EMI and Beyond: Internationalising Higher Education Curricula in Italy

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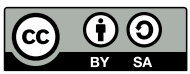

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Introduction

EMI Stakeholders and Research in the Italian Context. Moving Towards ICLHE?

Francesca Costa, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Italy

1. Updates on EMI in the Italian Context

In 2010, the Gelmini Law (240/2010) was promulgated in Italy, partially reforming the Italian university system. This law increased the mobility of professors and students and called for more cooperation among universities regarding study and research and the initiation of degree programmes in a foreign language. The law thus represented, at least from a formal point of view, a certain openness toward mobility, cooperation, internationalisation as well as teaching in a foreign language, which in reality almost always translates into English. This push toward teaching in English (Macaro et al., 2018) was not actually an initiative of the Gelmini law: it was already under way throughout Europe thanks to the Bologna Process. The Bologna declaration was signed in 1999, after which many universities instituted English-Medium Instruction (EMI) courses as a top-down strategy to improve their international profiles and curricula (Kuteeva & Airey, 2014).

Internationalising curricula in higher education suggests the need for purposeful planning in syllabus design and delivery to reflect the diversity of learners and mobility of knowers and of knowledge in the twenty-first century (Smit & Dafouz, 2012). The central role language and culture play in the process of generating and disseminating knowledge, the core mission of universities, highlights the need for greater research into forms of integrating language and literacy training into disciplinary content for coherent internationalisation of academic curricula.

In Italy, EMI has given rise to a great internal debate that erupted when, in 2012, the Politecnico of Milan and the Academic Senate voted for Master's and PhD courses to be taught in English starting in 2014. At that point, a group of professors who did not want to adhere to that decision appealed to the Administrative Tribunal (TAR), an appeal they won in 2013, thanks only in part to an old Royal Decree, R.D. 1933, that established Italian as the language to be used in universities, but mostly because of principles of the Italian Constitution. The Politecnico, along with the MIUR, undertook an appeal, and in 2017 a decision by the Constitutional Court[1] upheld by the Council of State in January 2018, mandated parallel language use, a principle under which any educational programmes offered in English, or any other foreign language, must be offered to students in Italian.

In fact, the Italian Constitution protects all languages, even minority languages, and has very specific articles regarding freedom of teaching and autonomy of universities declaring that:

- A language represents a principle of equality (Art. 3 of the Constitution) even as regards education. Under article 34, the Italian Republic has to guarantee the highest levels of education to those who are capable, even if they should lack the financial means;
- Freedom of teaching should be guaranteed to teachers (under Article 33), in recognition of the fact teaching should be carried out by adopting various methods;
- The autonomy of the university is recognised and protected by Article 33.

The decision of the Council of State[2], which draws on the decision of the Constitutional Law and was, in fact, based on the above mentioned and other constitutional principles, states: "these constitutional principles, 'if incompatible with the option that entire courses should be provided exclusively in a language different from Italian […] certainly do not prevent the possibility for those Universities that see fit to do so, of coupling the supply of university

1 https://www.cortecostituzionale.it/actionSchedaPronuncia.do?anno=2017&numero=42

2 https://www.giustizia-amministrativa.it/portale/pages/istituzionale/ucm?id=6RRRYBGTYVS7DABC5SMNSYVZUQ&q

courses in Italian with courses in a foreign language, especially in consideration of the specificity of certain scientific and disciplinary areas'. In view of this, 'a syllabus offer which provides for some courses to be held both in Italian and foreign languages' is certainly not against the aforementioned principles, 'nor does such an offer sacrifice such principles, given how it allows, at the same time, the pursuit of internationalisation'".[3]

This very intricate legal case demonstrated that many questions regarding EMI in Italy remain unresolved. Fortunately, field studies addressing this matter are on the increase, which helps, or should help, in debunking false beliefs on both sides in order to advance the decisions taken at the institutional level.

This introduction will summarise the EMI/ICLHE studies carried out in Italy to date and will present an overview of the studies undertaken for this much-needed volume.

2. Studies in Italy

In this eventful context, there has been no lack of studies on the use of a foreign language for university courses. It should be noted, however, that these studies do not always use consistent terminology, oscillating mainly between two terms: EMI (English-Medium Instruction) and ICLHE (Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education), the latter sometimes referred to as CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) at the tertiary level. While the former in theory refers only to English and sees language only as a means or vehicle of instruction, ICLHE instead entails all languages and considers language itself as an objective of teaching/learning and not merely as a delivery system for content. The term CLIL is a synonym of ICLHE as both imply a counter-balanced approach to the integration of content and language. CLIL is used more often in primary and secondary education while ICLHE is used in the tertiary context. The two main terms used in reference to tertiary teaching in a foreign/additional language - EMI or ICLHE - in reality often overlap,

3 Translation by author.

and it is the actual experiences more than the nomenclature that underline the difference.

The studies in Italy have generally followed four thematic areas: institutional policies, lecturers, students, and outcomes. Policies have been mainly examined through surveys: Anderson (2019), Broggini and Costa (2017), Campagna (2017, 2015), Costa (2016), Pulcini (2015), Pulcini and Campagna (2015), Bendazzoli (2015), Santulli (2015), Campagna and Pulcini (2014), Costa and Coleman (2013), and the CRUI study (2012). All these studies show an increase in institutional policies even at the individual university level regarding courses delivered through English, with an increase from 74% to 85% from 2012 to 2017, including universities in the South, with a greater increase for private universities. Broggini and Costa (2017) replicated the 2012 study (Costa and Coleman, 2013) showing that the EMI context in Italy is changing. Universities have implemented EMI courses mainly to improve their international profile and attract foreign students. Among the major difficulties are limited cooperation among the teachers and the insufficient level of English among both Italian students and their teachers. Some of the other findings of the study are that EMI is more frequently found at the Master's and PhD levels, with the largest number of courses in economics and engineering; there has been an increase in the number of lecturers who volunteer to teach in the second language (L2) (from 26% to 38%); lecturers teaching in the L2 rely heavily on the use of PPTs (increase from 26% to 71%); and linguistic certification is more required for students enrolled in private than in public universities (67% for the latter compared to 86% for private universities). Although EMI courses have increased overall, Italian is still the most widely used language of instruction in Italian universities.

The second thematic area concerns lecturers. These studies were carried out mainly in the form of case studies, interviews, and questionnaires: Long (2018), Guarda and Helm (2016), Costa (2016, 2013), and Helm and Guarda (2015). The studies highlight a majority population of native-speaking Italian lecturers and show that they generally have a positive view of their EMI experience, though some problems emerge related mainly to the language (Bendazzoli 2015; Campagna, 2016; Pulcini and Campagna, 2015).

