces the more traditional academic values of the academy. As illustrated in the

excerpts below, EMI reforms are implemented, in part, to enrich the campus learning

environment by preparing students with a foundation to interact and learn from different

cultures and to prepare students for work in a globalized world.

University of Oslo

The University of Oslo strives to create an international environment for

academic enrichment purposes as noted by the University's expressed objective to

produce 'global citizens' by recruiting talented international students who can 'contribute

new perspectives to our learning and expertise.' Internationalization at home is supported

and encouraged at the national level in the 2008 national internationalization strategy.

This strategy serves a dual role of enriching the local campus and student skill set, but

also encourages participation as a 'global citizen' in the external environment.

> International students contribute to internationalize UiO study programs and
> thereby to make our graduates **"global citizens."** By recruiting students outside
> our borders, we have a greater access to talented students, while international
> students **contribute new perspectives to our learning and expertise** (University
> of Oslo, 2013, author translated).

University of Goettingen

Internationalization at home initiatives at the University of Goettingen contribute

to efforts for researchers to work with international colleagues and prepare students for

work in a globalized world. The recruitment of talented students from across the globe to

diversify the classroom experience is considered an 'essential added value' for research

and teaching. Internationalizing the student body is perceived as a 'resource' that can aid

in ambitions to build an international research community on campus. Here,

internationalization at home is focused on the benefits to employment and its use in

international research collaborations.

> Degree programmes in which the **language of instruction is English,** binational
> degrees, and set periods of study abroad all **help to qualify graduates excellently**
> **for the international world of work** (University of Göttingen, webpage-
> www.uni-goettingen.de/degree-programmes).

> The most important goals of this [internationalization] strategy are to **prepare**
> **students for their future tasks in a globalised world** and to give **researchers**
> **the possibility of working together with international colleagues** to develop
> solutions to the global challenges. The conceptual basis of Göttingen University's
> internationalisation strategy is to perceive **cultural diversity as a resource**, the
> use of which constitutes an **essential added value for research and teaching**
> (University of Göttingen, 2013).

Maastricht University

Maastricht University's internationalization at home efforts are aimed towards

creating a diversified student classroom experience to prepare students with 'skills' to

work in a 'rapidly internationalizing and globalizing labor market.' Maastricht promotes

its highly internationalized student environment for both academic (enhances learning)

and economic purposes (enhances labor market prospects).

> One of our most striking developments has been the creation of the 'international
> classroom'. We are convinced that working in tutorial groups with students of
> different origins, different cultural backgrounds, and thus with distinct
> contributions to offer the group **is of great value to the learning process**.
> Exploring problems from different perspectives and backgrounds generates a
> unique added value in the sense that students are confronted with different ways
> of thinking and different viewpoints that would remain unexplored if the tutorial
> group were more homogenous in composition…Students who are educated in the
> environment of a genuinely international classroom are **best prepared to work in**
> **a rapidly internationalising and globalising labour market for highly-**

educated professionals. The aim of our policy is thus to create an educational climate in which students can learn from one another and gain experience in different social and cultural skills (Maastricht University, http://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/web/Main/InternationalClassroomDevelopment.htm).

Facilitate partnerships

Traditionally, English-medium programs assisted in facilitating academic exchange partnerships, development aid, research collaborations, and provided joint international degrees with a common instructional language. In addition to these more traditional uses, universities now utilize EMI to expand their networks globally for the benefits of carefully selected strategic partnering initiatives. Strategic partnerships assist with gaining access to funding sources at the EU level, global research cooperatives to solve common global problems (e.g., climate change), promote international relations, and access new markets.

University of Oslo

The University of Oslo entertains a sizable number of cooperative academic agreements with universities around the world to facilitate exchange and provide academic opportunities to 'learn from skilled researchers' via participation in international research collaborations. EMI facilitates partnering in large scale research projects (e.g., EU Grand Challenges[31]) and capacity building initiatives in the 'global South'. EMI options facilitate joint degree opportunities which aids in UiO's expressed goal to achieve twenty joint degrees with foreign universities by 2016 (University of

---

[31] The EU Grand Challenges initiative is an EU funded research and innovation program under the Horizon 2020 umbrella to strengthen science and innovation in the EU as well as address major societal concerns such as climate change, sustainable transport and mobility, and food safety. http://ec.europa.eu/programmes/horizon2020/en/news/grand-challenge-design-and-societal-impact-horizon-2020

Oslo, 2012a). Institutional documents reveal the university's desire to approach future

partnerships in a more 'selective and purposeful' manner by collaborating with

'excellent' universities and partnerships that improve recruitment and research funding

opportunities. The 2008 national internationalization strategy encourages Norwegian

universities to cooperate selectively with 'attractive partners'. UiO strikes a balance

between new competitive aims to partner with 'excellent' universities and traditional

academic aims of exchange and development aid.

> Globalisation provides new challenges for our researchers. It also creates
> opportunities to **learn from skilled researchers around the world through
> international collaboration**. The University's strategic plan for 2010–2020 states
> that collaboration with prioritised countries in other parts of the world must be
> strengthened, also with selected institutions in the south (University of Oslo,
> http://www.uio.no/english/research/cooperation/international/).

> UiO shall be **more selective and purposeful** in its institutional cooperation and
> give priority to long-term cooperation with some of **the best international
> research and educational institutions**. Cooperation with prioritised countries in
> other parts of the world will be improved and include **selected institutions in the
> global South**. EU cooperation will be a platform for international cooperation
> with the rest of the world. The university will help strengthen institutions and
> academic environments in developing countries through cooperation based on
> academic quality and reciprocity. UiO will give special priority to international
> **cooperation on the major global challenges** in accordance with its own
> academic and interdisciplinary priorities (University of Oslo, 2010, p.7).

> Good partnerships, alliances and networks are resources of increasing importance
> to **academic collaboration, competitiveness in recruitment and funding, and
> strategic influence.** During the period of the action plan, UiO wishes to become a
> **member of a strategic university alliance of excellent research universities**
> (University of Oslo, 2012, p.5).

University of Goettingen

English-medium reforms at the University of Goettingen are a strategic initiative

to participate in prestigious international partnerships and networks (e.g., Coimbra Group

and U4 Network). Importance is placed on enhancing network participation and

university alliances for status building, profile defining, and talent recruitment purposes.

'Carefully selected' partnerships are targeted to enhance institutional visibility, position,

and reputation on an international scale.

> *Göttingen International* is designed to enhance and to foster the University's contacts **with international partners of strategic importance** due to their research foci, reputation, and geographic location. *Göttingen International* will use these contacts in the interests of the University**. Its main objective is the recruitment of exceptional graduate students and visiting scholars and scientists** (University of Göttingen, 2007).

> Göttingen International **strategically focusses the University's international contacts, both in terms of geography and content**: intensification of contacts with **carefully selected international partners** is combined with **cooperation in excellent research areas** (University of Göttingen, 2007, p.32).

> The University of Göttingen is **highly reputed** throughout the world of academia and research. Its **partnerships within the Coimbra Group and the U4 Network**, active agreements running with institutions of higher education in ninety countries, a raft of scholarship/fellowship opportunities for international students and researchers, and more than **fifty English-language Master and Ph.D. programmes** – these offer some indication of the University's strongly international stance (University of Göttingen, http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/311055.html).

> The University of Göttingen's **international position** is being further strengthened by the expansion of partnerships. In addition to the close complex of European universities within the framework of the Erasmus Programme, numerous cooperations at University, faculty and institute level facilitate study visits throughout the world, in some case also making scholarships available (University of Göttingen,
> http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/short-profile/53162.html).

Maastricht University

Maastricht University's strategic plan expresses the importance of partnerships

for securing the institution's future position within the global network of institutions.

Strategic partnerships are tools to facilitate the 'free flow of people' to 'strengthen the

economies of European countries and the Netherlands in particular.' EMI assists with

facilitating mobility and strategic partnering for economic purposes: trade, generation of

local jobs, and preparation of graduates for the global labor market. Maastricht's

reference to student mobility in the context with trade stands in stark contrast to Oslo's

egalitarian tuition-free policy. UM underscores its role as a 'knowledge institution' that

must live up to its 'role as a facilitator of the knowledge economy'. This entails

partnering with the private sector and participating in international networks.

> Our geographic location defines our identity and the south of Limburg is an inherently international region. We share natural linkages and a long history with the Aachen, Liege and Hasselt areas, which make us a culturally aligned Euregion. Belgium and Germany border the Netherlands and **trade adds up to €68 billion a year**, which makes both countries extremely important to the Dutch economy. **The free flow of people** within the European Union is an essential element that further **strengthens the economies of European countries and the Netherlands in particular** (Maastricht University, 2012).

> Knowledge institutions must more than ever live up to their **role as facilitators of the knowledge economy**. This is why we at Maastricht University are developing regional campus networks with our partners in the private and public sectors, expanding our activities across borders and participating in international networks: **to generate new jobs locally and to prepare our graduates for the global labour market** (Maastricht University, 2013).

EMI is a key facilitator of short term academic exchanges (e.g. Erasmus) in all

three universities; however, differences emerge in its use for varying strategic partnership

foci. UiO balances EMI's use for newly competitive aims to selectively partner with

'excellent' universities with traditional academic aims of exchange and development aid.

EMI is implemented at the University of Goettingen to enhance opportunities to

participate in prestigious international scientific partnerships and networks. Strategic

implementation objectives at Maastricht focus on the benefits of EMI reforms for

partnering with the private sector to enhance economic development.

All three universities emphasize utilizing English-medium reforms in efforts to increase institutional visibility on both national and international scales. Much of the visibility talk is aspirational. The three universities share a common goal of being recognized globally as 'world-class'. As demonstrated in the excerpts below, the University of Oslo aims to be seen as high quality and internationally engaged, the University of Goettingen aspires to be seen as a top global scientific research university; and Maastricht University strives for recognition in both national and international rankings.

University of Oslo

English-medium reforms at the University of Oslo assist in efforts to be recognized as a high quality academic research institution. Program offer is tied to ambitions to be seen as 'world-class' and a 'leading international' university. UiO notes aims to increase the 'international profile' of its educational programming in order to achieve 'relevance and a higher level of quality.' Choice of program offerings and recruitment are key aspects of attaining 'world-class' status.

> At an early point in the strategy period, faculties at UiO will be implementing their approved academic priorities for study programmes, especially with regard to pedagogical quality, ties to research, interdisciplinary approaches and internationalisation. **Programmes of study will play a role in promoting UiO as a world-class international university** (University of Oslo, 2010, p.8).

> A variety of different initiatives will contribute to UiO's efforts to **reach the level of leading international universities** with regard to the **choice of programme on offer**, the learning environment, the pedagogical quality and international student recruitment. During the period of the action plan, the faculties are expected to **develop the international profile of their study programmes** through facilitating greater student mobility and successful inclusion of international students in the learning environment**.** There is also a need for a clearer targeted recruitment of international students, and in particular of those

who will complete their entire master's degree at UiO (University of Oslo, 2012a).

All educational programmes will be given an **international profile** and cooperation with foreign institutions will be increased in order to **achieve greater relevance and a higher level of quality** (University of Oslo, 2010, p.6).

University of Goettingen

English-medium reforms assist in efforts at the University of Goettingen to be

seen as a top scientific institution on a global scale. Programs instructed in English are

utilized to recruit top talent in the hopes that they can strengthen the research capacity of

the university. The university aims to turn these efforts into scientific breakthroughs and

innovations that garner international recognition.

Göttingen University's strategy on internationalisation is aimed at achieving the goals defined in research and teaching, and thereby to **securing the international recognition** of the University of Göttingen in the long term (University of Göttingen, 2013).

This emphasis on international recognition has historical roots in efforts to regain

its prestigious academic position from the pre-WWII era. Here too is a focus on world-

class status, excellence, attracting and retaining quality talent.

Yet when our present status is compared to that of the particularly successful periods in our history, such as the Göttingen golden age of physics, mathematics and chemistry in the early 20th century, it becomes clear that the Georgia Augusta has lost some of its splendour. Until the late 1920s, coming to Göttingen was a 'must' for the best young physicists, mathematicians and chemists, to work with the great names of the day such as Born, Hilbert, Klein, Nernst, Noether, Prandtl, or Windaus; **today, in many areas of science and scholarship we can no longer entice the finest minds to this University and keep them here. We regard this as our University's principal weakness**…(University of Göttingen, 2007, p.66).

The measures planned in our Institutional Strategy build on existing strengths of our University and on its local and international networks. We are confident that implementation of these measures will bring about a marked acceleration of the

University's renewal process, and raise its attractiveness significantly. By means of the *Brain Gain* career model, the Georgia Augusta **should again become a first choice for the world's very best young minds**, as it offers a reliable career track based strictly on merit (University of Göttingen, 2007, p.66).

Göttingen University's **aim is to become, in a new form**, **what it was prior to 1933**: a world class university in which outstanding researchers work in a climate of cooperation and exchange, spurring each other on to attain excellence, and attracting and retaining the most talented junior researchers (University of Göttingen, 2007, p.18).

Maastricht University

English-medium reforms assist in efforts to be seen as cosmopolitan, unique, and a competitive player on both the national and international stages. UM's young age plays a role in its efforts to carve out a niche with regard to its European and international themed English-medium program offerings. Cosmopolitanism is closely tied with the city of Maastricht's aims to be seen as a top city in Europe. The city is known for the Maastricht Treaty, which marked the establishment of the European Union. English-medium reforms aid in the university's ambitions to be seen as an important economic contributor both locally and internationally. The university leverages its unique international focus to contribute to economic development initiatives. In this sense, knowledge is a 'commodity' that can be harnessed to further the development of the knowledge economy in the Netherlands, Euregion, and the province of Limburg.

Maastricht is the birthplace of the European Union. Both the city and the university embrace the culture of the "Erasmus generation" and its stress on **cosmopolitanism**, academic mobility and inter-institutional cooperation. We actively recruit students from target countries across Europe and the world (Maastricht University, http://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/web/Main/ProspectiveStudents/Bachelors/International/InternationalStudents/Baltics.htm).

Given the **Dutch economy's dependence on international trade and economic developments** we are convinced **our inherently international focus** will make a

137

crucial **contribution to Dutch well-being** in the future, near and far (Maastricht University, 2012, p.13).

The direction chosen in this strategic programme is based on the responsibility felt by Maastricht University– by virtue of its assigned responsibilities – towards the Dutch and European community. **Knowledge is one of the most important commodities in Dutch and European society**. **By delivering higher education graduates, providing jobs, developing new insights and generating economic activity, Maastricht University contributes to the further development of the knowledge economy in the Netherlands and the Euregion, as well as generating employment in the province of Limburg**. In this way, the university invests in fulfilling the social objectives of Dutch society. With its international student population, the international themes of its degree programmes and research, and the many international partnerships the university is involved in, **Maastricht University contributes to the process of turning Europe into an economic force that can measure up to the strongest knowledge economies in the world** (Maastricht University, 2007, p.13).

Increase Quality

The three universities share goals to utilize English-medium reforms to enhance education and research 'quality'. As detailed in document and website citations below, the universities under examination define indicators of quality as academic excellence (Oslo), research excellence (Goettingen), and recognition in international league tables (Maastricht).

University of Oslo

English-medium reforms are associated with providing quality education and research opportunities at the University of Oslo. Institutional documents reference attracting international students for the purposes of achieving 'academic excellence', 'ensuring high quality studies', and reinforcing 'research quality'. Enhancing programmatic quality is an important national focus that applies to both short-term exchange and master's full degree programs.

International students and researchers are **vital for academic excellence**. The University of Oslo cooperates with the best institutions for higher education around the world. We have many study programmes taught in English, attractive for students at all levels (University of Oslo, 2011, p.3).

UiO seeks to encourage increased mobility among our students, scholars and employees. Student exchange helps **ensure high quality of studies,** while the exchange of researchers is a key element in the efforts to maintain and reinforce the **quality of research**. UiO has approximately 40 English-language master's degree programmes and approximately 800 courses taught in English (University of Oslo, 2012b).

University of Goettingen

English-medium reforms at the University of Goettingen are targeted to achieve quality in research related activities. Quality research is a key focus at the local level that is in line with national and European ambitions. The University partners with prestigious local research institutes (e.g., Max Planck Institutes) to enhance both university attractiveness and competitiveness.

[Internationalization is] an instrument to enhance future recruitment of top-level international researchers and **to lead the University as a whole to greater research excellence**, internationalization offers Göttingen special opportunities – not least because the University's reputation is particularly high in international contexts (University of Göttingen, 2007, p.20).