These problems include, for example, a more limited ability to improvise during the lesson and the lack of correct pronunciation. The studies on lecturers were discursive, taking the form of transcriptions: Costa and Mariotti (2020), Broggini and Murphy (2017), Bowles (2017), Costa (2017, 2016, 2012a,b), Gotti (2015) and Molino (2017, 2015, 2018). They reveal that a slower pace is normally used when lessons are given in English and signal specific discourse patterns used during exams. They also highlight the use of input presentation strategies known as Q-DRESS along with some more creative practices by lecturers.

In general, EMI lecturers in Italy are non-native speakers (Costa, 2013), as is the case in other Southern European countries. Both Francomacaro (2011) and Bowles (2017) highlight that the argumentative function is a fundamental one for EMI lecturers. Unfortunately, it must be noted that the training of lecturers is still spotty in Italy (Long, 2017; Guarda and Helm, 2017). Even though there is a certain awareness on the part of many lecturers of the need to set a good linguistic example for their students (Costa, 2013; Mariotti, 2012), their teaching styles do not always match their teaching beliefs (Picciuolo ad Johnson, 2020). There is also a certain unconscious attention to language, mainly as a focus on form (Costa, 2012a). In addition, some studies on EMI lectures have highlighted interaction even during traditional lectures (Veronesi, 2009), the use of paralinguistic and extralinguistic strategies (Costa, 2017; Costa and Mariotti, 2020), the use of defamiliarising categories, such as pre-emptive focus on form, (mainly typographical), input enhancement, codeswitching, humour (Costa, 2017), the use of interrogative discourse markers and repeats (Molino 2015, and 2017; Broggini and Murphy (2018), and metadiscourse as strategies for teaching in a foreign language (FL).

The third area of general concern in studies to date is students' experience, which has mainly been investigated by surveying students through questionnaires: Doiz, Costa, Lasagabaster, Mariotti (2019), Ackerley (2017), Clark (2017), and Costa and Mariotti (2017). These studies generally show a positive assessment by students (Argondizzo and Laugier, 2004) regarding courses delivered in English, even though they are not sure these courses have led to improved language skills (Costa and Mariotti, 2020; Ricci Garotti, 2009,

for German). Ackerley (2017) and Clark (2017) investigated student perceptions through questionnaires that indicated fear on the part of students that they would not understand the lectures, although there was also significant interest in EMI courses. Clark (2017) and Costa and Mariotti (2020) have noted differences between international and local students in their attitudes toward instruction in a FL. Costa and Mariotti (2017b) surveyed 160 students to produce a language profile regarding interest in foreign languages, travels abroad, and whether formal language learning is viewed in a positive light. Student responses show they consider their listening and writing skills better than their ability to speak in English. Degano and Zuaro (2019) examined oral examinations in EMI with a focus on students' interactional patterns.

The last area of commonality concerns student outcomes and consists of studies carried out mainly through a statistical comparison of the results of students who do quantitative EMI (Costa and Mariotti, 2017a, 2017c). These studies show a difference between the marks obtained in subjects taught in English and those in Italian, especially at the Bachelor's level and with regard to scientific subjects, where there seems to be slightly lower marks for those enrolled in courses taught in English.

On the basis of this summary, the areas concerning all stakeholders engaged in tertiary learning in a FL have been well investigated. However, specific studies highlighting the actual outcomes (both linguistic and disciplinary) of students enrolled in degree courses taught in a FL would be desirable at this point to enable an analysis of the effectiveness of EMI in tertiary education in Italy.

3. Towards ICLHE/Multilingualism

It is also clear from the acronym that EMI views English as "the most cost- and hassle-free choice" (Coleman, 2013 XIV) at the tertiary level. House (2003) holds there is no threat to multilingualism, claiming that "co-languages function not against, but in conjunction with, local languages" (House, 2003:19). However, for many this choice to move towards EMI is dangerous and could lead to a domain loss of Italian in some areas of knowledge (see the case of the

Politecnico). Some Italianists even see EMI as a form of soft power and a threat to multilingualism. In fact, De Mauro emphasises that "we should do the same with English as we do as Europeanists: bring to it all the rich variety of cultures of meanings and images from different languages, without abandoning them, and incorporate into our languages the taste for conciseness and clarity that English has" (De Mauro, 2014:83). At present, Italian is clearly still the language most commonly used in university courses.

This book tries to take a positive view by focusing on the fact that Italy has always been a multilingual country (think of the different dialects in Italian or minority languages in the regions of Val d'Aosta and Trentino Alto Adige). At the University of Bolzano there is even a fully trilingual model of education, with courses offered in three languages (German, Italian, and English) across faculties and degree programmes; in the Faculty of Education, a fourth language, Ladin, a Romance language with official status in the Dolomite region, is also part of teacher education (see also Zanin, 2018). Therefore, the use of other languages can serve to complement English as the first foreign language in Italy, as long as the 'political' will exists to champion this.

Perhaps what is most alarming is that not enough attention is paid to language in tertiary teaching in FLs. Regardless of the language adopted, this aspect is not regarded as being of central importance. For this reason, it would be desirable to move towards a teaching approach closer to the concept of ICLHE in which, alongside the disciplinary course objectives, there are also some secondary linguistic goals. Moreover, ICLHE does not refer only to the English language, but could be applied to any language. As Wilkinson (2004) points out, when language teaching is reduced to a programme not incorporated into the teaching of the content, there is a risk the language will be considered as purely instrumental.

4. Structure of the Volume

The papers in this volume examine the effectiveness of English Medium Instruction as part of the internationalisation strategy and engage with alterna-

tive content-and-language-integrated models that support meaningful international and intercultural learning. This book is divided into two sections: Part 1 – English Medium Instruction (EMI) in Italian Universities (first five articles) and Part 2 – Beyond EMI: Multilingual and Multicultural Approaches in Italian Universities (last five articles).

This volume includes ten articles, an introduction and a conclusion section, which contribute to the growing body of research on EMI, ICLHE and Internationalisation. It presents articles from a wide range of contexts (Ca' Foscari University of Venice, the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, The University of Trento, the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia, the University of Padua, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore and many African Institutions), mainly in the north of Italy where most EMI courses take place (Costa and Coleman, 2013; Broggini and Costa, 2017), and with very different methodological designs (questionnaires, focus groups, action research, classroom observation and video-stimulated recall).

The first chapter entitled "Innovative ESAP Syllabus Design: A Means to Address English-Language Problems in EMI Programmes" by Jemma Prior discusses process approaches to syllabus design of an English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP) course for undergraduate Economics students at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano. The methodology used is a three-year action research involving both lecturers and students. The study led to the development of a new syllabus design revealing how inclusion is enhanced through a process-oriented approach. In this approach, learning aims and outcomes are collaboratively defined with students to maximize the effectiveness of EMI and empower diverse learners in the language classroom.

The second chapter entitled "Aligning Policy and Practice: Linguistic and Pedagogical Strategies for the EMI Classroom" by Emma Quick investigates teaching practices at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano by means of semi-structured interviews, classroom observation, and video-stimulated recall. The results show some areas of weakness in tertiary teaching such as lecturers' linguistic competence, lack of cultural awareness and limited pedagogical knowledge, as well as areas of strengths, such as the alignment between classroom practice and language policy. The article addresses how best to sup-

port lecturers in developing communicative strategies and designing disciplinary content to favour a critical alignment of pedagogical principles with professional practices when internationalising curricula in a trilingual setting.

The third chapter entitled "Intercultural English as a Medium and Outcome of Instruction: The Case of the University of Trento, Italy" by Chiara Polli focuses on a survey sent to EMI lecturers in this university, conducted by the Interdisciplinary Laboratory for the Quality and Innovation of Didactics (LIQuID). The role of English in its various functions as EMI, ELF and ESP is thoroughly discussed in the paper.

The fourth chapter entitled "EMI Professional Development in Italy: An Assessment Focus" by Olivia Mair focuses on assessment in EMI and international class contexts. The aim is twofold: it presents the results of a lecturer survey on assessment in EMI and describes a professional development course focused on assessment issues. The results shed light on the underdeveloped issue of teacher cognition in assessment and provide ideas for activities to raise awareness on EMI lecturers' assessment practices.

The fifth chapter entitled "Learners' Views of EMI: Non-Native Speaker Teachers' Competence and ELF in an Italian Master's Degree Programme" by Marco Bagni explores students' opinions of EMI and Internationalisation at home by means of semi-structured interviews. Results show an overall general satisfaction on the part of students, but at the same time highlight instances of uneasiness mostly towards NNS lecturers.

The second part of the volume begins with the sixth chapter entitled "The Intercultural Dimension and BELF in the English Course Curriculum of Business Schools: Proposal for an Integrated Model" by Elena Borsetto who investigates the role of the English language and of intercultural features in the EMI Business Schools Curriculum. To do so, a Business Intercultural Communicative Competence (BICC) model is proposed and suggestions regarding the effectiveness of the strategies employed and of intercultural aspects being dealt with are further discussed. The model is constructed around four interrelated dimensions: domain-specific business terminology, intercultural competence, competence in BELF, and business know-how.

The seventh chapter entitled "EMI and Translanguaging: Student Language Use in an Italian English-Taught Programme" by Fiona Dalziel investigates students' use of translanguaging at the Department of Psychology at the University of Padua where EMI programmes are steadily growing. Data were collected by means of a student questionnaire and focus group discussions. Findings indicate overall that students seem to value translanguaging and see it as a gateway to the preservation of multilingualism.

The eighth chapter entitled "South Tyrol and the Challenge of Multilingual Higher Education" by Lynn Mastellotto and Renata Zanin focuses on the South Tyrol context and its educational policies, which swing from monolingual modes to plurilingual ones. The Free University of Bolzano has responded to this with a strong plurilingual education and support for higher education students. Its trilingual model – with German, Italian and English – make it a unique example in the Italian context. Both the entry and exit levels of students are assessed in all three languages of instruction and institutional policies have been put in place to support students in reaching the expected results. This is achieved by means of general language courses, language for specific purposes courses and by using an ICLHE approach to teaching. In particular, the Faculty of Education has developed the implementation of a multilingual curriculum which shows a bottom-up approach to multilingualism.

The ninth chapter entitled "CLIL: Internationalisation or Pedagogical Innovation?" by Federica Ricci Garotti focuses on CLIL implementation and its pedagogical dimensions in the Trentino region of Italy where a trilingual policy, "Trentino Trilingue" is in effect. The article, which presents the results of a very comprehensive study in schools in Trentino, shows how the CLIL school reform implemented in Trentino for both English L2 and German L2 is effective, especially because it starts at the primary school level. The chapter further outlines success factors (a judicious use of the L1, continuous teacher training, institutional support and official recognition of CLIL teachers' efforts) that may contribute to positive results.

The tenth and final chapter entitled "Collaborating across Continents – The Challenges of Intercontinental Academic Partnerships" by Amanda Murphy investigates an innovative model of transnational education through the academic franchising of an international MBA on social entrepreneurship

in Africa, developed by the graduate business school ALTIS at Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, a programme in which Italian and African academics collaboratively design and deliver curricula in English, Portuguese or French, specifically adapted for the local realities of seven African countries. This model of transnational education leads to an MBA or a certificate and is currently developed in Kenya, Ghana, Sierra Leone, Uganda, Senegal, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Sudan, Zimbabwe, Cameroon, Nigeria, and Mozambique.

The wide range of topics investigated in these works – transnational education, quality standards, pedagogical and epistemological issues, use of translanguaging, multilingualism, assessment, students' views and syllabus design – mirror the ongoing scientific interest in the connection between CLIL, ICLHE, EMI, and Internationalisation in/of higher education. The studies suggest that internationalisation in HE is more successfully realised when international and intercultural content is purposefully planned and integrated into disciplinary courses with contextualised learning aims and outcomes. Such curricula may extend beyond the home campus and formal learning contexts to include other intercultural/international learning opportunities within local communities or may involve the virtual mobility of learners and lecturers through technology-assisted programmes that facilitate engagement in collaborative learning communities and transnational networks of knowledge.

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Part 1

English Medium Instruction (EMI) in Italian Universities

Innovative ESAP Syllabus Design: A Means to Address English-Language Problems in EMI Programmes

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Abstract

English-language teaching often tends to focus on the product rather than the process (Harmer, 2003; Wette, 2011). This insistence on focusing on the "one size fits all" end product has certainly characterised approaches to syllabus design and the process can either be undervalued or completely disregarded. However, process approaches to syllabus design can actively champion the often-excluded voices of the learners by including them in the decision-making stages of the course. This chapter will present a three-year action research (AR) project whose aim was to modify the advanced English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP) syllabus for undergraduate Economics students at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, a university located in a predominantly German-speaking area of Italy, where English is used as a medium of instruction (EMI) on an equal footing with Italian and German. The initial design of the ESAP course was based on a needs analysis done by the Faculty but the students had never been consulted during this process, nor had the academic staff using EMI. Consequently, one of the aims of this AR study was to conduct a thorough needs analysis involving these two main stakeholders. The needs were identified using a mixed methods design that analysed quantitative data gathered longitudinally from three cohorts of students, and qualitative data was gathered from the lecturers using EMI. In syllabus design, since "no one approach can be responsive to learners' needs" (Graves, 2008, p. 161), the modified syllabus that evolved from this analysis blended a predominantly process approach to syllabus design with elements of a product approach. This blended approach provided opportunities for the learners' voices to be an intrinsic part of the course by allowing them to negotiate aspects of the syllabus, ranging from the contents and the language skills practised, to the means of assessment. The use of negotiation in the ESAP course also created some of the conditions that have been suggested "[lead] to teaching and

learning which is as effective as possible" (Breen & Littlejohn, 2000c, p. 9). Moreover, using negotiation in the ESAP course provided the students with more opportunities to actively use and interact in English, opportunities which had been almost completely missing in the Faculty's EMI courses.