Maastricht University

English-medium reforms directly impact the University's position in international league tables due to 'its improved scores for research quality (citations) and international outlook (i.e., percentage of international staff and students)'. Language skills are an integral component of Maastricht University's *Vision Document on Education Quality*. Educational quality is associated with 'professional level' English skills and the use of English 'both inside and outside the classroom'. At UM, international indicators are an important gauge of quality programming.

Quality is the key principle in Maastricht University's new strategic programme 'Inspired by quality 2011-2015'. We want to be a learning organisation, in order to sustain our high quality of education, research, staff, students and facilities. **We will constantly be aiming to improve our position as an attractive, high-quality institution with consistently strong national and international rankings** (Maastricht University, 2011, p.16).

According to the Times Higher Education (THE) World University rankings, Maastricht University is one of the top 100 universities worldwide. In the 2013/2014 edition of the THE rankings, UM has broken into the top 100, rising from 115th to 98th place. UM's rise in the world rankings is **mainly due to its improved scores for research quality (citations) and international outlook (e.g. percentage of international staff and students)**. The THE World University Rankings revolve around 13 strict and comprehensive performance indicators for education, research, knowledge transfer and internationalisation….In two prestigious rankings that list the **best universities worldwide under the age of 50**, UM scores very high grades. In the Times Higher Education 100 under 50, UM ranks 6th, making a sharp rise from 19th in 2012; in the QS 'top 50 under 50', UM ranks 7th (Maastricht University, http://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/web/Main/AboutUM/FactsFigures/RankingsAccreditations.htm).

UM graduates will have **professional level English language skills**; are culturally sensitive.UM graduates are distinctive because they have been a part of a multicultural academic community; have used English as a common language both inside and outside the classroom (Maastricht University, http://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/web/Main/Education1/OurTakeOnEducation.htm).

Research

As evidenced below, English-medium reforms contribute to wide ranging organizational research goals to participate in global research communities (Oslo); for international recognition via scientific innovations (Goettingen); and for the purposes of research for commercial benefits (Maastricht). Both Oslo and Goettingen express goals in their strategic plans to increase language skills and international competence of university scientific management.

University of Oslo

At the University of Oslo, English language skills are highlighted in both Strategy

2020 and the Action Plan for Internationalisation 2012-14 for their importance in

engaging in high quality research activities. The university offers English-medium

training for faculty heads to improve language skills for the purposes of international

academic engagement. The international scientific community's reliance on English as a

medium for research cooperation and publication has a direct impact on the university's

plan to offer EMI and staff language training.

> UiO will provide **English-medium training for international Heads of Research**…UiO's new training programme for Heads of Education must include international educational collaborations and the facilitation of international classrooms (University of Oslo, 2012a).

English-medium reforms assist with Oslo's aims to participate in the 'global

knowledge commons' to provide 'relevant responses' to global challenges and to

contribute to innovation efforts. 'International mobility and an increased focus on

strategic collaboration' are key elements in efforts to raise 'the standard of studies as well

as research'.

> Research is international by nature, and the research groups are engaged in wide-ranging international cooperation. At the same time there is a need to strengthen, focus on and facilitate intensified activity in studies as well as research...A key element of these efforts towards internationalization has consisted in enhanced international mobility and an increased focus on strategic collaboration. Both of these are essential for raising the standard of studies as well as research…Internationalization will enable us **to reap from, as well as contribute to, the global knowledge commons**, without losing our own profile and identity... UiO seeks to establish good long-term international relationships that promote quality, stimulate scientific progress and reinforce the interplay between research, education and innovation (University of Oslo, 2012b).
> The University of Oslo is Norway's largest research institution. Basic research constitutes the cornerstone of the University's ongoing development as a research university of high international standing. **We believe that excellence in research**

is a prerequisite for quality in university education, and that it is the key to the research community's ability to provide relevant responses to current challenges, to contribute to innovation, and to engage in public and international issues (University of Oslo, http://www.uio.no/english/studies/why-choose-uio/best/).

University of Goettingen

The emphasis on utilizing English-medium reforms for research purposes is a common thread throughout all the rationale categories listed above: attracting the best scientists and scholars to contribute to the university's research aspirations; internationalize the home campus in efforts to build an international research community; facilitate prestigious partnerships and networks; supporting image-building efforts internationally, and achieving research excellence. English-medium reforms are a tool for the university to provide quality 'research-oriented education' and serve as a pipeline for Ph.D. programs. Similar to UiO, Goettingen expresses interest in upgrading the 'international competence' of science management. Enhancing research status mirrors national efforts to maintain its position as a scientific leader in both the European and global communities.

> **Research-oriented education in an outstanding scientific environment is offered by the University with its approximately 80 Master's Degree programmes, of which 22 are taught in English**. The duration of study usually is four semesters. Some intensive programmes allow **transition into a Ph.D. programme** after three semesters. We continually increase the variety of bi-national Master's Degree programmes (University of Göttingen, 2011a).

> In an intensive exchange with partner universities and the Leadership Programme of the U4 group, **the University's science management is upgrading its international competence** and broadening its experience. Close partnerships between the directorates of universities offer important discussion platforms for consideration of the University's further strategic development. In addition, with the intention of assuming responsibility in a global scientific system, the directorate of the University of Göttingen will contribute actively to the

international dialogue on the politics of research and participate in the shaping of a European higher education and research area (University of Göttingen, 2013).

Maastricht University

Successful research endeavors contribute to 'reinforcing' Maastricht's position as a competitive research university. The University aims to produce 'knowledge workers' to contribute to a 'stronger regional economy'. The university aims for research outcomes and international student 'expenditures' to 'profit' the local economy. As such, it has a decided investment in 'valorisation' or revenue driven commercial research efforts. Research is conducted with international partners to produce 'innovative products' and expand into 'new markets'. Locally, UM engages in 'triple helix' cooperative projects between the university, government, and private sector.

> Education at Maastricht University is marked by innovation: we use progressive teaching methods and offer innovative academic programmes with subjects ranging from one end of the spectrum to the other. At the same time, **research is conducted in cooperation with international knowledge partners and businesses, and this leads to innovative products and services** (Maastricht University, 2010, p.3).

> UM continues to work hard to further **reinforce its position as a research university**. Crucial in this effort is the collaboration between government authorities, the business sector and knowledge institutions in the region, known as the **'triple helix'** formula. The 'Kennis-As Limburg' strategic programme will give the campuses on which all this takes place an extra boost**, resulting in a stronger regional economy**. More **knowledge workers**, new construction projects and businesses, **greater expenditure by more students** – the entire Limburg economy is **set to profit from these developments**….Joining forces with the government, business sector and knowledge institutions in the region gives rise to an optimal **climate for knowledge exchange and valorization**…(Maastricht University, http://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/web/Main/AboutUM/MissionStrategy/CampusDevelopment.htm).

> Both **contract research and valorisation** will be given a strong boost, not only to help the **university reduce its dependence on declining government funding** but also to **address these grand societal challenges** and **expand into new markets** (Maastricht University, 2012, p. 9).

Summary

In part one, *institutional discourse*, I examined the ways in which each of the three case universities 'talked' about organizational aims and objectives for implementing EMI reforms. The universities cite the use of English-medium reforms for similar general rationales: to attract students and staff who might not otherwise attend due to a language barrier; for internationalization at home purposes to diversify the learning environment and prepare domestic students for a work in a globalized world; to facilitate partnerships for academic and research exchange opportunities by providing a common academic language; to enhance research and educational quality; for visibility and status building purposes, and for enhanced institutional research efforts. However, a comparative examination of these rationales at each university shows different degrees of emphases within each of these broad rationale categories. The University of Oslo's strategic aims are focused on quality and there is a notable effort to balance EMI's use for global ambitions (aim to be world-class) with local needs (importance of internationalization at home). Oslo's recruitment and partnerships aims are moving in a more strategic direction, but the university retains more traditional aims to use EMI for development aid purposes. The University of Goettingen underscores EMI's use for targeted talent recruitment and global prestige ambitions. Goettingen's recruitment strategy strives to both attract and retain top scientific talent for local skilled migration purposes and for enhanced opportunities to partner strategically. In comparison to Oslo and Goettingen, Maastricht has a more marketized focus for EMI reforms. EMI is an integral aspect of this highly internationalized bilingual university that requires a seasoned professional recruitment strategy to sustain. In a time of decreased government funding, fees generated from

international students outside of Europe are a survival necessity. Economic development is a key objective of strategic reforms at Maastricht University.

<u>Institutional Decisions</u>

In part two of section one, I examine how the English-medium reform concept is translated into curricular *decisions* at the three case universities. This analysis is guided by the following questions: Is there any reference to English in the respective university language policies? At what degree level(s) are EMI programs offered? How does this compare to the number of degree programs offered in the native language? What disciplines offer these programs? Do EMI programs focus on international themes? Are they offered as joint degrees?

University Language Policy: Varying degrees of English language integration

English is promoted with varying emphases in each of the respective case university language policies. Language policies range from policy decisions to incorporate English as a primary language in university education and research (Maastricht) to decisions to identify English as the primary *foreign* language (Oslo) to an absence of overarching English language policy (Goettingen).

Maastricht University is a fully bilingual (English-Dutch) university. This bilingual distinction dates back to 1996 and is an integral part of the institution's profile. Adopting a bilingual policy assists with marketing the university's unique international character. As a young university, creating a niche was initially an effort in survival to attract sufficient numbers of students to the region. Today, the university's bilingual status is a fully integrated aspect of institutional identity as exemplified by the reference

to English as part of the 'backbone' of the university in institutional marketing materials (Maastricht University, 2013, p.43).

The University of Oslo follows a parallel-lingual policy where Norwegian is considered the primary language of instruction and English holds status as the primary *foreign* language. This university policy of parallel-lingualism mirrors national policy guidelines in Mål og meining: Ein heilskapleg norsk språkpolitikk (Goals and meaning: A comprehensive Norwegian language policy, 2008) and reinforces the 2006 Nordic agreement to protect the status of small languages. Reforms in the early part of the twenty-first century (i.e., Bologna Process, Norwegian Quality Reform) fueled the rapid expansion of English-medium instruction. National political debates ensued concerning the proper balance between Norwegian and English mediums of instruction in research and advanced education. These debates eventually led to the parallel-lingual policy. An excerpt from UiO's language policy is below.

> The University's language policy guidelines shall serve to help implement the University's strategic plan and its goal of being a research-intensive university of a high international calibre. The University of Oslo shall promote so-called **parallel-lingualism**. This means that Norwegian is to be nurtured as the primary language at the University, at the same time as linguistic diversity is encouraged, with English as the main foreign language.

The University of Goettingen has no formal English-language policy. Programs instructed in English are referred to as 'international study programmes.' This terminology is a legacy from national level DAAD initiatives dating back to 1996 to pilot English-medium programs for internationalization purposes (Earls, 2013). In nineties, many of these programs were instructed English at the outset of the program with gradual introductions of German language components as the programs progressed. Today, the university offers a select number of programs taught entirely in English and encourages

rather than requires learning the German language in efforts to attract talented students who want to study in English. Learning German is promoted as an 'added value' that assists students with participation in both the extended university and the local community and increases opportunities for work after graduation. Nationally, there has been a shift in strategy between 2008 and 2013 where English was not acknowledged in the 2008 national level internationalization documents to a strategy in 2013 where English and German were promoted as complementary to fulfill national efforts to recruit and retain top talent. In this sense, English is a tool to recruit and acquiring German is promoted as beneficial after arrival for integration and future work opportunities.

Degree Level: Focus on the master's level

English-medium programs are available at all levels of university education and in shorter term recruitment initiatives such as courses instructed in English for exchange students and international summer school programs. For comparative purposes, the following narrative focuses on the overall proportion of full-degree programs instructed in English in each of the three case site universities; however, the tables show institutional data counts. As it is difficult to compare institutional counts across universities due to different data definitions and institutional counting procedures, only the proportions will be discussed in the narrative. This provides a picture of the overall programming trends. Common to all institutions is a focus on providing English-medium programs primarily at the master's level; however, as the discussion below reveals, the three institutions provide different proportions of their programs in English.

Maastricht University-Majority of Master's Programs taught in English

The majority (over 80%) of Maastricht University's master's programs are instructed fully in English. Additionally, Maastricht is one of the few universities that offer a notable proportion of bachelor's programs taught in English. The bachelor's level is an area targeted for future expansion.

Table 5.1 Degree Programs by Language of Instruction 2008-2013 at Maastricht University

	2008-9	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13
Bachelor's-English	9	9	10	10	10
Bachelor's-Dutch or multi-lingual	7	7	7	7	7
Master's-English	47	45	55	53	53
Master's-Dutch or multi-lingual	9	8	8	8	8

Source: Maastricht University Corporate Brochures 2008-2013
Note: degree programs may contain multiple tracks

University of Oslo-Nearly Half of all Master's Programs Offered in English

A number of bachelor's level courses taught in English are offered at the University of Oslo for short-term exchange purposes; however as of 2013, the university did not offer any full-degree bachelor's programs instructed in English. The master's level data listed in the table below reveal nearly half of all master's programs are instructed in English at UiO.

Table 5.2 Degree Programs by Language of Instruction 2007-2012 at the University of Oslo

	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Master's-Norwegian	54	52	56	55	57	57
Master's-English	45	41	42	45	44	44

Source: The University of Oslo
Note: includes 1.5-2 year master's programs (90-120 credits); the data may contain programs partially taught in English

University of Goettingen-Majority of Master's Programs instructed in German

The majority of master's degree programs at the University of Goettingen are instructed in German. The University offers a select number of degree programs at both the bachelor and master levels instructed entirely in English. The first EMI bachelor degree program (Molecular Ecosystem Sciences, B.Sc.) was offered in 2013. Approximately twenty percent of all master's degrees are instructed in English.

Table 5.3 Degree Programs by Language of Instruction 2009-2013 at the University of Goettingen

	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Bachelor's-English	0	0	0	0	1
Master's - English	11	18	22	16	16
Master's German	-	-	-	~80	~80

Source: International and PhD Programs Study Guide 2009, 2011; International Student Guide 2010; international study programs website http://www.uni-goettingen.de/en/46551.html .
Note: The table above includes self-reported data in the 2009, 2010, & 2011 institutional study guides. These counts may include degree programs taught partially in English. The counts from 2012 and 2013 reflect author's counts from the institutional website which excluded degree programs that were partially taught in English.

Disciplinary Focus

The three case universities approach disciplinary offerings distinctly as well. The overwhelming majority of programs at Maastricht University are instructed in English, leaving a relative few programs instructed in Dutch. Oslo offers EMI programs in a comprehensive variety of disciplines; however, fewer programs are offered in the sciences. By contrast, Goettingen operates a primarily science focused strategy where the majority of all master's programs are offered in German and those offered in English are targeted towards the sciences. All three universities utilize international and/or European themed programs in English, as well as utilize English-medium programs for joint degree initiatives. They also share a commonality of offering locally-focused disciplines in the native language: law, medicine, psychology, and teacher training.

University of Oslo

The University of Oslo offers programs in English across a wide variety of disciplines; however, many of the traditional science disciplines (e.g., Biology, Chemistry, Physics) are offered as English-on-demand courses. For these courses, the medium of instruction depends on who registers for the course. For example, the course may be nearly entirely comprised of Norwegian students, but if one international student registers, the entire course switches to English. To date, the majority of programs in the sciences at UiO are instructed in Norwegian. This reflects a national debate on protecting native language science terminology. The University offers full-degree EMI options for international themed programs (e.g., Comparative and International Education; European Master in Health Economics and Management; Public International Law) and

development themed programs (e.g., International Community Health; Development Geography; Theory and Practice of Human Rights).

The University of Goettingen

The University of Goettingen targets its English-medium offerings towards the sciences (e.g. Molecular Biology, Molecular Medicine, Neurosciences). A number of English-medium master's degree programs are offered as double or joint degrees (e.g., International Agribusinesss and Rural Development, M.Sc.; Sustainable International Agriculture, M.Sc.; and Internet Technologies and Information Systems, M.Sc.). The university also offers European themed Erasmus Mundus English-medium programs (e.g., Euroculture, M.A.; Astromundus: Astronomy and Astrophysics, M.Sc.).

Maastricht University

At Maastricht University, the majority of all master's programs are instructed in English; consequently, English-medium programs are available in all faculties. The exceptions are related to local needs where English is not essential such as Dutch Law; Mental Health; Medicine; and Dutch teacher training. English-medium offerings center on international and European themes, e.g., European Public Affairs, European Public Health, International Business, and International & European Tax Law.