1. Introduction

This chapter concerns an action research (AR) project regarding an English for Specific Academic Purposes (ESAP) course at the Faculty of Economics and Management at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano to undergraduate economics students. The chapter will briefly describe the ESAP course and its role in the Faculty's degree programmes, and the reason why it was deemed necessary to redesign the course. There will be an overview of the needs analysis that was undertaken, the results of which were used to inform the redesign of the syllabus, which used (and still uses) a blended approach using features from both product and process syllabuses. The chapter will focus on the findings from the questionnaires administered to the students, but particularly on the findings from the academic staff that were responsible for teaching the courses using EMI at the time, and will make reference to various similarities and differences from other studies on EMI programmes in Italy and internationally. The chapter will conclude by analysing how using this innovative approach to ESP syllabus design addressed some of the students' language difficulties and how this approach could be extended in analagous situations where study programmes are characterised by EMI.

2. Background Context and Aim of Study

The Free University of Bozen-Bolzano is an Italian university located in the predominantly German-speaking province of South Tyrol. Data show that 69.4% of the South Tyrolean population state German is their first language (L1), 26% Italian and 4.5% Ladin (ASTAT, 2015). The University was founded in 1997 with the aim of offering most of its degree programmes with three

languages of instruction, where English is used as a medium of instruction (EMI) on an equal footing with Italian and German. The Faculty of Economics and Management, where the research took place, follows this model for its undergraduate degree programmes in Economics and Management (E&M) and Economics and Social Sciences (PPE), and endeavours to distribute the languages as equally as possible over the subjects offered in these degree programmes and so, as an example, Economics is taught and examined in English, Private Law in Italian and Financial Risk Management in German. Since the programmes' subjects are only offered in one language, approximately two-thirds of a programme's courses are taught in a student's second (L2) or third language (L3). English is therefore used as a medium of instruction, as is German and Italian, but the difference is that almost all students who follow programmes at the Faculty have either German or Italian as their L1; in fact recent data show that of the total number of students enrolled at the Faculty, 33.6% have German as their L1, 60.5% have Italian and 5% have another L1 other than German and Italian. However, only a further 1% have English as their L1 (Student Secretariat of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, personal communication, 28 July 2020). Therefore, the vast majority of students following a course using EMI have English as their L2 or even their L3, which also contributes to the wide range of English proficiency levels amongst the students.

Moreover, the courses taught in English are held almost exclusively by lecturers who do not have English as their L1, which again differs from the courses held in German and Italian which, almost without exception, are held respectively by lecturers with German or Italian as their L1. Little support is provided to lecturers who have to use EMI; in the past three years an optional one-week course on methodological issues related to teaching multilingual classes has been offered, but this was addressed to lecturers using any of the three languages and there was no specific provision for those using EMI (Lucie Courteau, personal communication). Given these specific considerations related to the Faculty's teaching model therefore, the ESAP course, which runs concurrently with other subjects taught in English, had been initially conceived to provide extra skills practice and language input in English to assist in the study of those other courses using EMI.

However, no real needs analysis had ever been undertaken and despite purporting to be an ESAP course, which is a branch of English for Specific Purposes (ESP), the syllabus, which had always been relatively vague and without a clear framework, did not comply with a fundamental principle of ESP, in that "it is an approach to language learning, which is based on learner need" (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987, p. 19).

Before this research project began, the ESAP course had used a skills-based approach to syllabus design, and the course had been mostly teacher-fronted due to the large numbers of students attending the course (sometimes reaching 60 in a class). Based on the fact that the students had to use various English language skills in their EMI courses, and on the findings from the initial needs analysis, I decided that the skills approach to the syllabus would be maintained. However, I also held the firm intention to provide each individual student with significantly more opportunities to engage in more relevant skills practice than had previously been the case in the teacher-fronted course. This intention was influenced not only by my desire to make the ESAP course more interactive and beneficial, but also by some of the findings from the data collection, which indicated that the students were not engaging in as much language practice in the EMI classrooms as might be imagined.

Consequently, in order to provide a skills-based syllabus, but that would be more tailored to each student's individual learning needs, a blended approach to syllabus design was needed. A skills-based approach to syllabus design is an example of a product approach where "the focus is on the knowledge and skills which learners should gain as a result of instruction" (Nunan, 1988, p. 27), in other words, "learning is supposed to result in a product – a set of knowledge and skills" (Graves, 2008, p. 160). A process approach to syllabus design, however, focuses on the "processes through which knowledge and skills might be gained" (Nunan, 1988, p. 41). Breen & Littlejohn (2000c, p. 29) state more simply that a process syllabus provides a framework for decision-making in the classroom, which is undertaken by both the teacher and the learners through the use of negotiation. Negotiation, according to Breen & Littlejohn, is "discussion between all members of the classroom to decide how learning and teaching are to be organised" (2000b, p. 1). Therefore, the redesigned ESAP syllabus would be designed to incorporate

opportunities for classroom negotiation between me and the students, as well as between the students themselves, which aimed not only to provide more opportunities for skills practice, but would also allow the students to engage more actively in the decision-making aspects of their course.

3. Research Methodology

3.1 Action Research

The research tradition that underpinned this study was action research, more precisely a multi-cycle action research study, mainly due to the practical nature of the study, and the fact that it was aiming to affect change in the teaching context. Burns (2010, p. 2), when referring specifically to AR that is used in English language teaching, defines it as "a self-reflective, critical, and systematic approach to exploring your own teaching context" where teachers problematise a situation and then attempt to find approaches to improve that situation. AR, as we mainly understand it today, tends to have a cyclical form and usually there are four clear "moments": Plan – Action – Observation – Reflection (Kemmis & McTaggart, 1988) as illustrated in Figure 1.

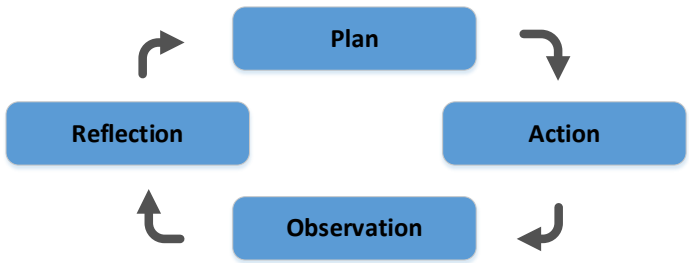

Fig. 1 – The action research cycle(s)

This study had three distinct AR cycles, since it lasted for three academic years, and although data collection occurred throughout the AR cycles, for the purposes of this chapter, I will focus on the initial and main data collection and analysis that occurred in the first AR cycle, which was used in the main

needs analysis to create the redesigned syllabus. The two main research questions that I was seeking answers to at this stage were:

- What are the English-language skills needed by economics students at this trilingual university as perceived by the main "actors", i.e. students and lecturers?
- What skills practice should be maintained or enhanced in the syllabus?

3.2 Data Collection - Mixed Methods

In order to collect answers to these questions, a mixed methods research approach was used and the research design was convergent parallel mixed methods in the initial needs analysis phase in the first AR cycle. The conceptual framework of this study therefore involved data obtained from both qualitative and quantitative research. In order to conduct the initial needs analysis for the redesign of the ESAP course, it was decided that data would be obtained qualitatively from the lecturers who were using EMI by using semi-structured interviews, given the relatively small number of respondents, and quantitative data would be obtained from the students from an online questionnaire, given the practicalities of collecting data from a large and potentially widely-scattered target population.

The convergent parallel mixed methods design involves the collection of quantitative and qualitative data in parallel, which are then merged in order to achieve triangulation. Often in this design "the quantitative sample proceeds from a random or non-random sampling procedure, while the qualitative sample proceeds from purposeful sampling" (Creswell, 2015, p. 78), which was broadly reflected in this study. The questionnaire was sent as an email invitation to all the students enrolled in the two degree programmes used in the study, E&M and PPE. Consequently, the methodology used to collect data from the students was combining random sampling with a rational means of selection, in other words the deliberately chosen target population, which is regarded as being "a particularly effective method for surveys with a specific focus" (Dörnyei, 2003a, p. 73). In all, 151 completed questionnaires were returned. The qualitative data were collected from a purposeful sample since the target population was clearly defined: it comprised the members of

staff who used English as a medium of instruction. At the time of the study, there were ten members of staff using EMI in their courses.

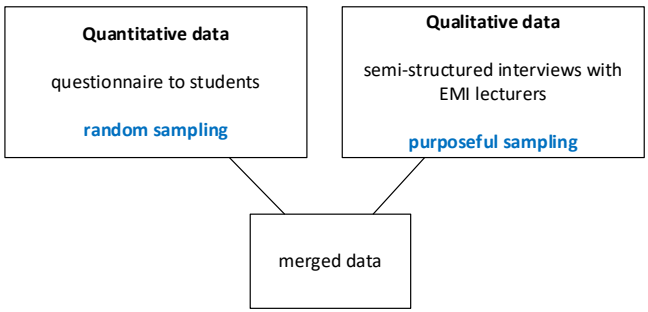

Fig. 2 − Sampling used in the convergent parallel mixed methods design

4. Data Analysis

The quantitative data from the students were analysed following a procedure presented by Dörnyei (2003a; 2007) where the data were explored, coding frames were applied and then the data was displayed. The qualitative data were analysed following the eight-step coding process according to Tesch (1990), where the interviews were transcribed, open and axial coding were applied, and categories were generated which were subsequently represented visually in conceptual frameworks. Once all the data had been explored, coded and displayed, the results that were produced were then merged following the procedure for convergent parallel mixed methods design.

4.1 Questionnaires – Discussion of Findings

There were 151 questionnaires returned, and almost 80% of the sample were following the E&M degree programme, and a third of them were in the second year. The course that I was teaching at the time the questionnaire went online was the course for second-year E&M students, which could explain why more students from these two cohorts completed the questionnaire, even if numerically there were more first-year students enrolled at the Faculty. As far as

their first languages are concerned, the groups comprised an almost equal distribution between L1 Italian and L1 German, despite the Faculty having an overall distribution of approximately 70% Italian L1 students at the time of the study. No students stated they had English as an L1.

The data that were collected from the students in the questionnaires sought to provide some answers to the first research question of this study. Therefore, one aim of the questionnaires was to collect data regarding effectively what skills students had to use in their studies at the Faculty. Questions were designed to investigate the type of skills activities undertaken by the students in their studies, as well as the difficulties encountered in the various skills.

From the findings generated by the responses to the questionnaire, it emerged that all four skills were used in their studies where EMI was used, and the activities that students engaged in most frequently concerning the receptive skills were reading study material, textbooks and emails, and listening to their lecturers and other students giving presentations in class. As far as the productive skills were concerned, the most frequent writing activities were writing exam answers and emails, and the most frequent speaking activities were interacting with academic staff and other students, and making presentations.

As far as the difficulties encountered were concerned, the skill that was evaluated as being the least difficult was reading, followed by listening. Speaking was rated as the next most difficult skill, while the most difficult overall was writing.

The questionnaires also sought to explore the frequency of practice of each skill and respondents were asked how often they engaged in the practice of these skills. The Pearson chi-square test was then used to investigate whether students' self-reported proficiency in a skill had any relationship with the amount of practice they stated they did in that skill. The results for writing can be seen in Table 1 below:

Table 1 − Relationship between frequency of practice and self-reported difficulties regarding writing

	v. difficult	quite difficult	quite easy	v. easy
once a week or less	8.2%	45.7%	39.7%	6.5%
2-3 times a week	7.0%	29.6%	51.3%	12.2%
every day	7.4%	37.3%	44.4%	11.0%

From this table, and reading along the rows, it can be seen that just over half (53.9%) of the students who stated they practised writing once a week or less found writing difficult, whereas a significant proportion of students (55.4%) who practised every day found writing *quite* or *very easy*. The Pearson chi-square test that was generated with this test shows a significant *p*-value of 0.004.

The analysis was extended to the other three skills and the chi-square test analyses showed overall a significant relationship between the students' amount of practice and their self-reported level of difficulty in that skill, but only for speaking and writing. From these findings, therefore, it is difficult to state that *generally* there could be a relationship between the amount of practice students undertake and their self-reported levels of difficulty in the skills. However, this study has shown that there does seem to be a relationship between how much these particular students stated they practise a skill and their level of difficulty in that skill, but only for the productive skills. There are various reasons why this relationship was not demonstrated for the receptive skills, including the possibility that the respondents overestimated their ability in these skills, which was the case in a similar study where students were also asked to complete self-assessment surveys (Huang, 2010). There have also been concerns raised with using self-assessment data from learners in needs analysis since the data they provide may not always be reliable (Auerbach, 1995; Long, 2005c; Huang, 2010), which is one of the reasons why this study used a mixed methods approach when collecting the data and approached two target populations.

4.2 Semi-Structured Interviews – Discussion of Findings

The interviews that were conducted in the first AR cycle in order to gather further information about the target situation took place with ten lecturers who were teaching subjects using EMI. The details concerning these lecturers has been reproduced in Table 2 below.