In sum, organizational decisions at all three case universities focus on expanding EMI offerings primarily at the graduate level. As of 2013, UiO did not offer any full degree EMI programs at the bachelor's level, the University of Goettingen offered one EMI program at the bachelor's level, while Maastricht University offered about half of its bachelor's programs instructed in English. The focus at the graduate level underscores EMI's use for competitive purposes to attract top talent and produce research and

enhance innovation opportunities. There were notable variations in organizational

decisions with regard to the proportion of master's programs offered as EMI degrees,

disciplinary offerings, and language policy. These variations reflect differences in

national language policies and national internationalization policy foci.

Institutional Practice

In the third and final part of section one, I examine how the decision to implement

English-medium reforms impacts case site universities 'on the shop floor.' The

implementation of the EMI reform concept into institutional *practice* reveals

contradictions between program aims espoused in institutional discourse, curricular

policy decisions, and what actually happens in practice. The analysis of the three case

universities demonstrates the complexity of implementing degree programs in non-native

languages. This is evidenced by the institutional challenges of teaching and learning in a

non-native language; integration issues with regard to decoupling between the bachelor

and master's levels and disconnects between policy intent and barriers; and finally,

unintended consequences within and outside the university community related to the

expansion of English-medium programs.

Teaching& Learning Issues

One of the oft-cited rationales for implementing English-medium reforms is to

increase the quality of education and research. However, in practice, program quality is

greatly affected by issues related to student and teacher English language preparedness,

conducting multilingual classrooms, and lack of appropriate student support structures.

Student & Teacher Preparedness

English-medium offerings are primarily situated at the master's level in all three case universities. University policy is geared towards international students demonstrating English language skills at the outset rather than an explicit outcome of the coursework. The universities require foreign students to provide proof of English language fitness via standardized testing such as TOEFL[32] or IELTS[33]. In this sense, English is used as a tool to facilitate an international classroom experience rather than an explicit academic objective.

English skills may improve as the program progresses, but institutional focus is on the assumption that students arrive with the proper language skills to participate in advanced programs. However, in practice, introducing complex academic concepts in a non-native language exposes disparities in student lecture comprehension. This can impact the overall quality of the program if students are unable to complete satisfactorily due to lack of appropriate academic language skills.

In addition to international students, there is an assumption at the policy level that domestic students arrive prepared for university level EMI work because they took English language courses in primary or secondary schooling. Domestic student preparation is particularly complicated by the offering of undergraduate education in the native language and graduate level education instructed in English.

---

[32] Test of English as a Foreign Language
http://www.ets.org/toefl?WT.ac=toeflhome_faq_121127

[33] International English Language Testing System https://www.ielts.org/

Issues related to the suitability of the instructor's English language skills are also a concern. The rapid expansion of English-medium programs can result in staffing issues. Initially, universities may have difficulties locating enough instructors to teach all the advertised English-medium programs and/or provide an adequate number of programs instructed in English. As a consequence, instructors with demonstrated English language proficiency may be asked to shoulder a large load of the EMI courses. Instructors report difficulties covering the same amount of material as they would in the same course in the native language due to extra time needed to clarify concepts or answer questions in multilingual classrooms. In addition to staffing issues, the level of English proficiency of some instructors may be called into question as students report difficulty understanding the version of English used in the classroom.

A final issue directly related to assumptions of preparedness is whether English language support structures are available on campus. All three universities have dedicated language centers on campus that offer courses in the native language (Dutch, German, Norwegian) to international students. However, support for the development of English-language skills is more difficult to ascertain. One explanation for this may be that universities operate under the assumption that students arrive with the necessary level of English necessary to successfully navigate advanced graduate programs. Both Oslo and Goettingen provide native language course options to students, but neither has dedicated support structures to attend to the needs of international students or domestic students who need English language skill support at the graduate level. However, Maastricht University is an exception as its Language Centre provides English language academic writing and presentation courses for Ph.D. and Master's students as well as English for

specific purpose support courses[34]. In Oslo, a similar language center initiative was discussed, but has not been realized as of 2013.

Classroom Language

In practice, the language instruction in the classroom may not adhere strictly to English. In Oslo, a program may be advertised as English-medium, but vary in language according to who attends. What is termed 'English on demand' denotes the course language switches depending on the composition of the classroom. In other words, a course could be comprised of majority Norwegian students and if one international student enrolls, the entire course may switch to English.

Master's degrees in both Biology and Chemistry are advertised online and in institutional documents as English-medium degrees, but a closer examination revealed these programs are offered in Norwegian with English-on-demand opportunities. Therefore, a degree program advertised in English at the University level may in fact be in Norwegian or both English and Norwegian languages at the faculty level. It may be possible to cobble together a number of courses instructed in English or complete certain tracks in English, but the overall degree is a Norwegian degree.

Classroom language may not strictly adhere to English, especially if the majority of students are in the native language. Language can switch when students ask questions in native language because they are not able to articulate it in English or if the professor needs to clarify concepts in the native language to facilitate comprehension for domestic students. This multilingual experience may extend to tutorial groups, labs, and small

---

34

http://www.maastrichtuniversity.nl/web/Misc/LanguageCentre/Themas/LanguageCourses/EnglishCourses.htm

discussion group language settings. These issues are evidence of 'growing pains' associated with the rapid expansion of English-medium reforms.

Maastricht University has a highly international student composition and long history of providing English-medium programs. The language in the classroom is more consistent than UiO as there is a majority in foreign students in the classroom resulting in the need for a common language. However, Maastricht experiences a different version of 'growing pains' when students from the same countries cluster (e.g. German with German) negating the intended international experience. The University is concentrating efforts on composing tutorial groups with a variety of geographical distinctions as part of the university's international classroom project. At the master's level, English is promoted as the primary language spoken both inside and outside the classroom in efforts to reduce clustering or language silos.

Integration issues

English-medium program expansion may lead to unintended consequences related to decoupling between undergraduate and graduate levels of university programming, disconnections between policy intent and barriers, and unforeseen ripple effects to the communities they serve.

Decoupling

Institutional focus on expanding English-medium programs at the master's level draws attention to issues of decoupling between the bachelor and master's levels. For most of the Continent, the bachelor's level has remained relatively insulated from English-medium reforms due to the perception of undergraduate education as national social responsibility to be offered in the native language for the purposes of serving the

local community. By contrast, the master's level is much more marketized, often associated with competitive ambitions.

In addition to complications related to the decoupling of the bachelor's level from the master's level, integration issues arise when English-medium programs are siloed within the university or at the department level. In this instance, EMI programs may be perceived as 'add-ons' or considered as a way to 'check the internationalization box'.

Disconnections between policy intent and barriers

Traditionally, international students returned to their home countries after graduation. Especially for students from developing countries this was seen as a beneficial move to build home country education and labor capacities and prevent brain drain. Today, a number of European nations are concerned about aging populations and the skills needed to participate in global knowledge economy. There is encouragement at the national level to provide English-medium programs to attract talented international students who can fill key labor shortage areas. However, in practice, coordination issues abound as policies in other sectors (visa/immigration, labor) may be barriers to entry. Transitioning to the local labor market may be hampered if the native language is not learned. This underscores the EMI paradox: using EMI to recruit scholars to serve local purposes, yet native language skills and local policy pathways to achieve these expressed goals are absent.

Ripple Effects

In addition to integration issues (decoupling degree levels, disconnections between policy intent and barriers) offering programs in English led to unintended ripple effects to university administrative operations as well as to the local community. The

expansion of English-medium programs led to operational adjustments for universities to provide websites and institutional documents in English. The support staff has been asked (or required) to increase their English-language skills and cultural competence for working with an increasingly diverse population. These ripple effects to university operations are exemplified by the following excerpts from each of the three universities below.

Oslo:

> UiO will make the university environment significantly more accessible to foreign students and employees through internal information in English and a **campus that is adapted to cater to English-speakers** (University of Oslo, 2012a).

> An international campus, a UiO **website more international in character**, and a **professional system for welcoming** and integrating international students and employees are important elements in promoting internationalisation at UiO (University of Oslo, 2010).

Goettingen:

> In the area of administration, a notable feature of the ongoing development is **the marked rise in international competence** on the part of the administrative staff. The University also provides numerous documents and much information **material of relevance in this context in the English language** (University of Göttingen, 2013).

Maastricht:

> The coming years will be marked by the process of strengthening the international character of UM. As the numbers of foreign students and staff are expected to increase, **the university will pay more attention to language proficiency in English and dealing with students and colleagues from a different cultural background** (Maastricht University, 2007, p.52).

> We will **make operational processes as student-centred** as possible; we will structure the supporting organisation in such a way that employees are enabled to optimally make use of one another's competences; we will continue streamlining the supporting services, resulting in a 'lean and friendly' organisation; **we will follow the 'English-unless' principle**; we will improve management

information; and we will renew the electronic working and learning environments (Maastricht University, 2012, p.9).

Community

Ripple effects extend beyond the university campus to the wider community where the university is located. For example, an increasingly English-speaking student and staff population influences local businesses to add English-speaking signs, shop workers, and restaurant menus to accommodate new clientele. The University of Goettingen's aspires to attract scientists and scholars from around the world which requires coordination of services with city of Göttingen for career services for academic spouses and international schools for children (see excerpts below).

> As an institution of higher education open to the world, it has a distinctive 'welcome culture' that is being further developed **in close cooperation with the city of Göttingen**, in specific measures such as a 'town office' at the University (University of Göttingen, 2013).

> In addition, the number and size of our international Master and Ph.D. programmes, currently 16 with slots for 521 students, will be increased. By 2010, the University expects to have 28 international degree programmes with about 800 students. The conditions for foreign students will be improved by means of a Welcome Centre catering to the special needs of foreign students and academics. Supported out of overhead funds, it will expand existing services and cooperate with the international study programmes, the International Student Centre, **the City of Göttingen (Dual Career Service, International School)** and the Service Centre for Third-Party Funded Research (University of Göttingen, 2007,p.23).

In addition to services, financing questions are raised in communities that still heavily subsidize international students. To what extent should local communities financially support increasing populations of students who may or may not transition to jobs locally? On a related note, additional questions are raised regarding the university's ability to serve local students if increasing proportions of programs are instructed in English. Both of these lines of questioning grapple with issues of balance: how many

EMI programs are appropriate and are these programs serving local students and communities?

All three universities encountered similar challenges with regard to EMI implementation in practice: teaching and learning issues; program and student integration issues; disconnects between policy intent and barriers; and unintended consequences within and outside the university community related to the rapid expansion of EMI. These issues highlight contradictions between program aims and objectives expressed in institutional discourse, organizational policy decisions, and reform implementation 'on the shop floor'. All three universities aim to provide quality educational and research activities that will be recognized on an international stage. However, quality is undermined when attention is not paid to preparatory graduate level English language skills and/or campus support structures are not in place to assist with remedial language or academic writing skills. EMI reforms affect all aspects of the university including education, research, and administration. Integration issues are evident in all three universities. The transition between the bachelor and master level as well as connectivity issues with other policy sectors was noted.

In sum, the findings from the analysis of organizational discourse, decisions, and practice revealed that the three universities implemented EMI reforms in broadly similar ways, yet varying degrees of distinctiveness in EMI reform implementation were apparent at the organizational level. On the one hand, we see similarities in broad rationales (attract students and staff, facilitate partnerships, enhance research opportunities, etc.), decisions (focus on graduate level) and practices across diverse contexts. On the other, we increasingly realize that local distinctiveness is evident in EMI

program development (e.g., who they aim to attract as a student or partner and to what degree EMI drives overall institutional strategy). Therefore, they can be considered localized variants of a wider field model.

Comparative Organizational EMI Approaches

In section two, *comparative organizational EMI approaches*, the analytic framework for institutional logics (Table 4.3) is applied to evaluate the ways in which field level frames are reflected in EMI reform design and implementation in the three case site universities. Organizational approaches to the implementation of the EMI reform concept illuminate how EMI is conceptualized and materialized in the various settings and the logics that are emphasized reveal overall university EMI strategies. In the *collegial* approach exemplified by the University of Oslo, English-medium reforms are implemented to enrich educational quality and interact with the world from the geographic periphery. In the *targeted* approach exemplified by the University of Goettingen, English-medium reforms are targeted towards recruitment of top scientific talent and efforts to gain global prestige. Finally, in the *market* approach exemplified by Maastricht University, English-medium reforms are utilized to sustain a highly internationalized population, visibility, and for economically driven purposes. A comparative framework (Figure 5.1) is presented later in section two as a tool to explain university response to contending pressures in their organizational environment during the EMI implementation process. Each of the three axes in the comparative framework underscores a tension universities must resolve when crafting EMI strategies, policies, and practices.

The University of Oslo: A Collegial Approach

The University of Oslo is Norway's oldest and largest university. In line with national policy recommendations, the university adopted a parallel-lingual language policy where the native language, Norwegian, is the primary language of instruction and English holds status as the main foreign language. This mirrors both the Norwegian and Nordic language policies to protect the status of less internationally spoken languages. In the collegial approach, English-medium programs are shaped by a strong academic logic that focuses organizational attention to implementing EMI for the purposes of enhancing the academic environment. In this sense, the international experience is perceived as a key aspect of learning enrichment. The academic logic underscores EMI's use for the purposes of development aid, facilitating student flows, and internationalization at home efforts.

Early English-medium offerings at UiO were initiated for development aid purposes through a national initiative, the Quota Scheme, offered by the Norwegian government to fund students from developing countries in the global South and countries in the Western Balkans, Eastern Europe, and in Central Asia for the full duration of their degree process. At UiO, Quota Scheme programs are conducted in English due to the language proficiencies of students from qualified countries and return policies of the program. The main objective of the Quota Scheme is to contribute to capacity building through education that will benefit the students' home countries both economically and socially. As such, these students are expected to return to their home counties upon graduation in efforts to prevent brain drain.

In Norway, education is considered a public good and this extends to the international student population as evident in the University's decision to offer tuition- and fee-free education for international students participating in EMI programs. This reflects the Norwegian society's egalitarian values and notions of providing quality education as a social responsibility. International students are perceived to contribute to a flourishing international campus experience. Norway is one of the rare few that has held on to traditional education-as-public good policies as many previously fee-free countries (e.g. Sweden) have changed policies in recent years to charge differential fees for those outside Europe.

The expansion of EMI outside of the national development aid project was initiated as a bottom-up process by academic instructors to facilitate individually organized projects. The key drivers in the large scale expansion of these programs were international reforms via the Bologna Process and national reforms via the Norwegian Quality Reform. Both Bologna and the Quality Reform encouraged institutional expansion of EMI offerings to facilitate new exchange opportunities. The ad hoc organization of EMI programming at the University of Oslo can be explained by a combination of bottom-up initiatives by individual faculty and the influence of increased exchange responsibilities and/or opportunities at the national and international levels.

Today, over half of UiO's master's programs are instructed in English. This serves to enhance attractiveness for both exchange and full-degree students from across the globe who may not otherwise attend due to a language barrier. To-date, the bachelor's level has remained insulated from full degree EMI programming. Economic logics are not a strong presence in the collegial approach exemplified by UiO. No

formally developed plans exist to utilize EMI initiatives for skilled migration and the more economic notions of student mobility. Norwegian language course offerings are available to international master's students, but there is not a requirement (or expectation) to learn Norwegian as the wider community in Oslo is able to communicate in English and international students traditionally traveled outside Norway to work after graduation. University of Oslo is one of the rare universities that does not charge tuition, so purely monetary motivations are not decisive factors in English-medium offerings.

A leading rationale for attracting an increasing number of students from around the globe is their academic contributions to education and research on the home campus. Oslo aims to attract 'well qualified 'international students to strengthen UiO 'communities' in efforts to 'ensure high quality of studies and research'. The University intends to create an international environment for students in efforts to create 'global citizens' as attracting international students 'contribute new perspectives to our learning and expertise'. However, an examination of EMI programs in practice reveals 'growing pains' associated with the rapid expansion of these programs. Issues related to student and teacher preparedness, multiple languages in the classroom, problematic English-on-demand offerings, program integration issues, and lack of appropriate support structures impact the quality of these programs and undermine policy intent.

At UiO 'global perspectives' are influential in strategic aims to be 'more visible, attractive, and involved internationally'. UiO has long history of cooperation with Nordic neighbors and is an active participant in European initiatives. Norway's position on the geographic periphery of Europe plays an important role in visibility efforts on a global scale. Cooperative logics underscore Oslo's use of EMI as a vehicle to interact with the

academic world. UiO provides opportunities for Heads of Research at the university to receive English-language training to assist in these efforts to interact and contribute to 'the global knowledge commons'. English skills are perceived as critical for top research positions as they assist with the university's strategic interest to increase participation in international research collaborations.