Table 2 – Interview participants – basic data

alias	subject taught	L1
Dario	International Finance	Italian
Enzo	Economic Policy for PPE	Italian
Ivan	Financial Analysis	Russian/Byelorussian
Riccardo	Financial Risk Management	Italian
Oscar	Principles of Philosophy	Italian
Claire	Introduction to Accounting	French
Ottavio	Information Systems and Data Management	Italian
Fabio	Economics	Italian
Benno	Political Science 1	Italian
Rodion	Mathematics for Economists A & B	Russian

The data collected and analysed from the interviews with the academic staff tended to intersect with much of the data analysed from the questionnaires concerning the skills needed and used in the subjects using EMI, although there were some important divergences. The *Use of English* conceptual framework that was developed from the coding, and is depicted in Figure 3 presented the skills that were mentioned by the academic staff as being used in the classroom and for the exam.

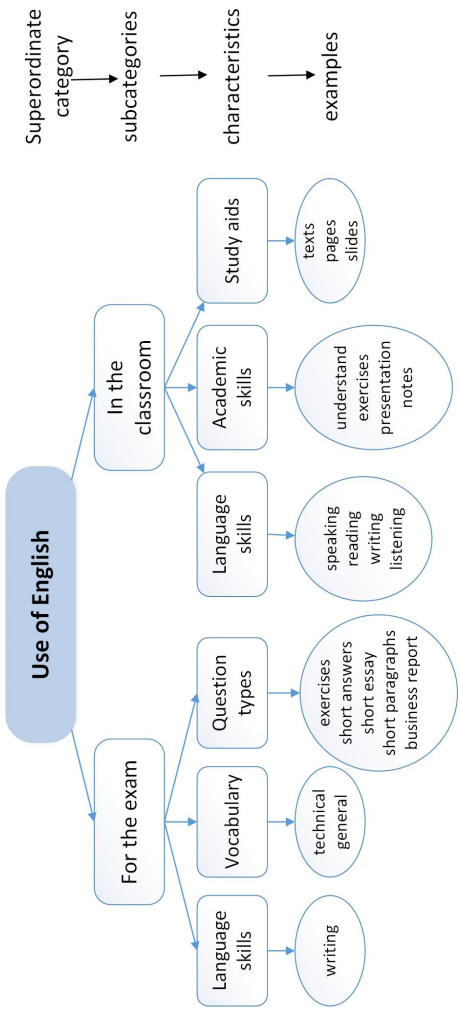

Fig. 3 − The *Use of English* conceptual framework

In the classroom, reference to all four skills was coded and integrated into the *Language skills* subcategory. Reference to the skills used in the exam, however, was included in the *Language skills* subcategory emanating from the *for the*

exam main subcategory, as can be seen from the conceptual framework. Although all four skills were used in the classroom, the skill mentioned for the exam was writing, with only one reference to reading.

The order that the skills are presented in the conceptual framework in Figure 3 shows the frequency of the references made, so speaking in the classroom was referred to more often than any of the other skills. A word frequency analysis was undertaken using NVivo to establish this aspect, and Table 3 shows how the four language skills were referred to.

Table 3 – Aggregated references to skills use in the classroom from the interview data

skill	aggregated *in vivo* coding	no. of occurrences
speaking	talking	16
	interact	14
	discuss	11
	speak	8
reading	reading	17
writing	notes	10
	writing	10
listening	listen	8

From this analysis shown in Table 3, therefore, it can be seen that speaking was the skill used in the classroom that was referenced the most frequently with 49 occurrences in total, considering the synonyms and other related words for speaking. In fact, all of the lecturers, except for Rodion, the lecturer for Mathematics for Economists A & B, explicitly mentioned that the students were required to speak English in their classes. The next most frequent activity that was mentioned was reading, followed by writing with twenty occurrences, and listening. As can be seen from the table, there were ten occurrences of the word "writing" yet there were also ten occurrences of references to "notes", which, in the conceptual framework, was coded separately as an academic skill. For this particular analysis in Table 3, however, it is included in the *writing* category given that taking notes is a writing activity.

The conceptual framework in Figure 3 also depicts the skills used in the exams administered for the different courses taught in English and the main skill that was referred to was writing, which occurred 17 times. All the exams at the Faculty are administered as a written exam, and no oral exams are required apart from in the exams for the various language for specific academic purposes courses, which are not only offered in English but also in German and Italian. Therefore the fact that writing was the main skill that was referred to being used in the exams is not surprising. However, some lecturers mentioned that the exams they administered did not even require much writing in English given that some of the courses taught in English at the time were mathematical or financial subjects. Ivan, the lecturer for Financial Analysis stated that "the exam is on the laptops, they do the exercises which are very much numerically based so they don't have to write lots" and Riccardo, who taught Financial Risk Management, stated "they don't need English it's just maths" when referring to the questions used in the exam. The other skill that was referred to for the exam was reading, but this was only mentioned when discussing the students' problems in one exam. Consequently, the use of skills mentioned by the lecturers in the interviews tended to focus more on the multiple skills needed to be used in the classroom, rather than the skills needed in the exam.

The main findings from the analysis of the conceptual framework concerning the language skills needed therefore showed that all the language skills were required in the EMI classrooms that were studied, but only writing was required in the exams. Of the skills needed in the classroom, speaking was the most frequently mentioned, followed in order of frequency by reading, writing and listening.

The interviews also sought to investigate the problems encountered by the students and lecturers in the target situation and as such functioned also as a present-situation analysis, like parts of the questionnaire. The *Problems encountered in the target situation* conceptual framework depicted in Figure 4 presents the findings from this analysis and divided the problems into the three main categories, language problems, content problems and problems related to classroom management.