Although, academic and cooperative rationales are driving influences for EMI programming at the University of Oslo, they have been increasingly accompanied by competitive rationales. On the one hand, EMI is utilized for enriching the quality of the learning environment by providing at-home experiences for domestic students, development aid, and exchange. UiO's EMI reforms provide opportunities to interact with academic community, learn from skilled researchers through research projects, and contribute academically on an international scale.

On the other hand, EMI fulfills increasingly competitive aims to recruit talented students, vie for prestigious partnerships, and engage in image-building initiatives to promote UiO as a 'world-class' university of high quality. The logic of competition is emphasized in the university's ambitions to attain 'leading international' university status. English-medium offerings contribute to these efforts by increasing visibility internationally through recruitment efforts, publications in international journals, and positioning in international league tables.

Institutional recruiting efforts are new to the University of Oslo as the university implemented its first recruitment strategy in 2013. While the university engages in a large number of cooperative exchange agreements, recruitment of full degree students from abroad is newly centralized. The strategy highlights the importance of EMI to its efforts

to attract international students (particularly to the master's level) and denotes future plans for expansion of these programs. The recruitment plan emphasizes the importance of international students to fill student positions especially in science and technological disciplines that would otherwise be vacant.

Finally, competitive logics manifest in ambitions to enhance network alliances to attract the best international projects, researchers, and students. UiO aspires to be 'more selective and purposeful' in future partnering. Participating in international academic networks at UiO is a strategic move to build university alliances with 'excellent universities'. These alliances are efforts to collaborate for academic purposes (increasing quality) and for the competitive purposes of talent recruitment and large scale research funding opportunities (EU Grand Challenges). In addition to partnering with the 'best', UiO focuses on building alliances with developing countries from the global South. Oslo's competitive logics are mediated by the lack of revenue aims outside of competitive research funding. International cooperation is viewed primary as a way to enhance institutional quality which, in turn, will influence publication citations and funding awards.

The University of Goettingen: A Targeted Approach

The University of Goettingen, founded in the age of enlightenment, has a long tradition of engagement in research-oriented education. Prior to WWII, the University was considered one of the top universities in the world for math and science; however, this changed in 1933 when talented students and faculty members were forced out under Nazi rule. Today, the university coordinates a number of efforts to regain its prestigious position from the pre-WWII era. In 2007, the University of Goettingen was selected as

one of nine universities in Germany to win funding during the first round of the German

Excellence Initiative. As part of the university's strategy submitted for this competitive

process, the university detailed plans to increase academic and research excellence by

recruiting and retaining top scientific talent. Recruitment efforts include coordination

with a network of extra-university research institutes (e.g., Max Planck Institutes) in the

local area, as well as increasing EMI offerings. These initiatives contribute to ambitions

to compete academically on a global scale. These goals and ambitions are in line with

the guiding policies of the 'Alliance' of leading education and research associations that

act as counselors for the German government and Federal Ministry of Education and

Research (BMBF) in the policy field of science and academic education (Bhandari,

Belyavina, & Gutierrez, 2011). These influential intermediary organizations include

DAAD, DFG (German Research Foundation), AvH (Alexander von Humboldt

Foundation), HRK (German Rectors' Conference), GWK (Joint Science Conference), and

KMK (Standing Conference of the Ministers of Education and Cultural Affairs).

Academic and cooperative logics underpin EMI's use as a tool to coordinate

experts from across the globe for the purposes of joint academic research. The first

English-medium programs at the University of Goettingen were initiated in the faculty of

Forestry as part of an international scientific research project conducted in the tropics.

EMI programs in the sciences were a natural extension of these epistemic collaborations

as science communities were pioneers of using English as a common language to

publicize research findings.

Academic and competitive logics have been influential in the design of these

programs dating back to their introduction on a national scale in the mid-nineties.

Programs instructed in English at University of Goettingen are referred to as 'international study programmes.' This terminology is a legacy from DAAD funded projects in 1996 to pilot English-medium programs for internationalization purposes. EMI offer was initiated to access untapped international student flows to retain Germany's position as one of the world's leading international student receptors. These programs were typically structured as phased programs (instructed in English at the beginning of the program with gradual additions of German language components as the programs progressed). Phased programs incorporated German both for integration purposes and as a protective measure to maintain the status of the German language in academia. The introduction of degree structure reforms in 2002 via the Bologna Process and Bologna's emphasis on mobility furthered the expansion of EMI.

Today, the University of Goettingen offers twenty percent of its master's programs taught entirely in English for the full program duration. The university offers a smaller overall proportion of EMI compared to the other two case site universities. While the proportion of English-medium degree programs at the university is growing, the overwhelming majority of master's degree programs are taught in German. There are calls for more bachelor level courses in English to fulfill exchange agreement requirements however; full-degree bachelor's programs have remained relatively insulated from EMI expansion.

The University of Goettingen does not have a formal English-language institutional policy in contrast to the bilingual (English-Dutch) approach at Maastricht and parallel-lingual (Norwegian, English) approach at Oslo. It is likely English-medium programs will remain in the minority as there is a reluctance nationally to switch the

majority of programs at any level to English. In comparison to the other two case sites, EMI programs are targeted to a specific niche rather than being an integral part of institutional identity (Maastricht) or ad hoc academic programming offerings (Oslo).

Integration issues (programmatic silos) in practice are often an unintended consequence when EMI programs are offered as a minority of all programs. However, as internationalization and talent recruitment issues have become more central to institutional objectives, the University implemented services adapted to this population such as dual career services and international schools for children. Although German language components are no longer required for EMI programs, they are encouraged (learning German is an added value) in efforts to reduce programmatic and student silos, as well as for work opportunities in Germany after graduation. This echoes the 2013 national strategy which promotes English and German as complementary.

Similar to the University of Oslo, academic logics shape the utilization of EMI for internationalizing the home campus in efforts to prepare students for work on a global labor market and to facilitate exchange. Students from across the globe are perceived to diversify the classroom experience and can aid in ambitions to build an international research community on campus.

Economic logics are evident in the charging of tuition and fees for international students (non-EU/EEA). Tuition is less than a thousand euros per semester and financial aid is available for the most talented. Although fees are charged, tuition is low especially when compared to Maastricht University; therefore, revenue is not an important driver for the creation of EMI programs at the University of Goettingen. Instead, the university focuses on recruiting and retaining top scientists and scholars for the purposes of skilled

migration. EMI programs serve a dual role of academic enrichment through a diverse classroom experience and an economic role through the recruitment of top talent for the purposes of skilled migration.

Competitive logics are evidenced in the use of EMI to gain a competitive advantage. English-medium programs have evolved and expanded in recent years due to the increased strategic aims to use EMI beyond simply facilitating flows, but to also use them as a strategic tool to attract the 'best', forge prestigious partnerships, and to increase visibility on a global scale. A key strategic objective of the university is to attract talented young researchers to the university; English-medium programs at the graduate level are certainly a targeted, facilitating tool in this effort. The primary focus is not recruiting students for survival purposes as Germany has traditionally been a large international student receptor, but for attracting the 'best' who can contribute to the university's image-building aspirations.

The university explicitly discusses reform aims in its institutional strategy to increase the proportion of faculty from abroad, foreign students, and junior researchers to contribute to the scientific research and teaching focus. The strategy targets attracting the 'brightest' and retaining the 'most talented' and 'exceptional' scientists and scholars. Consequently, the disciplinary offerings for English-medium programs are distinctly targeted towards the sciences (e.g. Molecular Biology, Molecular Medicine, Neurosciences). In addition, a number of science-based EMI programs are offered for cooperative academic purposes as double or joint degrees (e.g., International Agribusinesss and Rural Development, Sustainable International Agriculture, and Internet Technologies and Information Systems). Erasmus Mundus and select joint

degrees are considered highly prestigious which underscores the strategic nature of EMI offerings at the University.

In addition to recruiting the best scientists and scholars, EMI is leveraged to attract the best international partnerships. Cooperative logics are important for engaging in joint research projects and researcher exchange, but compared to the University of Oslo, there is more emphasis on the competitive notions of partnering for strategic purposes. Importance is placed on expanding prestigious international networks at the University of Gottingen with 'carefully selected' partners. These alliances are targeted to enhance institutional visibility, position, and reputation on an international scale. As part of this strategic international approach, the University's science management is tasked to upgrade its 'international competence.'

The competitive logic focuses organizational attention towards using EMI for strategic connections to international research groups with goals towards enhancing scientific publication and funding opportunities. Influential partnerships assist with efforts to participate in competitive international research projects, i.e. EU Grand Challenges, that address complex scientific issues (climate change, pandemics, food safety, clean energy). Furthermore, EMI is utilized to enhance the university's position as a leading regional contributor in neighborhood ERA and EHEA activities, as well as abroad to assist with partnering initiatives with emerging economies and developed nations with leading scientific communities.

Thus, academic and competitive logics are key players in this targeted approach. EMI filtered through these logics emphasize EMI's use as a tool to accomplish the

academic prestige agenda. The expansion of these programs was due to their strategic use in the university's goals to be perceived as a scientific powerhouse on a global scale.

Maastricht University: A Market Approach

Maastricht University 'explicitly opts for an international profile'. The University is highly internationalized university with 45% of students and 30% of staff originating from outside the Netherlands. Over 80% of all programs at the master's level are instructed in English and the university is one of the select few who offer a considerable number of English-medium bachelor's programs. Students choose from an array of European and international themed EMI programs; e.g., European Public Affairs, International Business, and International & European Tax Law.

The reasons for the inception of the university, however, are decidedly less global in character. Maastricht is a young university, founded in the mid-1970s to fulfil a national shortage of medical personnel and to revive the southern Limburg region after the local mining industry declined. At the time, the University was a coup for a region in need of both economic development and increased relevance on a national scale. The orientation of the university was geared towards serving local needs and reviving the immediate local area.

Maastricht University is located in the 'appendix' of the Netherlands bordering Belgium to the South and Germany to the East. UM is considered one of the pioneers of English-medium instruction reforms on the Continent. English-medium programs began in the eighties with a single International Management program. Initially, the program was a joint venture with neighboring universities in Germany and Belgium and instructed in each of the respective languages. However, the multi-lingual instructional component

and varied instructional locations proved too difficult to sustain at the time; as a consequence, the program remained at Maastricht with the course architect and shifted to use a common language, English, as the medium of instruction. This new format proved successful and soon other programs in the business faculty followed suit to offer programs in English. The success of the business faculty in both recruitment and recognition was noticed by other faculties within the university which led to a gradual expansion of English-medium programs on campus.

Nationally, the university is located far from the Dutch Randstad[35] area where top national universities and businesses are located. This area is a traditionally popular destination selected by students to undergo university education. As a consequence of both the university's young age and location away from the Randstad, the university experienced difficulties recruiting sufficient numbers of students within the Netherlands.

In response to these challenges, University administration decided to carve out a niche for the university as an 'international' institution. To accomplish this, the University expanded programs in English, offered programs with unique European and international themes, and focused on student centered learning initiatives-all of which were unique compared to the universities in the Randstad. EMI played a key role in the strategy to drastically differentiate to compete for students, staff, and institutional survival. In effect, what began as a niche offer moved centrally to become an integral

---

[35] The Randstad is an industrial and metropolitan conurbation in the Netherlands that consists of the four largest Dutch cities (Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague, Utrecht) and surrounding areas. The cities form a 'rim' around parklands known as the Groene Hart (Green Heart). http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/491085/Randstad

aspect of overall organizational strategy. The impetus of this strategy was for institutional survival; it is now promoted as a central point of prestige.

Today, English-medium initiatives are a fully integrated part of organizational identity as evidenced by institutional definitions as a 'fully bilingual university' and references to the university's bilingual identity as part of the 'backbone' of the university. UM markets itself as the 'most international university in the Netherlands'. Both EMI and the highly internationalized student body feature prominently in marketing materials key reasons to 'opt' for the university.

As with the other two case sites, academic logics underpin EMI's use for enriching the 'at home' learning environment. At UM, classrooms and tutorial groups with a high international composition are perceived to enhance learning because students are 'confronted with different ways of thinking and different viewpoints that would remain unexplored if the tutorial group were more homogenous in composition.' In practice, international student clustering (e.g., German with German) is an identified issue which negates the purpose of the 'international classroom'; however, the university is taking steps to rectify this by purposefully differentiating tutorial groups in order to provide opportunities for diverse cultural interactions and enhanced English language skills. Both are viewed as critical for global labor market prospects. In the case of the market approach exemplified by UM, the influence of academic logics serves to buffer the commodification of EMI.

Competitive logics are a significant influence in Maastricht's market approach. Maastricht's strategy to offer a majority of EMI programs is targeted toward recruitment of 'sufficient numbers' and 'talent'. In turn, the university markets that the high

international composition and experiences in the international classroom help make the student 'distinctive' on the global labor market. The highly internationalized composition of UM's student and staff population requires a professionalized recruitment strategy to sustain. This strategy is based on 'market research' and recruitment 'choices based with regard to UM's positioning'. Competitive logics underscore EMI's use for status building efforts. At Maastricht, an indicator of quality is good standing in national and international rankings. EMI reforms directly impact the University's competitive position in international league tables due to 'its improved scores for research quality (citations in top international journals) and international outlook (percentage of international staff and students)'.

However, the recruitment of large numbers of international students and staff is not without its complications. Ripple effects to university operations and the local community are an unintended consequence of large scale English-medium offerings. Questions were raised to whether the community should financially support large numbers of EU/EEA area students who typically leave the city after graduation (EU reciprocity is traditionally seen as a public good but to what extent) and whether the local student population is appropriately served. In response, Maastricht University promoted its international strategy as beneficial to local economic development by focusing on the economic contributions of students and staff.

A distinguishing factor of the market approach to EMI design is its emphasis on economic logics. In an era of declining government funding, financial gains are recouped from differential fees charged to international (non-EU/EEA) students who attend EMI programs. The 2007-10 strategic plan expressly notes the importance of recruiting

sufficient numbers to meet UM budget needs. Recruitment of students and staff from abroad is perceived to increase the competitiveness of the university which will in turn increase opportunities to secure indirect funding and enhance commercially based valorization efforts. Maastricht 'intends to be a key player in the region' by producing 'knowledge workers' to contribute to a 'stronger regional economy'. The university invests in revenue driven commercial research efforts where research outcomes are utilized to 'profit' the local economy. The tight coupling of competitive and economic logics mirroring national policy serves to enhance Maastricht's market orientation: professionalized international recruitment initiatives, the use of top talent recruits to increase opportunities for commercial research/third party funding, and improving the organization's position in global rankings.

Economic logics are influential to the market approach due to their link with the country's historic trade agenda. Maastricht's close proximity to and interaction with neighboring Belgium and Germany enhances economic opportunities. Facilitating mobility within the EU is perceived as an 'essential element that further strengthens the economies of European countries and the Netherlands in particular'. In addition to Dutch and European objectives, EMI is used to access new developing markets, with a 'special emphasis given to BRIC countries such as India and China'. Dutch higher education policy is integrated with Trade and Industry policy nationally. This integration transmits knowledge-based economy discourses for universities to be more innovative, entrepreneurial, and competitive.

Finally, building an international network of global partners is a key strategic aim of Maastricht University as international network formation is perceived as important for

future recognition and stability of university. This allows for connections to 'international knowledge partners and businesses' which in turn may 'lead to innovative products and services.' A key motivator to offer EMI at Maastricht University is EMI's use for strengthening regional cooperation and the regional economic structure. Compared to the University of Gottingen, networks in the Maastricht's market approach are less about targeting prestige and positioning aims and more about making connections to secure future economic stability. Locally, the university engages in a 'triple helix' economic development strategy with both government and the private sector.

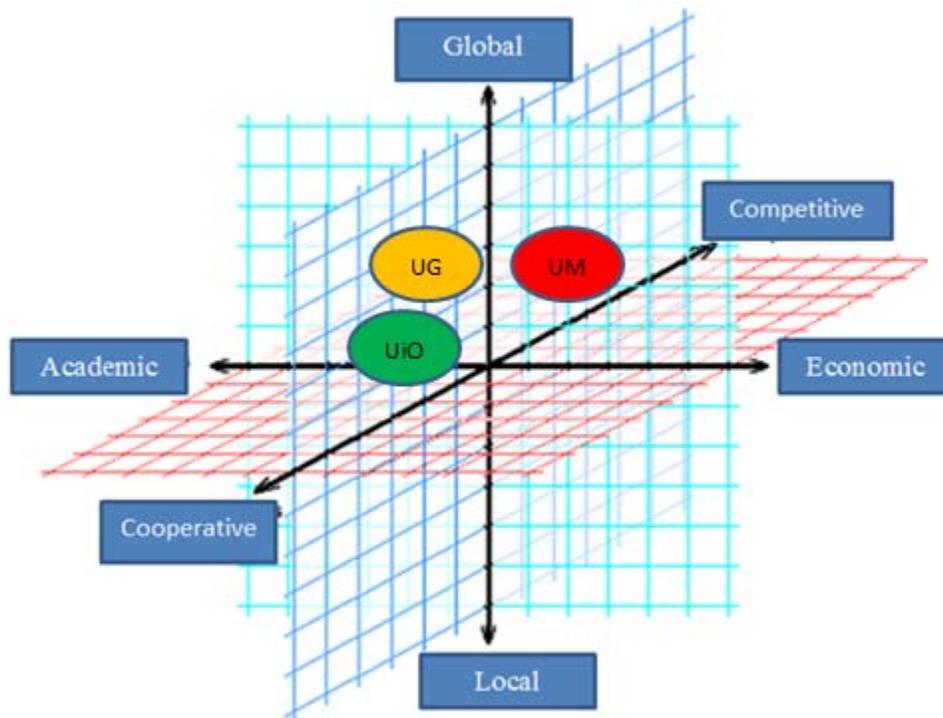**Comparative Framework: Institutional Complexity in the EMI Implementation Process**

Each individual case underscores the importance of interpretation and context to organizational EMI approaches. However, it is only when we examine the universities in a comparative manner that we begin to understand why each of these organizations adopted its respective organizational approach. A comparative framework is introduced in this section to compare similarities and differences in university approaches to EMI implementation. The previous analysis revealed the three case universities embraced all six logics, yet they produced three distinct organizational approaches to EMI reform implementation (collegial, target, market). Given these findings, I argue that a way to understand how higher education organizations implement widespread international reform concepts, such as EMI, is to assess organizational interpretations of axial tensions between institutional logics in the EMI implementation process.

The institutional complexity perspective offers a way to understand how identified patterns of organizational behaviors are guided by perpetually competing institutional logics.

Organizational EMI approaches are a result of the negotiation between field-level tensions and micro-level context. Thus, it is the organization's interpretations of these logics, i.e., their consideration of both local issues and field-level guiding frames that give rise to a particular EMI reform approach.

I conceptualize the six EMI logics arranged in pairs to form three axial tensions: academic-economic; cooperative-competitive; and global-local. These pairings underscore organizational tensions for the 'best' way to organize EMI reforms. The comparative framework (see Figure 5.1) is presented below as a tool to explain how universities respond to contending pressures in their organizational environment. Each axis underscores a tension higher education organizations face when crafting EMI strategies, policies, and practices. Organizational responses to institutional complexity are a result of organizational interpretations of contending logics in accordance to the local context. Thus, these tensions provide an interpretive window for universities to organize reforms in ways that are legitimate to both their local and field level contexts.

Figure 5.1 Comparative Framework: Organizational Response to Institutional Complexity in the EMI Implementation Process

The comparative framework accounts for the complexity inherent to the interpretation and implementation of the EMI reform concept. It can be utilized to examine similarities and differences in university response patterns. Each of the six logics at the poles of the axes represents an ideal type or pure case scenario. The comparative framework is multidimensional, extending along three axes: academic-economic; cooperative-competitive; and global-local. Universities are positioned in different places along these axes, implying that each university has its own response for engaging in EMI reforms. The framework can be used to map individual organizational response as well as for comparative purposes to analyze multiple organizational responses. Tensions may 'peacefully coexist'; therefore, although these tensions are

organized at the poles, they are not necessarily contentious or mutually exclusive. Most

likely, organizations will lie somewhere along these continua representing a blend of

logics; thus, organizational positions are an individualized mix of the three axes. These

positions on the axes are not static and may change over time as organizations (re)balance

priorities.

As indicated in the analysis, organizations in this study embraced both logics on

each axial tension. In this sense, organizations utilize EMI for both academic and

economic purposes, both cooperative and competitive aims, and both global and local

purposes. It is the organization's interpretations of these logics, i.e., its consideration of

both local issues and field-level logics that give rise to a particular reform approach. It is

only when we see these universities in a comparative manner that we are able to better

understand that universities are not simply enacting scripts from the field-level or

organizing according to local contextual preferences alone. Tensions between field-level

logics allow universities to negotiate a reform approach that is legitimate to both local

and field contexts. Thus, universities exert a degree of agency within the defined field

structure.

The influence of cooperative aims underpinning the European Union's integration

initiatives in tandem with Europe's increasingly competitive aims underscored by both

the Bologna Process and Lisbon Strategy agendas produce tensions for the best way to

organize that must be resolved at the organizational level. The competitive agenda

influenced the rapid expansion of EMI over the last decade in Europe, but this is layered

onto a history of using EMI for cooperative purposes. These tensions between field-level

logics allowed the case site universities an interpretive window to organize EMI reforms

according to the local contextual preferences for cooperative and competitive aims. This is exemplified by varying emphases of EMI's use for cooperative and competitive aims at the three case site universities. The case universities utilize EMI for cooperative purposes to facilitate partnerships and all three note competitive uses for EMI to engage in more strategic partnerships and programs offerings at the advanced graduate level; however, by comparison the University of Oslo retains a more traditionally Continental approach to EMI engagement for cooperative aims to build partnerships for the purposes of mutual understanding, knowledge exchange, and to facilitate joint international research projects. Both the University of Goettingen and Maastricht University use EMI for similar cooperative aims, but in addition, they employ EMI for more defined competitive recruitment purposes. Competitive recruitment is a reflection of the knowledge-based discourse encouraged at the European level. Goettingen's approach targets EMI offerings to the sciences in efforts to recruit 'exceptional' scientists and junior scholars, while Maastricht's highly international student and staff composition requires a recruitment strategy that can both sustain numbers and attract talent.

Historically, 'the market' had limited influence on European higher education because the majority of modern universities in Europe were created and funded by the state. Over time, market oriented messages from the field level have intruded on traditional notions of higher education as a public good. These messages are received by an increasingly number of national governments who have in response shifted from publically funding higher education to considering it a private good benefitting the individual who is, in turn, expected to financially contribute. These tensions between EMI's purpose for academic aims or economic aims are evidenced to varying degrees at

181

the three case site universities. All three case universities use EMI for academic purposes

through internationalization at home initiatives, but economic purposes are more

pronounced in both the University of Goettingen and Maastricht University's EMI

approaches. The University of Goettingen's organizational attention is focused on EMI's

use for skilled migration purposes in the science and technology fields, while Maastricht

University's focus is on EMI's use to attract students and staff for economic development

and revenue generating purposes. Maastricht's intensive focus on economic development

is reflected in national policy aims.

Finally, organizational position relative to the global-local axis details slight

differences in EMI's use for more globally focused or local purposes. All three

universities use EMI for relatively balanced global and local purposes. Traditionally,

higher education initiatives were focused on attending to local responsibilities. As

globally oriented frames enter the field, universities have increasingly initiated reforms to

position themselves internationally. The University of Oslo engages in EMI for global

purposes to interact with the world from the geographic periphery, yet Oslo's

organizational approach is balanced by EMI's use for local responsibilities to prepare

domestic students for a globalized workforce and to diversify the campus environment.

Both the University of Goettingen and Maastricht University use EMI for these purposes,

but also for additional globally focused goals related to enhanced international status,

rankings position, and to access the benefits associated with internationally published

research.

Summary

Chapter 5 detailed a two part analysis: (i) an analysis of how the EMI reform was conceptualized and materialized at the organizational level in efforts to determine whether universities in Northern Europe were converging towards a similar EMI reform model and (ii) an analysis of institutional logics in the EMI reform implementation process to explain why these organizations adopted forms and behaviors in ways that respond to the organization's embedded context.

In section one, Pollitt's analytic frame was used to examine the degree of convergence of the EMI reform concept into organizational discourse, decisions, and practice in three Northern European universities in leading EMI provider countries. The analysis revealed that the three universities implemented EMI reforms in broadly similar ways, yet varying degrees of distinctiveness in EMI reform implementation were apparent at the organizational level. On the one hand, we see similarities in broad rationales (attract students and staff, facilitate partnerships, enhance research opportunities, etc.), decisions (focus on graduate level) and practices across diverse contexts and on the other, we increasingly realize that local distinctiveness is evident in EMI program development. Therefore, the universities can be considered localized variants of a wider field model.

Organizational approaches to the implementation of the EMI reform concept illuminate how EMI is conceptualized and materialized in various settings and the elements that are emphasized reveal overall EMI reform implementation strategies. In the *collegial* approach exemplified by the University of Oslo, English-medium reforms are implemented to enrich educational quality and interact with the world from the

geographic periphery. In the *targeted* approach exemplified by the University of Goettingen, English-medium reforms are targeted towards recruitment of top scientific talent and efforts to gain global recognition. Finally, in the *market* approach exemplified by Maastricht University, English-medium reforms are utilized to sustain a highly internationalized population and for economically driven purposes. Organizational EMI approaches (collegial, targeted, and market) are understood by analyzing comparatively how the three case site universities interpreted tensions between logics for the best way to organize their EMI reform approaches: for academic or economic purposes; cooperative or competitive purposes; and local or global purposes. This is indicated by the organizational position along the three axes in the comparative framework.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION

European universities are situated in a complex environment; they are responsible for centering local priorities, but at the same time, are integrated into a highly influential European dimension. Over the past two decades these universities experienced a number of reform waves that radically impacted university organization and operation. One responsive reform trend that gained considerable traction in universities is providing degree programs instructed in English in countries where English is not the native language of instruction. EMI programs are an increasingly core component of higher education strategic agendas across Europe as evidenced by their dramatic increase in recent years from a few hundred programs a decade ago to over 5000 in 2013(Brenn-White & Faethe, 2013; Wächter,& Maiworm, 2008). A reported two-thirds of European countries plan to either create or increase EMI provision (Teichler, Ferencz, & Wächter, 2011). EMI reforms in Europe do not follow a prescriptive template; consequently, universities are largely autonomous in how they organize EMI approaches. The Netherlands, Germany, and the Nordic countries in Northern Europe are the leading providers of EMI provision on the Continent (Brenn-White & Faethe, 2013; Woodfield, 2009). Although we have a general understanding of the proliferation of these programs across Europe and are beginning to understand EMI's impact in the classroom, we lack an understanding of how universities in leading EMI provider countries incorporate EMI reform ideas into forms and behaviors at the organizational level from a comparative perspective. The purpose of this exploratory study is to contribute to our understanding of how widespread EMI reforms impact structures and behaviors at the organizational

level in European universities in ways that respond to the organization's embedded policy contexts.

This study was guided by the following questions:

1. Are universities in European countries that lead in providing English-medium Instruction (EMI) master's degree programs converging towards a similar EMI reform model?

2. What influences the ways in which universities in leading European provider countries implement the EU's EMI reform policies?

3. How do universities in leading EMI provider countries respond to institutional complexity in the implementation process?

To answer these questions, I adopted a case study research approach and used a combination of theoretical lenses, translation and institutional logics, to examine empirical case studies of the implementation of the EMI reform concept in three Northern European universities in non-Anglophone Europe: Maastricht University in the Netherlands; the University of Goetingen in Germany; and the University of Oslo in Norway. Recent scholarship appealed for future research to address multiple levels of analysis in the study of organizational forms and behaviors (Ansari et al., 2010; Lounsbury, 2008; Thornton et al., 2012; Vaira, 2004; Waldorff, 2013). Thornton et al. encouraged future research to bridge the study of field-level institutional logics and practice-based scholarships in order to "address the blind spots" in each perspective (2012, p.140). This study answers this call by examining European university responses to their embedded context during EMI reform implementation.

A key contribution of this study was to advance our understandings of comparative EMI reforms and also, drawing on the concepts of neoinstitutional theory, develop our knowledge of how these processes might be theorized and expanded. Universities are embedded in social environments that can be highly influential. Organizational decisions regarding the best way to organize EMI reforms take into account both local-level agendas and macro field-level frames. Drawing on Waldorff (2013), I combined the theoretical frames of translation and institutional logics to examine empirical case studies of the implementation of the EMI reform concept in universities in non-Anglophone Northern Europe. Organizational-level translation approaches underscore the importance of interpretation and context to organizational decisions, while field-level institutional logics highlight the importance of wider societal belief systems in framing appropriate responses. Therefore, this combination of levels of analyses allows for organizational variety, but also recognizes that organizational decisions are filtered through field-level frames which, in turn, may lead to similarities in organizational responses.

Drawing on Pollitt's analytic frame, I analyzed how the three case site universities conceptualized and materialized EMI reforms in organizational discourse, decisions, and practice. This afforded an opportunity to examine if the three case site universities in leading EMI provider countries were converging towards a similar EMI reform model. The findings revealed that the three universities implemented EMI reforms in broadly similar ways, yet varying degrees of distinctiveness in EMI reform implementation were apparent at the organizational level. Thus, they are localized variants of wider patterns within their structured environment. This is similar to Vaira's notion of allomorphism in

the sense that organizations in embedded environments are neither "strictly homogenous and isomorphic at the global level nor highly differentiated and polymorphic at the local organizational level, but are conceived as local variants of the same institutional archetype" (2004, p.503).

Next, I identified six field-level logics and the key characteristics of each logic that shape the EMI reform implementation process (Table 4.3). The application of these logics revealed that the three universities utilized all six logics to varying degrees, yet they created three distinct approaches: collegial, target, market. In the *collegial* approach exemplified by the University of Oslo, English-medium reforms are implemented to enrich educational quality and interact with the world from the geographic periphery. In the *targeted* approach exemplified by the University of Goettingen, English-medium reforms intentionally target the recruitment of top scientific talent and efforts to gain global prestige. Finally, in the *market* approach exemplified by Maastricht University, English-medium reforms are utilized to sustain a highly internationalized population, visibility, and for economically driven purposes. The analyses of these approaches uncover how universities reference both their local context and wider institutional environments when implementing EMI reforms.

EMI reforms have been around in select European countries for over a half century. Early uses of EMI centered on development aid and facilitating student flows. However, the explosion of EMI programs happened only in recent years due to developments at the European level. Both the Bologna Process and Lisbon Agenda have strengthened the EMI trend in European universities. Bologna's shifting agenda from cooperation to competition and shift from an internal project to an externally focused

initiative are increasingly reflected in EMI reform trend trajectories at the organizational level. Lisbon's emphasis on the knowledge-based economy ideology is reflected to varying degrees in the three organizational EMI reform approaches. National level preferences are key filters of these frames. National level funding, promotion of knowledge-based economy ideals, and the influence of national level intermediary organizations all play a significant role in how the three universities organized their EMI reform approaches.

It is only when we examine the institutions in a comparative manner that we begin to understand why each of these organizations adopted its respective organizational approach. The institutional complexity perspective offers a way to understand how identified patterns of organizational forms and behavior are guided by perpetually competing institutional logics. I argued that a way to understand how higher education organizations implement widespread international reform concepts, such as EMI, is to assess organizational interpretations of axial tensions between institutional logics in the implementation process. I proposed a comparative framework to analyze variations in organizational response to institutional complexity in the EMI implementation process. Organizational EMI approaches (collegial, targeted, and market) are understood by analyzing comparatively how the three case site universities interpreted the three axial tensions between logics for the best way to organize their EMI reform approaches: for academic or economic purposes; cooperative or competitive purposes; and local or global purposes. The comparative framework (Figure 5.1) represents a novel approach to examining variations in university EMI reform implementation approaches.

The influence of cooperative aims underpinning the European Union's integration initiatives in tandem with Europe's increasingly competitive aims underscored by both the Bologna Process and Lisbon Strategy agendas produce tensions for the best way to organize that must be resolved at the organizational level. The three case universities use EMI for cooperative purposes to facilitate partnerships and all three note competitive uses for EMI to engage in more strategic partnerships and programs offerings at the advanced graduate level; however, by comparison, the University of Oslo retains a more traditional approach to EMI engagement for cooperative aims to build partnerships for the purposes of mutual understanding, knowledge exchange, and to facilitate joint international research projects. Both the University of Goettingen and Maastricht University use EMI for similar cooperative aims, but in addition, they employ EMI for competitive recruitment purposes. Goettingen's approach targets EMI offerings to the sciences in efforts to recruit 'exceptional' scientists and junior scholars, while Maastricht's highly international student and staff composition requires a recruitment strategy that can both sustain numbers and attract talent.