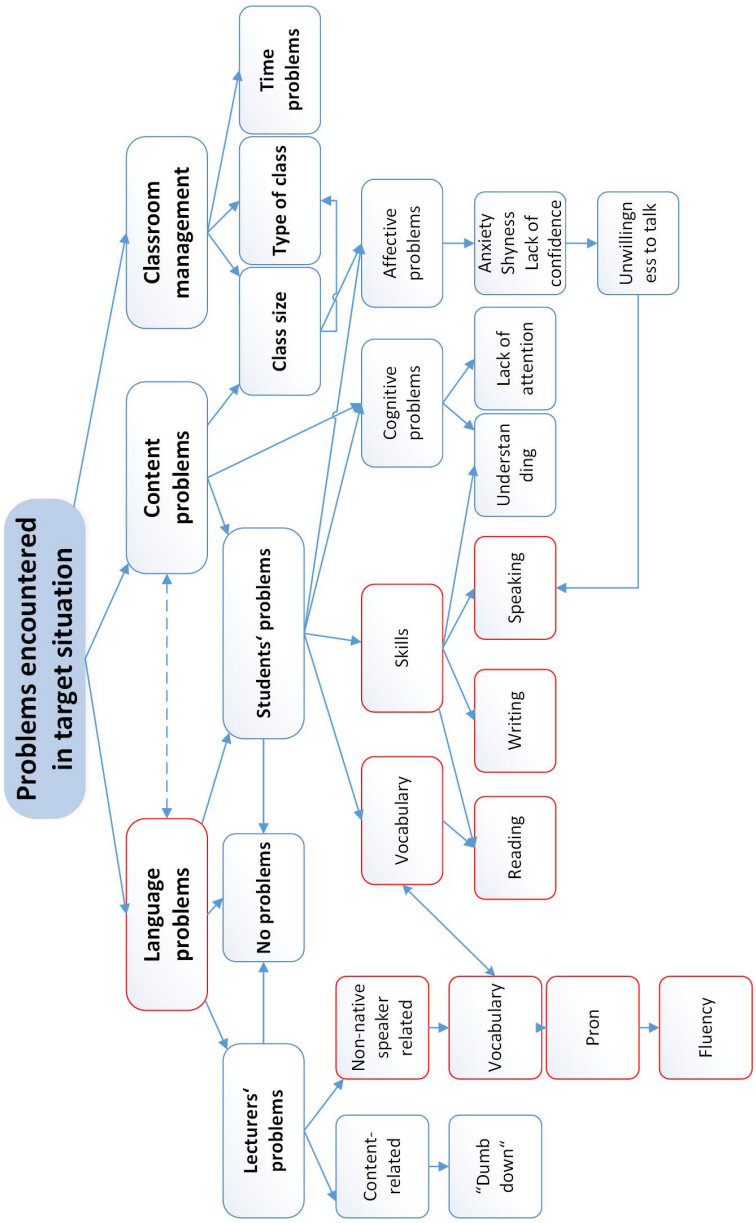

Fig. 4 − The *Problems encountered in the target situation* conceptual framework

The language problems were further divided into the lecturers' problems and the students' problems as well as the subcategory *no problems*. This third category was added as several lecturers had referred to areas where there were no problems, especially when referring to their own use of English as a medium of instruction. Dario, when referring to his own language problems, stated "Usually no I don't have any problem when I lecture absolutely no". Benno also answered in the negative when asked about any problems he may have had lecturing, "I don't think I have any particular problem". Rodion, the mathematics lecturer, also felt he had no problems with the language. The fact that some of these comments came from the lecturers of mathematics and scientific subjects mirrors findings from a study conducted with participants from Austria, Italy and Poland that examined higher education teachers' attitudes to English-medium instruction. This study showed that some lecturers felt they had few or even no problems teaching in English since "there was a belief that teaching science and maths was easy and required little language" (Dearden & Macaro, 2016, p. 471).

The comments that were coded into the *no problems* subcategory, however, almost always related to the lecturers not having problems with the language. It was only Riccardo who actually referred to the students not having any problems with the language. He explicitly mentioned three times in his interview that in his view the students did not have any problems, even going as far as stating at one point, "they speak very well, they haven't problem about the English no no absolutely no". However, he was also the only interviewee who stated that he felt that his English was of a lower proficiency level than that of the students: "my level is not so high […] in my opinion the background of this student is higher than mine". Consequently, because he was the only lecturer to admit that his English skills were perhaps lower than those of some of the students he was teaching, this could imply that he was unsure what English language level would actually be required by his students. The fact that lecturers who teach in English may be unaware of the language levels needed by their students to follow an EMI course has been noted elsewhere (Dearden & Macaro, 2016, p. 472). However, another reason for Riccardo's statement could be due to the fact that "Italy lags behind other European countries in terms of multilingualism and in particular the learning of English"

(Costa & Coleman, 2013, p. 6). The Eurobarometer survey conducted by the European Commission (2012) showed that Italy was ranked second from last among 27 EU nations regarding self-reported proficiency in a second language. In fact only 38% of Italians surveyed claimed to be able to speak at least one foreign language, compared to the EU average of 54%. There is, therefore, a tendency for Italians to admit to a low level of competence in other languages, especially English, which was documented by Dearden & Macaro (2016) in their study, even if perhaps this is only a perception. Thus, this general lack of confidence in their foreign language skills shown by Italians could be a reason for Riccardo's statement that his English was lower than that of some of the students.

The *language problems* category in the *Problems encountered in the target situation* conceptual framework depicted in Figure 4 also comprised the students' problems, and this was unsurprisingly the category that covered the most areas in the conceptual framework, given the focus of the target situation analysis and therefore the questions asked in the interviews. The students' language problems were subdivided into *vocabulary* and *skills* and were coded as purely language problems in the conceptual framework using red as the outline for the language problems and using one arrow originating solely from the *Students' problems* subcategory. The lecturers also referred to other problems experienced by the students, which were coded as *cognitive* and *affective* problems, but because these could not be classed as pure language problems but clearly had an effect on the language aspects, they were connected by more than one arrow. Therefore, some lecturers reported that students manifested problems that were coded as *cognitive* but these tended to originate from issues regarding the content of the classes rather than the language used.

Vocabulary problems were mentioned by several lecturers, referring mainly to students having difficulty with the specific lexis used for the subject. Oscar, the lecturer of Philosophy, mentioned the problems the students experienced with the specific terminology used in philosophy on several occasions and at one point discusses the problems students faced at length:

> I don't know how much they read the text but even in class we read the text together and they don't ask the words they don't know. I have to ask them, do you know this word and they're uh? and then I explain it but it's strange, I don't know why they don't do that because maybe they are afraid.

As philosophy is one of the more language-heavy subjects that is taught in English at the Faculty, the fact that students experienced problems with specific terminology would be understandable. Other lecturers mentioned problems with specific terminology, including Ottavio, who stated "Sometimes they have problems knowing the right words, depends on the topic but some topics they have problems knowing the right English words". Ivan also recognised that students had problems in his Financial Analysis course and referred to how he tried to mitigate these problems: "I try to simplify the scientific language so that I am sure they have come across the words and I am using in the exam questions during the course". In contrast, Fabio stated that the students did not have a problem understanding technical terms but in fact had problems understanding more general words. He gave the following example:

> I'm there to explain the technical terms but sometimes either in the exam and in the class they lack in understanding also basic terms, that is for instance… once I made the example of demand and supply in the automobile sector, what happens to the sector of tyres. I had questions… what does tyre mean?

Consequently, although many of the lecturers did not explicitly state that they felt students experienced problems with vocabulary, when problems were mentioned, they tended to focus on the specific vocabulary needed for the subject. This finding corresponds with another study conducted by Evans & Morrison (2011) that investigated the use of English in an English-medium university in Hong Kong using a similar approach to that used in my study where a questionnaire to students to elicit their perceived strengths and weaknesses in the four skills was administered, although they then conducted follow-up interviews with a sample of those students. An important general theme that emerged from their interview data was 'technical vocabulary' and

in particular, students' "inability to understand key technical vocabulary" resulted in problems in reading and listening (Evans & Morrison, 2011, p. 393). However, in their study, it emerged from the students' accounts that the lecturers of the EMI classes were often "oblivious" to the problems caused by a lack of technical vocabulary knowledge (Evans & Morrison, 2011, p. 393), which certainly contrasts with the findings from my study. Moreover, in my study, one lecturer referred to the problems students had with general vocabulary.