In recent years, market oriented messages from the field level have intruded on traditional notions of higher education as a public good. In response to these messages, national governments have shifted from public funding models to differential fees for international students. These tensions between EMI's purpose for academic aims versus economic aims are evidenced to varying degrees at the three case site universities. All three case universities use EMI for academic purposes through internationalization-at-home initiatives, but economic purposes are more pronounced in both the University of Goettingen and Maastricht University's EMI approaches. The University of Goettingen's

organizational attention is focused on EMI's use for skilled migration purposes in the science and technology fields, while Maastricht University's focus is on EMI's use to attract students for economic development and revenue generating purposes.

Finally, all three universities use EMI for relatively balanced global and local purposes. Traditionally, higher education institutions attend to primarily local responsibilities. As globally oriented frames enter the field, universities have increasingly initiated reforms to position themselves internationally. The University of Oslo engages in EMI for global purposes to interact with the world from the geographic periphery, yet Oslo's organizational approach is balanced by EMI's use for local responsibilities to prepare domestic students for a globalized workforce and to diversify the campus environment. Both the University of Goettingen and Maastricht University use EMI for these purposes, but also for additional globally focused goals related to enhanced international status, rankings position, and to access the benefits associated with internationally published research.

Although informative, a single case study would not have allowed for these patterns to emerge. It is only in comparison that we see that universities have room for agency or an 'interpretive window' to organize EMI reforms according to their nested context. In sum, organizations possess a degree of agency in implementing EMI reforms, but by the same token, they are also constrained by wider field-level frames for the best way to organize their EMI reforms. It is the dynamics between these levels of analysis that reveal overall organizational approaches to EMI reform implementation. The comparative case analysis of EMI reform implementation highlights the importance of examining the university's nested environment to better understand organizational

responses to widespread reform ideas. This case study allows us to see how universities reference both their local context and wider environments when implementing EMI reforms in order to secure social endorsements and engage strategic EMI related opportunities.

Previous research (eg., Waldorff, 2013) envisioned the presence of logics in organizations in dichotomous have/have not perspective. For example, the organization under examination is either guided by the 'corporate' logic or it is not. This study contributes to the logics literature by offering an alternative view where organizations incorporate all available logics to varying degrees. In this study, this was envisioned as a three axis comparative framework where tensions between incompatible logic prescriptions allow for an interpretive window to organize according to local frames. In this view, organizations incorporated and were affected by all identified logics to varying degrees.

This study confirms recent suggestions from the translation literature that not all reform implementations are unique in that patterns can be found in organizational arrangements which are due to their embeddedness in wider organizational environments (Waerass & Satoen, 2013; Waldorff, 2013). This study advances our understandings of local interpretive processes by recognizing that local interpretations are structured by their embedded contexts.

Policy Recommendations

This study uncovered a number of 'growing pains' in the three case site universities associated with the initiation and rapid expansion of EMI. These challenges can serve as lessons to those in the beginning stages of EMI program implementation, as

well as point to avenues of improvement for the universities under examination. In this study, EMI reform implementation devolved to the organization without a clear 'best practice' template to follow; as such, one would expect to encounter areas of adjustments during the implementation process. I recommend universities attend to the following areas:

- Universities should evaluate the purposes of initiating and expanding EMI programs and provide regular assessments of EMI policy effectiveness at the central organizational level. Are these data driven decisions? Who are they serving and what institutional outcomes are expected from EMI programs? Does this align with EMI policy intent? How is this evaluated? What student/staff data should be collected? For example, if EMI policy intent is to attract talent for skilled migration purposes, then organizations should assess who enrolls in EMI programs and whether they stay after graduation to work in targeted fields. Likewise, if EMI policy discourse references the use of EMI for the purposes of improving competitive academic position or visibility, then how is this measured at the organizational level?

- Administrators should address issues related to the EMI paradox detailed in Chapter 5. If EMI is implemented, in part, as a proxy for quality, then universities need to pay attention to identified areas (e.g., student and teacher preparedness) that can undermine this objective. Likewise, if organizational objectives aim to attract talent for workforce development, then coordination with visa and immigration sectors is needed to ensure talented international students

matriculating in EMI programs have the skills required for work and avenues entry within the destination countries after graduation.

- English language support structures on campuses should be initiated and/or improved to ensure student and staff success. Universities should move past assumptions of student preparedness and increase support with dedicated language center resources for academic presentations, academic writing, and lecture comprehension skills for students, as well as offer courses and resources for instructors from non-Anglophone backgrounds to improve public speaking and academic writing skills.

- Universities should address problematic English-on-demand offerings. Course advertisements should match practice. Attention should be paid to more consistent policies that what is advertised is reality. Additionally, small group settings were identified as areas of concern due to incidences of language switching. Organizational efforts should focus on evaluating and providing consistency in learning environments: from lectures to labs to small group seminar settings.

- Organizational attention to EMI related integration issues is warranted. Transitional support may be needed for those who complete a bachelor's degree in the native language and enroll in a master's degree instructed in English. Additionally, EMI programs and students should be fully integrated into the university environment. One suggestion is to create a buddy system within the department to cross-pollinate international students from EMI degree programs with domestic students in efforts to provide a point of contact for international students to navigate both the university and surrounding community.

Theoretical Implications & Future Directions

This study was a foundational effort; it therefore suggests many theoretical avenues to expand on the ideas that have emerged in this study. One avenue for research to further our understanding of comparative EMI reforms is by applying the concept of theoretical integration (Suarez & Bromley, forthcoming). Suarez and Bromley draw on three forms of institutionalism- historical, world polity, and Scandinavian- to examine the diffusion of human rights education in U.S. universities. These three approaches to institutionalism emphasize different facets of reform idea diffusion and levels of analysis. Historical institutionalism and its concepts of critical junctures and path dependency provide a lens to examine how and when ideas emerge and what precipitates their expansion. The world polity approach helps to explain macro-level global diffusion of formal structures and decoupling between policy and practice. Scandinavian institutionalism and translation theory highlight the role of individuals and micro-processes in policy adoption.

As Suarez and Bromley note, rather than challenging or displacing one another, attention to historical context, macro- trends, and micro-processes can add richness to our understanding of the flow of social phenomena. These theoretical integrations focus on the conceptual aspects of these theories in efforts to draw on multiple levels of analysis to gain a more holistic understanding of emerging social phenomena. Future directions for EMI research can build on the findings in this study of EMI reforms and draw on concepts from Suarez and Bromley's three level frames to expand our understandings of EMI from all three institutional perspectives.

Conversely, another route to further our understanding of EMI is to utilize the analytic methods found in translation and institutional complexity literatures. Translation theory's editing procedures (Sahlin & Wedlin, 2008; Rovik, 2011) can be applied in future research to examine which aspects of organizational EMI policies are altered. Additionally methods employed in institutional complexity to open the 'black box' of micro processes at the organizational-level can be used to examine how organizational identity filters field-level EMI logics (Greenwood et al., 2011).

A focus on the interpreter/key university decision maker is warranted considering the interpretive windows uncovered in this study. Future research should interview key administrators to gain a better understanding as to how they navigate or maneuver through these contextual tensions. Additionally, future research can address how the decision maker is informed by internal organizational identity and competing frames from the external environment. Likewise, future research could examine how decision makers assess institutional complexity in the EMI implementation process, how they experience complexity, and how they decide what to adjust or not in 'real time' EMI policy implementation. Who or what do organizational administrators reference when organizing EMI programs i.e., what constitutes the organizational field? Do they reference internal organizational challenges or problems in need of solutions? Do they reference benchmark universities within the same country, regionally, or globally? Do they reference aspirational universities within the same country or across the globe? In times of organizational uncertainty, do they defer to intermediary organizations within country in search of solutions for the best way to organize EMI reforms?

A clearer understanding of how logics are weighted by decision makers is warranted. What are the weighting mechanisms behind organizational responses to tensions between EMI logics? Future research should explore the mechanisms behind how the axes are weighted by key decision makers. What are the mechanisms behind how administrators enact or blend institutional logics? A discourse analysis of interview data could reveal how particular logics are more readily accepted, while others are 'blocked' in certain contexts. Particular attention should be paid to how actors strategize EMI policies with regard to both internal organizational identity and external legitimating ideas. What makes universities/actors more receptive to certain environmental messages (e.g. competitive logics)? Why are some universities more permeable to certain logics than others?

Comparative Framework-Future Directions

The three axis comparative framework introduced in this study represents a foundational effort to advance our understandings of comparative EMI reforms. The next steps would be to test, refine, and scale up this emerging idea to examine a variety of organizational response patterns to EMI reform implementation. For example, organizational positions on the axes are not static; they may change over time. Future research can take a longitudinal view to see if/how individual universities shift on the three axes, as well as to see if/how multiple universities (in a comparative perspective) shift in similar or different ways or directions over time. These shifts may point researchers to influential environmental factors affecting university response patterns. In addition, the comparative framework has relevance for a variety of EMI related contexts. It can be used to map similarities and differences among the following:

- Universities within the same country. This study was limited to three universities: one in each of the following countries: the Netherlands, Germany, and Norway. The comparative framework could be used to map a larger sample of universities within each these countries to see whether the organizational positions in the case universities are reflective of the state of affairs within the country. This could investigate questions as to whether there is something very "Dutch" about the way universities organize their EMI reforms.

- On a similar note, the framework could be used to examine how different types of universities approach EMI provision. All three countries in this study are binary systems. In binary systems, this could involve an examination of both universities and universities of applied sciences (i.e., polytechnics, fachhochschulen, hogescholen). Do universities and UAS within the same country approach EMI in a similar manner? Are there differences between unified and diversified systems?

- Universities within countries in the same region (e.g., Europe). This study examined universities in Northern Europe due to their longer documented histories of EMI reforms. However, as southern Europe continues to invest in EMI programming it would be interesting to compare whether or in what ways southern European EMI approaches differ from the North. Does different EMI adoption time matter? Are their differences between leaders and laggards in a region? Are the universities in the South emulating best practices in the North? Are Southern European interpretations distinct in comparison to Northern European approaches?

- Likewise, this sparks questions to how universities in other regional entities such as Africa or Latin America approach EMI. For example, do universities in Rwanda approach EMI offerings in the same way as in Ethiopia.

- These two examples also bring to mind directions for future EMI research between non-colonized and post-colonial universities. What are the dynamics between field-level frames and historical colonial legacies? How does EMI differ in post-colonial contexts? In what ways are organizations in post-colonial contexts influenced to use EMI? How do universities in post-colonial contexts balance efforts to train the domestic workforce for the global labor market and national economic needs with preserving local language and culture?

- Comparisons between different corners of the globe. Do universities in certain geographies favor more competitive aims than others? Do universities in certain regions favor the use of EMI for more local aims than others? Are economic aims more pronounced in certain corners of the globe? Is there something very 'European' about the way they organize in comparison to other regions; e.g., Asia?

Final Thoughts

This comparative case study of EMI reform implementation approaches in Northern Europe underscores the importance of examining a university's embedded environment (both European and local levels) to understand university response to widespread EMI reform trends and highlights the significance of contextual dynamics to European EMI program development policy. An examination of universities in their complex contexts draws attention to the balancing act intrinsic to modern university

implementation decisions in a multi-stakeholder policy environment. The influence of the regional dimension to EMI implementation decisions can inform policymakers in other regions of the world who have similar ambitions to create regional higher education spaces (e.g., Latin American and the Caribbean Higher Education Area (ENLACES) and Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN)) for the purposes of enhancing the attractiveness of their respective higher education system.

It is only when the universities in this study were viewed in a comparative manner that we were able to understand that they were not simply enacting scripts from the field-level or organizing according to local contextual preferences alone. Tensions between field-level logics allowed room for universities to negotiate a reform approach that was legitimate to both local and field contexts. An understanding of the multi-logic policy environment can help policymakers construct and implement strategic EMI reform policies that proactively acknowledge and address these tensions by aligning policy intent with implementation design and policy effectiveness assessments. An enhanced understanding of variations in EMI policy implementation will help us trace influential environmental forces and internal decision mechanisms that drive widespread education reform policies.

EMI reforms directly affect core aspects of the university including education (teaching and learning); research (rankings, funding prospects, publications, participation in collaborative international projects); service (social responsibility and development aid initiatives); and university operations (staff language competence, publication of documents and websites in English, coordination with cities). Given the reach of EMI, it

was surprising to find a lack of student data, data driven decisions, or overarching EMI program assessment at the central level.

Moving forward, a key challenge will be to determine how EMI implementation decisions are weighted by decision makers in complex environments. One next step to test the utility of the three axis model introduced in this study is to administer a survey to key university administrators using either a ranking or rating scale design to determine how key administrators weight the different logics in EMI policy implementation decisions. Another possible route is to assign empirical indicators to the logic ideal types in a similar vein to Dobbins, Knill, and Vögtle (2011) in efforts to analyze longitudinal EMI policy evolution and inertia in European higher education systems.

Although this study focused on institutional complexity in the EMI implementation process, it raises questions to the applicability of the tensions identified in the EMI implementation process to other European internationalization policy processes. Are these same logics applicable to other types of educational policies in Europe outside of internationalization initiatives? Would this framework work outside of the higher education sector? Would the logics be the same logics or different axes in a different policy area? Are these axes the same other world regions? These questions are important avenues for future researchers to address and it is my hope that an increased awareness to multi-logic policy environments and their inherent complexities will be important foci for future EMI and higher education policy research.

References

Academic Cooperation Association (2006). *Perceptions of European Higher Education in Third Countries*. Retrieved from

http://ec.europa.eu/education/programmes/mundus/acareport.pdf

Alexander, R.J. (2008). 'International' Programmes in the German-speaking World and Englishization: A critical analysis. In: R..Wilkinson, & V. Zegers, (Eds.), *Realizing Content and Language Integration in Higher Education* (pp. 77-95). Maastricht: Maastricht University.

Ali, N.L. (2013). A changing paradigm in language planning: English-medium instruction policy at the tertiary level in Malaysia. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 14(1), 73-92. DOI: 10.1080/14664208.2013.775543

Altbach, P.G. (2004). Higher Education Crosses Borders: Can the United States Remain the Top Destination for Foreign Students? *Change,* 36(2),18-24.

Altbach, P.G. (2013). The Imperial Tongue: English as the Dominating Academic Language. In P.G. Altbach (Ed.), *The International Imperative in Higher Education* (pp.1-6). Boston: Sense Publishers.

Altbach, P.G. Reisberg, L. and Rumbley, L.E. (2009). *Trends in Global Higher Education: Tracking an Academic Revolution*. UNESCO.

Ammon, U., (2006). Language conflicts in the European Union: On finding a politically acceptable and practicable solution for EU institutions that satisfies diverging interests. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*, 16(3), 319-338.

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

Ansari, S.M., Fiss, P., & Zajac, E. (2010). Made to fit: How practices vary as they diffuse. *Academy of Management Review*, 35(1), 67–92.

Bastedo, M. (2009). Convergent Institutional Logics in Public Higher Education: State Policymaking and Governing Board Activism. *The Review of Higher Education*, 32(2), 209-234.

Baxter, P. & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative Case Study Methodology: Study Design and Implementation for Novice Researchers. *The Qualitative Report,* 13 (4), 544-559.

Becker, R. et al. (2009). UK Universities and Europe: Competition and Internationalisation. UK Higher Education Europe Unit & UK Higher Education International Unit. Research Series/3. Retrieved from http://www.international.ac.uk/resources/UK%20Universities%20and%20Europe%20Competition%20and%20Internationalisation.pdf

Becker, R. & Kolster, R. (2012). *International Student Recruitment: Policies and Developments in Selected Countries.* Netherlands: NUFFIC.

Beerkens, E. (2010). Global models for the national research university: adoption and adaptation in Indonesia and Malaysia. *Globalisation, Societies and Education,* 8(3), 369–391.

Berns, M., et al. (2007). English in Europe. *In the Presence of English: Media and European Youth Language Policy*, 7, 15-42.

Bhandari, R. Belyavina, R. & Gutierrez, R. (2011). *Student Mobility and the Internationalization of Higher Education: National Policies and Strategies from Six World Regions*. New York: Institute of International Education.

Bhandari, R. & Blumenthal, P. (Eds.) (2011). *International Students and Global Mobility in Higher Education.* New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Bhandari, R. & Laughlin, S. (2009). *Higher Education on the Move: New Developments in Global Mobility*. New York: Institute of International Education.

Binder, A. (2007). For love and money: Organizations' creative responses to multiple environmental logics. *Theory and Society*, 36(6), 547–571.

BMBF (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung) (2008). *Strengthening Germany's Role in the Global Knowledge Society: Strategy of the Federal Government for the Internationalization of Science and Research.* Berlin, Germany: Bonn.

BMBF (Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung) & GWK (Gemeinsame Wissenschaftskonferenz) (2013). *Strategy of the Federal and Länder Ministers of Science for the Internationalisation of the Higher Education Institutions in Germany.* Resolution of the 18th Meeting of the Joint Science Conference in Berlin on 12 April 2013).

Bohm et al. (2004). Vision 2020: Forecasting International Student Mobility-A UK Perspective. Retrieved from http://www.britishcouncil.org/eumd_-_vision_2020.pdf

Bologna Declaration. (1999). The European Higher Education Area. Bologna.

Boxenbaum, E. (2006). Lost in Translation: The Making of Danish Diversity Management. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 49(7), 939-948.

Boxenbaum, E. & Jonsson, S. (2008). Isomorphism, Diffusion, & Decoupling. In Greenwood et al. (Eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* (pp.78-98). London: SAGE.

Boxenbaum, E. & Pedersen, J.S. (2009). Scandinavian institutionalism-a case of institutional work. In Lawrence, T.B., Suddaby, R. & Keca, B. (Eds.) *Institutional Work: Actors and Agency in Institutional Studies of Organizations* (pp. 178-204). UK: Cambridge University Press.

Brenn-White, M. & Faethe, E. (2013, September). English-Taught Master's Programs in Europe: A 2013 Update. Institute of International Education. Retrieved from http://www.iie.org/Research-and-Publications/Publications-and-Reports/IIE-Bookstore/English-Language-Masters-Briefing-Paper-2013-Update.

Brenn-White, M. & van Rest, E. (2010, Fall). Trends in English-Taught Master's Programs. IIE Networker. Retrieved from http://www.nxtbook.com/nxtbooks/naylor/IIEB0210/.

Brenn-White M. & van Rest, E. (2012). English-Taught Master's Degree Programs in Europe: New Findings on Supply and Demand. Institute of International Education. Retrieved from http://www.iie.org/en/Research-and-Publications/Publications-and-Reports/IIE-Bookstore/~/media/Files/Corporate/Publications/English-Language-Masters-Final.ashx

Brunsson, N. (1989). *The Organisation of Hypocrisy: Talk, Decisions and Actions in Organisations*, Chichester: John Wiley.

Callon, M. (1986). Some elements of a sociology of translation: Domestication of the scallops and the fishermen of St Brieuc Bay. In: Law J (Ed.) *Power Action and Belief: A New Sociology of Knowledge?*(pp.196–223). London: Routledge.

Campbell, J. L. (2004). *Institutional Change and Globalization*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Carlsson, J. et al. (2009). *The Internationalisation of Higher Education: The Nordic Experience.* The Observatory on Borderless Higher Education.

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

Costa, F. & Coleman, J.A. (2012). A Survey of English-medium Instruction in Italian Higher Education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 1-17. DOI:10.1080/13670050.2012.676621.

Cox, M. (2012). International student recruitment: policies and developments in selected countries: Sweden, Norway and Finland. Nuffic. Retrieved from http://www.nuffic.nl/en/library/international-student-recruitment-sweden-norway-finland.pdf

Crystal, D. (2003). *English as a Global Language*. (2nd Edn.). Cambridge University Press.

Czarniawska, B. (2002). *A Tale of Three Cities: Or the Glocalization of City Management*. Oxford University Press Inc. NY.

Czarniawska, B. (2008). *A Theory of Organizing*. Edward Elgar Northampton MA

Czarniawska, B. and Joerges, B. (1996). Travels of ideas. In: Czarniawska B, Sevón G (Eds.) *Translating Organizational Change* (pp.13–48). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Czarniawska B, Sevón G (2005).(Eds.) *Global Ideas: How Ideas, Objects and Practices Travel in the Global Economy*. Malmö: Liber

de Wit, H. et al. (2008). *The Dynamics of International Student Circulation in a Global Context*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

de Wit, H. & Merkx, G. (2012). The History of the Internationalization of Higher Education. In

Deardoff, D.K. et al. (Eds.) *The Sage Handbook of International Higher Education*.

DiMaggio, P.J., & Powell, W.W. (1983). The iron cage revisited: Institutional isomorphism and

collective rationality in organizational fields. *American Sociological Review*, 48, 147–

160.

Dobbins, M., Knill, C., and Vögtle, E.M. (2011). An analytical framework for the cross-country

comparison of higher education governance. Higher Education, 62, 665-683.

Doiz, A., Lasagabaste, & Sierra. (2011). Internationalisation, multilingualism, and English-

medium instruction. *World Englishes*, 30(3), 345-359.

Dunn, M. B., & Jones, C. (2010). Institutional logics and institutional pluralism: The contestation

of care and science logics in medical education, 1967—2005. *Administrative Science

Quarterly*, 55(1), 114-149.

Dutch Ministry of Education, Culture, and Science (2011). Quality in Diversity: Strategic

Agenda for Higher Education, Research, and Science. The Hague, Netherlands: Ministry

of Education, Culture, and Science.

Earls, C.W. (2013). 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*, DOI:10.1080/14664208.2013.842457.

Earls, C.W. (2013, Summer). Setting the Catherine wheel in motion**:** An exploration of

"Englishization" in the German higher education system. *Language Problems and

Language Planning* 37(2). Retrieved from http://esperantic.org/dosieroj/file/EarlsMs5.pdf

Egron-Polak, E. & Hudson, R. (2010). *Internationalization in Higher Education: Global Trends, Regional Perspectives, IAU 3rd Global Survey Report*. Paris: International Association of Universities.

Erlingsdóttir G and Lindberg K (2005) Isomorphism, isopraxism and isonymism: Complementary or competing processes? In: Czarniawska B, Sevón G (Eds.) *Global Ideas: How Ideas, Objects and Practices Travel in the Global Economy* (pp.47–70). Malmö: Liber.

Frenkel, M. (2005). The Politics of Translation: How Sate-level Political Relations Affect the Cross-National Travel of Management Ideas. *Organization*, 12 (2), 275-301.

European Commission (2003). *Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity: An Action Plan 2004-2006.* COM 449.

European Council (2000). Presidency Conclusions of Lisbon European Council.

European Council (2005). *Communication from the Commission. Mobilising the Brainpower of Europe: Enabling Universities to Make Their Full Contribution to the Lisbon Strategy.* COM(2005) 152 final.

Eurypedia (2014). Germany. Retrieved from https://webgate.ec.europa.eu/fpfis/mwikis/eurydice/index.php/Germany:Overview

Evans, S. & Morrison, B. (2011). The Student Experience of English-medium higher education in Hong Kong. *Language and Education*, 25(2), 147-162.

Ferencz, I. & Wächter, B. (Eds.) (2012). *European and national policies for academic mobility. Linking rhetoric, practice and mobility trends*. Bonn: Lemmens.

Findlay, A. M. (2010). An Assessment of Supply and Demand-side Theorizations of

    International Student Mobility. *International Migration.* doi:10.1111/j.1468-

    2435.2010.00643.x.

Freidson, E. (2001). *Professionalism: The third logic*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Frenkel, M. (2005). The Politics of Translation: How State-Level Political Relations Affect the

    Cross-National Travel of Management Ideas. *Organization*, 12(2), 275-301.

Friedland, R., & Alford, R. R. (1991). Bringing society back in: Symbols, practices, and

    institutional contradictions. In W. W. Powell & P. J. DiMaggio (Eds.), *The New*

    Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis (pp. 232–266). Chicago: University of

    Chicago Press.

Frølich, N. (2008). Justifications and Drivers: Higher Education Institutions' Strategies of

    Internationalisation. In A. Gornitzka, L. Langfeldt (Eds.), *Borderless Knowledge* (pp.

    103-124). Springer.

Frølich, N. et al. (2013). A reinterpretation of institutional transformations in European higher

    education: strategising pluralistic organisations in multiplex environments. *Higher*

    Education, 65, 79-93.

Frølich, N. & Stensaker, B. (2010). Student recruitment strategies in higher education: promoting

    excellence and diversity? *International Journal of Educational Management*, 24(4), 359-

    370.

Doorewaard, H. & van Bijsterveld, M.(2001). The Osmosis of Ideas: An Analysis of the

    Intergrated Approach to IT Management from a Translation Theory Perspective.

    Organization, 8(1), 55-76.

Goodrick, E., & Reay, T. (2011). Constellations of institutional logics: Changes in the

      professional work of pharmacists. *Work and Occupations*, 38(3), 372—416.

Gornitzka, Å. (2007a). The Lisbon Process: A Supranational Policy Perspective.

      Institutionalizing the Open Method of Coordination, in Maassen, P. and Olsen, J. P.

      (eds.), *University dynamics and European integration* (pp.155-178), Dordrecht: Springer.

Gornitzka, Å. (2007b). What is the use of Bologna in national reform. In Tomusk, V. (ed.),

      Creating the European Higher Education Area: Voices from the Periphery (pp.19-41).

      Springer.

Graddol, D. (2006). *English Next*. London: The British Council.

Green et al. (2012, July 08). English spreads as teaching language in universities worldwide.

      University World News Global Edition Issue 229.

Greenwood, R. et al. (2008). Introduction. In Greenwood et al. (Eds.) The SAGE Handbook of

      Organizational Institutionalism (pp.1-46). London: SAGE.

Greenwood, R., Raynard, M., Kodeih, F., Micelotta, E., & Lounsbury, M. (2011). Institutional

      complexity and organizational responses. *Academy of Management Annals*, 5, 317-371.

Greenwood, R., Diaz, A.M., Li, S.X., & Lorente, J.C. (2010). The multiplicity of institutional

      logics and the heterogeneity of organizational responses. *Organization Science*, 21(2),

      521–539.

Gürüz, K. (2008). *Higher Education and International Student Mobility in the Global*

      Knowledge Economy. New York: SUNY.

Hancock, D. R. & Algozzine, B. (2006). *Doing Case Study Research*. New York: Teachers

      College Press.

Hartley, J.(2004). Case Study Research. In Cassell & Symon (Eds). *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research* (pp.323-333). London: SAGE.

Heck, R. H.(2004). *Studying Educational and Social Policy: Theoretical Concepts and Research Methods*. New Jersey: LEA.

Hellekjær, G.O. (2007). The Implementation of Undergraduate Level English Medium Programs in Norway: An Explorative Case Study. In Wilkinson, R./Zegers, V. (eds.), *Researching Content and Language Integration in Higher Education.* Nijmegen, Maastricht: Valkhof Pers & Maastricht University.

Hellekjær, G.O. (2010). Lecture Comprehension in English-Medium Higher Education. *Hermes – Journal of Language and Communication Studies,* 45, 11-34.

Hellekjær, G.O. & Westergaard, M.R. (2003). An exploratory survey of content learning though English at Nordic universities. In van Leeuwen, Charles/Wilkinson, Robert (eds.), *Multilingual Approaches in University Education.* Maastricht: Universiteit Maastricht, 65-80.

Hoy, W. & Miskel, C. (2012) External Environments of Schools. In Educational Administration: Theory, Research, and Practice (pp.268-298). McGraw-Hill.

HRK (Hochschulrektorenkonferenz) (2011). *Language Policy at German Universities.* Resolution of the 11th General Meeting of 22 November 2011.

Hsieh, H.F., & Shannon, S.E. (2005). Three approaches to qualitative content analysis. *Qualitative Health Research, 15*(9), 1277-1288.

Huang, F. (2006). Internationalization of Curricula in Higher Education Institutions in ComparativePerspectives: Case Studies of China, Japan and the Netherlands. *Higher Education*, 51(4), 521-539.

Hughes, R. (2008). Internationalisation of Higher Education and Language Policy: Questions of Quality and Equity. Higher Education Management and Policy, 20 (1), 111-128.

Huisman, J. & van der Wende, M. (Eds.) (2004). *On Cooperation and Competition: National and European Policies for the Internationalisation of Higher Education.* Bonn: Lemmens.

Huisman, J. & van der Wende, M. (Eds.) (2005). *On Cooperation and Competition II: Institutional Responses to Internationalisation, Europeanisation, and Globalisation.* Bonn: Lemmens.

Hwang, H., & Suarez, D. (2005). Lost and found in the translation of strategic plans and websites. In B. Czarniawska and G. Sevón (Eds.) *Global Ideas: How Ideas, Objects and Practices Travel in the Global Economy* (pp.71-93). Malmö: Liber

Institute of International Education (IIE) (2012). Project Atlas. Retrieved from http://www.iie.org/en/research-and-publications/project-atlas

Johnson, B. & Hagstrom, B.O. (2005). The Translation Perspective as an Alternative to the Policy Diffusion Paradigm: The Case of the Swedish Methadone Maintenance Treatment. *Journal of Social Policy*, 34, 365-388.

Kachru, B. (1985). Institutionalized second-language varieties. In: Greenbaum, S. (Ed.), *The English Language Today* (pp. 211–226). Oxford, New York, Toronto, Sydney, Paris, Frankfurt: Pergamon Press.

Kahanec, M. & Králiková, R. (2011). Pulls of International Student Mobility. Retrieved from http://ftp.iza.org/dp6233.pdf

Keeling, R. (2006). The Bologna Process and the Lisbon Research Agenda: the European Commission's expanding role in higher education discourse. *European Journal of Education,* 41(2), 203-223.

Kehm et al. (2009). *The European Higher Education Area: Perspectives on a Moving Target*. Sense Publishers: Rotterdam, the Netherlands.

Kerklaan, V., Moeeira, G. and Boersma, K. (2008). The Role of Language in the Internationalisation of Higher Education: an example from Portugal. *European Journal of Education*,43(2), 241-255.

Knight, J. (2004). Internationalisation Remodelled: Definition, Approaches, and Rationales. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 8(1), 5-31.

Kodeih, F. & Greenwood, R. (2014). Responding to Institutional Complexity: The Role of Identity. *Organization Studies*, 35(1), 7-39.

Kraatz, M.S. & Block, E.S. (2008). Organizational Implication of Institutional Pluralism. In: Greenwood R, Oliver C, Sahlin K, Suddaby R (eds) *Handbook of Organisational Institutionalism* (pp.243-275). London: Sage.

Kraatz, M.S., & Zajac, E.J. (1996). Exploring the limits of the new institutionalism: The causes and consequences of illegitimate organizational change. *American Sociological Review*, 61, 812–836.

Kok, W. (2004). Facing the Challenge- The Lisbon Strategy for Growth and Employment.

    Report from the High Level Group.

Lamb, P. & Currie, G. (2012). Eclipsing adaptation: The translation of the US MBA Model in

    China. *Management Learning*, 43(2), 217-230.

Latour, B (1986). The powers of association. In: Law J (Ed.) *Power, Action and Belief—A New*

    Sociology of Knowledge (pp.264–280). London: Routledge.

Ljosland, R. (2007). English in Norwegian academia: a step towards diglossia? *World Englishe,s*

    26 (4), 395–410.

Ljosland, R. (2010). Teaching through English: Monolingual Policy Meets Multilingual Practice.

    Hermes – Journal of Language and Communication Studies, 45, 100-113.

Ljosland, R. (2011). English as an Academic Lingua Franca: Language policies and multilingual

    practices in a Norwegian university. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43, 991-1004.

Lounsbury, M. (2007). A tale of two cities: Competing logics and practice variation in the

    professionalizing of mutual funds. *Academy of Management Journal*, 50, 289–307.

Lounsbury, M. (2008). Institutional rationality and practice variation: New directions in the

    institutional analysis of practice. *Accounting,Organizations and Society*, 33(4-5), 349-

    361.

Maassen, P. & Musselin, C. (2009). European Integration and the Europeanisation of Higher Education. In A. Amaral et al. (Eds.), *European Integration and the Governance of Higher Education and Research*, Higher Education Dynamics 26, DOI 10.1007/978-1-4020-9505-4 1.

Maastricht University (2007). *Inspired by Talent: Strategic Programme 2007-10*. Maastricht, Netherlands.

Maastricht University (2010). *Leading in Learning: Where Research and Teaching are Complementary* [Brochure]. Maastricht, Netherlands.

Maastricht University (2011). *Leading in Learning: Inspired by Quality* [Brochure]. Maastricht, Netherlands.

Maastricht University (2012*). Inspired by Quality: Strategic Programme 2012-16*. Maastricht, Netherlands.

Maastricht University (2013). *Leading in Learning: Our Value for Society* [Brochure]. Maastricht, Netherlands.

Maiworm, F., & Wächter, B. (Eds.) (2002). *English-Language-Taught Degree Programmes in European Higher Education — Trends and Success Factors*. Bonn: Lemmens.

Marginson, S., and M. van der Wende. 2009. *The new global landscape of nations and institutions. In Higher Education to 2030,* Volume 2, 32_3. Paris: OECD.

Maringe, F. & Foskett, N. (2010). Globalization and Internationalization in Higher Education: Theoretical, Strategic and Management Perspectives. Bloomsbury Academic.

Marshall, C. & Rossman, G.B. (2010). Designing Qualitative Research, 5th Edition. Sage.

Mazza, C. et al. (2005).European Constructions of an American Model: Development of Four MBA Programmes. *Management Learning*, 36(4), 471-491

Meyer, R. (2008). New Sociology of Knowledge: Historical legacy and contributions to current debates in institutional research. In: Greenwood R, Oliver C, Sahlin K, Suddaby R (eds) *Handbook of Organisational Institutionalism* (pp. 519-538), London: Sage.

Meyer, H.D. & Rowan, B. (2006). *The New Institutionalism in Education*. State University of New York Press.

Meyer, J.W. & Rowan, B. (1977). Institutionalised organisations: Formal structure as myth and ceremony. *American Journal of Sociology* 83(2), 340–363.

Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. (1994). *Qualitative Data Analysis.* Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.

Mok, K.H. (2003). Similar trends, diverse agendas: Higher education reforms in East Asia. *Globalisation, Societies and Education* 1 (2), 201–21.

Nicolini, D. (2009). Zooming in and zooming out: studying practices by switching theoretical lenses and trailing connections. *Organizational Studies*, 30(12), 1391-1418.

Northrup, D. (2013). *How English Became the Global Language.* New York: Palgrave Macmillian.

Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2001). *Gjør din plikt – Krev din rett. Kvalitetsreform av høyere utdanning* (Do your duty – demand your rights. Quality of Higher Education). Stortingsmelding nr. 27, Oslo, Norway: Det kongelige kirke-, utdannings- og forskningsdepartement.

Norwegian Ministry of Education and Research (2009). *Internasjonalisering av utdanning* (Internationalization in Education). Stortingsmelding nummer 14, Oslo, Norway: Det kongelige kunnskapsdepartementet.

Nuffic (2012). Internationalisation in higher education in the Netherlands: key figures (2011-12 academic year). Retrieved from http://www.nuffic.nl/bibliotheek/internationalisation-in-higher-education-in-the-netherlands-key-figures-2011-2012.pdf

Nuffic (2012b). Country Module- Norway. Retrieved from http://www.nuffic.nl/en/library/country-module-norway.pdf

Ocasio, W. (2011). Attention to attention. *Organizational Science*, 22(5), 1286-1296.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2004). *Internationalisation and Trade in Higher Education: Opportunities and Challenges*. Paris: OECD

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2011). *Education at a Glance 2011*. Paris: OECD.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2012). *Education at a Glance 2012*. Paris: OECD.

Pache, A. & Santos, F. (2010). When worlds collide: The internal dynamics of organizational responses to conflicting institutional demands. *Academy of Management Review*, 35(3), 455–476.

Papatsiba, V. (2006, February). Making Higher Education More European Through Student Mobility? Revisiting EU Initiatives in the Context of the Bologna Process. *Comparative Education*, 42(1), 93-111.

Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative evaluation and research methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Patton, M. (2002). Patton, M. Q. (2002). *Qualitative research and evaluation methods* (3rd ed.).Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Phillipson, R. (2003). *English-Only Europe? Challenging Language Policy*. London: Routledge.

Phillipson, R.(2008). Language policy and education in the European Union. In S. May & N. H. Hornberger (Eds.) Language policy and political issues in education, volume 1 of Encyclopedia of Language and Education, 2nd edition(pp.255-265). New York: Springer.

Pollitt, C. (2001). Clarifying Convergence: Striking Similarities and Durable Differences in Public Management Reform. *Public Management Review*, 3 (4), 471-492.

Powell, W.W. & DiMaggio, P.J. (Eds). *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis*. The University of Chicago Press.

Reay, T., & Hinings, C.R. (2005). The recomposition of an organizational field: Health care in Alberta. *Organization Studies*, 26(3), 349–382.

Reay, T., & Hinings, C.R. (2009). Managing the rivalry of competing institutional logics. *Organization Studies*, 30, 629–652.

Richters, E., Roodenburg, S, & Kolster, R. (2012). Mapping Mobility 2012. Nuffic. Retrieved from https://www.nuffic.nl/entry-residence/files/documents/expertise/mobility-statistics/mapping-mobility-2012/view.

Rigg, P. (2013, November 22). English as the lingua franca of higher education? University World News Global Edition Issue 297.

Robertson, S.L. & Keeling, R. (2008). Stirring the Lions: Strategy and tactics in global higher education. *Globalisation, Societies, and Education*, 6(3), 221-240.

Røvik, K.A. (2011). From Fashion to Virus: An Alternative Theory of Organizations' Handling of Management Ideas. *Organization Studies,* 32(5), 631-653.

Rumbley, L.E.,Altbach, P.G. & Reisberg, L. (2012). *Internationalization within the Higher Education Context*. In the Sage Handbook of International Higher Education.

Saarinen, T. (2012). Internationalization of Finnish higher education-is language an issue? *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 216, 157-173.

Saka, A. (2004). The Cross-National Diffusion of Work Systems: Translation of Japanese Operations in the UK. *Organizational Studies*, 25(2): 209-228.

Sahlin-Andersson, K. (1996) Imitating by editing success: The construction of organisational fields. In: Czarniawska, B. & Sevon, G. (Eds.) *Translating Organisational Change*. Berlin: de Gruyter, 69–92.

Sahlin-Adersson, K. & Engwall, L. (eds.) (2002). *The Expansion of Management Knowledge: Carriers, Flows, and Sources*. Stanford University Press: Stanford, CA.

Sahlin, K. & Wedlin, L. (2008) Circulating ideas: Imitation, translation and editing. In: Greenwood R, Oliver C, Sahlin K, Suddaby R (eds) *Handbook of Organisational Institutionalism* (pp. 218–242). London: Sage.

Scott, W. R. (2008). *Institutions and organizations: Ideas and Interests* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Schwach, Vera, 2009. Masterprogrammer på engelsk i Norge. I bredde og nisjer. NIFU-STEP report 36/2009. Norsk institutt for studier av innovasjon, forskning og utdanning, Oslo.

Sorbonne Declaration (1998). Joint declaration on harmonisation of the architecture of the European higher education system. Paris.

Stensaker, B. (2007). Quality as fashion: exploring the translation of a management idea into

    higher education. In D.F. Westerheijden et al. (Eds.), Quality Assurance in Higher

    Education: Trends in Regulation, Translation and Transformation, 99–118.

Stensaker, B., Frølich, N., Gornitzka, Å. and Maassen, P. (2008). Internationalisation of higher

    education: the gap between national policy-making and institutional needs. *Globalisation,*

    Societies and Education, 6(1), 1–11.

Stone, D. (2012).Transfer and translation of policy. *Policy Studies*, 33(6), 483-499.

Suarez, D.F. & Bromley, P. (Forthcoming). Institutional Theories and Levels of Analysis:

    History, Diffusion, and Translation. In Schrwiewer, J. (Ed.). *World Culture Re-*

    contextualised. Routledge/Taylor and Francis.

Teichler, U. Ferencz, I. & Wächter, B. (Eds.)(2011). *Mapping mobility in European higher*

    education Volume I: Overview and trends. Brussels: European Commission.

Thornton, P.H. (2004). *Markets from culture: Institutional logics and organizational decisions in*

    higher education publishing. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Thornton, P.H., & Ocasio, W. (1999). Institutional logics and the historical contingency of power

    in organizations: Executive succession in the higher education publishing industry, 1958–

    1990. *American Journal of Sociology*, 105, 801–843.

Thornton, P.H., & Ocasio, W. (2008). Institutional logics. In R. Greenwood, C. Oliver, K.

    Sahlin, & R. Suddaby (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of organizational institutionalism* (pp.

    99–129). London: Sage.

Thornton, P.H., Ocasio, W., & Lounsbury, M. (2012). The institutional logics perspective.

    Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Tolbert, P.S., & Zucker, L.G. (1983). Institutional sources of change in the formal structure of

    organizations: The diffusion of civil service reform, 1880–1935. *Administrative Science*

    Quarterly, 30, 22–39.

Tollefson, J. W. & Tsui, A. B. M. (2004). *Medium of instruction policies: Which agenda? Whose*

    agenda? Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum

Tremblay, K. (2005). Academic Mobility and Immigration. Journal of Studies in International

    Education, 9(3), pp.196-228.

Tsui, A.B.M. & Tollefson, J.W. (2007). Language Policy and the Construction of National

    Cultural Identity. In *Language Policy, Culture and Identity in Asian Contexts* (pp. 1-21).

    Edited by Amy B.M. Tsui and James W. Tollefson. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

UNIKE (Universities in the Knowledge Economy) http://unike.au.dk/

University of Göttingen. (2007). *Göttingen Tradition – Innovation – Autonomy: Institutional*

    Strategy to Promote Top-Level Research. Göttingen, Germany.

University of Göttingen. (2009). *Georg-August-Universität Göttingen: Committed to Your*

    Success: International Master's and Ph.D. Programmes Study Guide. Göttingen,

    Germany.

University of Göttingen. (2011a). *Georg-August-Universität Göttingen: Committed to Your*

    Success: International Master's and Ph.D. Programmes Study Guide. Göttingen,

    Germany.

University of Göttingen. (2011b). *The University of Göttingen* [Brochure]. Göttingen, Germany.

University of Göttingen. (2013). *The University's Strategy on Internationalisation*. Göttingen,

    Germany

University of Oslo. (2010). *Strategy 2020*. Oslo, Norway.

University of Oslo. (2011). *Prospectus 2012-13*. Oslo, Norway.

University of Oslo. (2012a*). Global Presence-Global Responsibility: UiO's Action Plan for Internationalisation 2012-2014*. Oslo, Norway

University of Oslo (2012b). *A Knowledge Portal for Norway*. Oslo, Norway.

University of Oslo. (2013). *Rekrutteringsplan for internasjonale studenter til Universitetet i Oslo.* Oslo, Norway.

Vaira, M. (2004). Globalisation and higher education organisational change: A framework for analysis. *Higher Education*, 48, 483–510.

van der Wende, M. (2007). Internationalisation of higher education in the OECD countries: challenges and opportunities for the coming decade. *Journal on Studies in International Education*. 11 (3-4), 27-289.

van der Wende, M. (2009). European Responses to Global Competitiveness in Higher Education. In: J. Douglass, J. King & I. Feller (eds.) *Globalization's Muse: Universities and Higher Education Systems in a Changing World* (pp.317-341). Berkeley Public Policy Press, Institute of Governmental Studies, University of California Berkeley.

Verbik, L. & Lasanowski, V. (2007). International student mobility: Patterns and Trends. Observatory on Borderless Higher Education.

Wächter, B. & Maiworm, F. (2008). *English-Taught Programmes in European Higher Education. The Picture in 2007*. Bonn. Lemmens.

Wæraas, A., & Sataøen, H. L. (2013). Trapped in conformity? Translating reputation management into practice. *Scandinavian Journal of Management*. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.scaman.2013.05.002

Waldorff, S. B. (2013). Accounting for organizational innovations: Mobilizing institutional logics in translation. Scandinavian Journal of Management. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.scaman.2013.03.010

Weber, M. (1949). *Max Weber on the methodology of the social science* (E. A. Shils & H. A. Finch, Eds. & Trans.). Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Weber, R. P. (1990). *Basic content analysis*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Wedlin, L. (2007). The role of rankings in codifying a business school template: classifications, diffusion and mediated isomorphism in organizational fields. *European Management Review*, 4, 24-39.

Westerheijden, D.F. et al.(2009). An 'Echternach' Procession in Different Directions: Oscillating Steps Towards Reform. In C. Paradeise et al. (eds.), *University Governance*, (pp. 103-125).

Wilkinson, R. (2013).English-Medium Instruction at a Dutch University: Challenges and Pitfalls. In A. Doiz, D. Lasagabaster, and J.M. Sierra (Eds.) English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global Challenges, (pp.3-24). Multilingual Matters.

Wilkinson, R., and V. Zegers. 2008. *Realizing content and language integration in higher education.* Maastricht: Maastricht University.

Wissenschaft Weltoffen (2013). Facts and Figures on the International Nature of Studies and Research in Germany. DAAD/HIS. Retrieved from http://www.wissenschaftweltoffen.de/publikation/wiwe_2013_verlinkt.pdf

Witte, J. (2008). Aspired Convergence, Cherished Diversity: Dealing with the contradictions of Bologna. *Tertiary Education and Management*, 14(2), p.81-93.

Woodfield, S. (2009). Trends in International Student Mobility: A Comparison of National and

    Institutional Policy Responses in Denmark, Germany, Sweden, and the Netherlands.

    Retrieved from http://eprints.kingston.ac.uk/19772/1/Woodfield2009-

    Trends_in_International_Student_Mobility__A_Comparison_of_National_and_Institutio

    nal_Policy_Responses_in_D.pdf

Wooten, M. & Hoffman, A.J. (2008). Organizational Fields: Past, Present, and Future. In:

    Greenwood R, Oliver C, Sahlin K, Suddaby R (eds) *Handbook of Organisational*

    Institutionalism (pp.130-147). London: Sage.

Yin, R. (2003). *Case study research: Design and methods* (3rd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Zhang, Y. & Widemuth, B.M. (2009). Qualitative Analysis of Content. In B. Wildemuth (Ed.),

    Applications of Social Research Methods to Questions in Information and Library

    Science (pp.308-319). Westport, CT: Libraries Unlimited.

Zilber, T. B. (2006). The work of the symbolic in institutional pro-cesses: Translations of

    rational Myths in Israeli Hi-Tech. *Academy of Management Journal*, 49(2) 279-301.

Zilber, T. (2008).The work of meanings in institutional processes and thinking. In: Greenwood

    R, Oliver C, Sahlin K, Suddaby R (eds) *Handbook of Organisational Institutionalism*

    (pp.151-169). London: Sage.

Zucker, L. G. (1977). The role if institutionalization in cultural persistence. *American*

    Sociological Review, 42, 726-743.

VITA

1. *Educational Institutions Attended:*

2007   Marshall University
                M.A. Leadership Studies-Higher Education Administration

2000   West Virginia University
                B.S. Exercise Physiology

2. *Professional Positions Held:*

2013-Present   University of Kentucky Evaluation Center
                Research Associate
                Research Assistant

2009-2012   University of Kentucky
                Graduate Assistant
                Research Assistant
                Department of Educational Policy Studies & Evaluation

2008-2009   Kentucky Council on Postsecondary Education
                Research Assistant

2007-2008   University of Kentucky
                Teaching Assistant
                Academic Consultant for the Office of Academic Enhancement
                Department of Educational Policy Studies & Evaluation

2005-2007   Marshall University
                Graduate Assistant
                Higher Education for Learning Problems (H.E.L.P. Program)

3. *Academic Presentations:*

Unites, B. (2014). "The impact of different constellations of logics on the translation of the English-medium instruction (EMI) concept in three Northern European Universities." *Presentation for the 58th Annual Conference of the Comparative & International Education Society, Toronto, Canada, March, 2014.*

Stevenson, S., Robbins, V., Unites, B. & Kilgore, M. (2014). "Interagency Partnerships in your Backyard: One State's Approach." *Presentation for the 27th Annual Research & Policy Conference on Child, Adolescent, and Young Adult Behavioral Health, Tamp, Florida, March, 2014.*

Unites, B. (2013). "Approaches to the provision of English-taught master's programs in Northern Europe." *Presentation for the 57th Annual Conference of the Comparative & International Education Society, New Orleans, Louisiana, March, 2013.*

4. *Technical Reports:*

Stevenson, E., & Unites, B. (2014, April). Kentucky's Adolescent Treatment Enhancement & Dissemination Project Year One Evaluation Report.

Stevenson, E., Unites, B., & Kellersberger, B. (2014, January). Child Care Aware Stakeholder Survey Results 2013 Evaluation.

5. *Name:* Becky Unites