Although some of the lecturers mentioned problems the students experienced with vocabulary, the main language problems tended to focus on the skills. Reference to problems in all the four skills was made, but the skills that were regarded as presenting the most problems were speaking and writing. Speaking problems were identified by five of the lecturers (Dario, Ivan, Claire, Ottavio and Fabio) and comprised difficulties connected to a lack of fluency (Fabio). However, most lecturers did not necessarily focus on the speaking problems themselves but rather the cause of the problems, which became its own category, affective problems, which included *anxiety*, *shyness* and *lack of confidence* in the conceptual framework due to the prevalence of these aspects being mentioned. Some of the comments from the lecturers concerning this aspect concentrated solely on students' lack of confidence with spoken English: "I see that they have… they're not confident with their speaking" (Claire) and "In class of course some of them are not confident with their spoken English" (Oscar) whereas Dario felt that it was the use of English that exacerbated an already existing lack of confidence: "well probably some of them are shy beforehand but I believe that – the speaking in a foreign language is part of the story". Moreover, Fabio stated "this year for instance I had a very low responses to… I don't know what happened, they were quite shy", implying that he felt that it depended on the cohort and that a lack of confidence was perhaps not necessarily a regular occurrence.

Students' reticence to speak in the EMI classroom is a phenomenon that has been observed for some time (Tsui, 1996; Chang, 2010; Soruç & Griffiths, 2018), and this has been attributed to multiple factors originating from the learners themselves, from the methodology used by their teachers and from the settings in which the learning takes place. Benno, when mentioning this

aspect, focused on the fact that although some students seemed to understand the subject matter, he felt that it was anxiety about their English proficiency that was preventing them from interacting in the classroom:

> Sometimes the students who are less confident, not so much in the discipline that is being taught but in the language, in English, actually are more shy.

The phenomenon of shyness hindering speaking output was also observed in the study by Dearden & Macaro (2016, p. 473) where it was the "students' poor level of English [that] inhibited their learning, made them embarrassed". Indeed, this fear that is often displayed by less proficient language learners has shown to increase what is known as "communication apprehension", which refers to an individual's "fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communication with another person or persons" (McCroskey, 2001, p. 40). This apprehension can lead to learners actively avoiding situations where speaking is required, which "deprives learners of the practice that they need in order to improve their speaking skills and become confident language users" (Zhang & Head, 2010, p. 2). This aspect was also mentioned by Dario, who referred to the fact that he felt students were impeded from speaking in class due to this apprehension, which then had effect on communicating their subject knowledge:

> However for some of them they are handicapped because they know things but they are just afraid of speaking out loud.

Oscar had also identified a similar trait when he spoke about the students' unwillingness to ask him about unknown words, and he also attributed it to the students' anxiety, using the term "afraid", like Dario above, and so this was coded together with the other references to affective problems. Claire was another lecturer that commented on this unwillingness to speak out in class, although she did not directly attribute it to any of the factors the other lecturers had mentioned, when she stated: "Sometimes they will act as if they are struggling with the content but in fact they just don't want to answer in English I think". Willingness to communicate (WTC) in an L2 differs from WTC

in a person's native language since the individual's communicative competence in the L2 is a "powerful modifying variable" (Dörnyei, 2003b, p. 12). Studies have found that learners with a lower language proficiency can experience greater anxiety when having to speak out in class and thus they can demonstrate less willingness to communicate (Thompson & Lee, 2013; Thompson & Khawaja, 2016). However, communicative competence and WTC are not the same and it has been noted that learners who are competent L2 speakers might avoid communicative situations in the L2 and less proficient speakers might actively seek opportunities to engage in L2 interaction (Dörnyei, 2003b). This aspect is clearly visible in the following extract from Claire who stated:

> Some of them answer, some of them are very good and I know they know the answer, they just stand there and wait for me to ask and then, Paolo what do you think and then Paolo gets up with a perfect answer in perfect English.

The fact that learners demonstrate anxiety in an EMI context, which then prevents them from speaking, has also been attributed to the settings that characterise EMI. A recently published study, which investigated an EMI context in Turkey by administering an open-ended questionnaire to students, found that many difficulties experienced by the students in their speaking were due to affective aspects such as shyness and feeling embarrassed. These affective aspects were often attributed to the way the classes were delivered, which "were conducted along fairly traditional lecture-style lines" (Soruç & Griffiths, 2018, p. 40). Aslan & Thompson (2018) also suggest that anxiety about classroom performance could be due to the typical teacher-fronted nature of the context they studied.

Learner reticence has also been attributed to certain methodological practices that are often used by the teacher or lecturer in class, particularly in traditional teacher-fronted classrooms. These practices include teachers' intolerance of silence and thus a shorter wait time, so that the turn is either reallocated or teachers provide the answer themselves, uneven allocation of turns where the more confident students are more frequently called upon, and incomprehensible input where a lack of responses is attributed to learners not

understanding instructions or questions (Tsui, 1996, p. 151–154). An example of the uneven allocation of turns was provided by Claire when she stated:

> I choose the students I ask. I know about their level and when I see one is struggling, I will not, I will ask for help from somebody else and I try not to ask students that I know will have difficulties

The strategy exemplified in this extract is efficient in advancing through the class, especially when there are time constraints to which Claire also makes a reference when she states "I have so [many] things to do in the class time that I have that I don't have time". However, it has been shown that uneven allocation of turns can make the weaker or shyer students feel neglected and "the more they feel neglected, the less willing they are to contribute" (Tsui, 1996, p. 154). Consequently, the fact that anxiety and shyness are factors that hinder learners' willingness to speak, even if they do not necessarily always derive from a learners' communicative competence, is clearly demonstrated from the data collected from the EMI lecturers in this study.

Apart from speaking, the other skill that was mentioned most frequently by the lecturers as being problematic for the students, and was coded and added to the conceptual framework, was writing. These problems arose mainly in the exams, which, as mentioned, are all conducted as written exams in the Faculty. Oscar, the lecturer for Philosophy stated:

> They write in German or Italian with English words of course. So they don't know what an English sentence is, they don't know how to connect two sentences, many of them… the fact that how a sentence is meant to be connected in order for a English eye to make sense of what is written.

This comment focuses on problems that originated from syntax and discourse features rather than lexical problems since he referred to the students' difficulties to create cohesive texts that follow typical English syntactical structures. Claire, however, focused on the assignments the students had to produce for her course, rather than the writing done in the exam, and how she felt students had difficulties expressing their own ideas in English. She stated:

> They are not confident even in their writing because they quote a lot, they copy and paste, in first year much more than in third year because third year they know I can detect it but in first year the report I see a lot of copy and paste but…

In this case, their difficulties resulted in a tendency to resort to copying from other sources, an academic problem that she ascribed to originating from a lack of language proficiency. Another problem for students when writing was highlighted by Benno, who referred to students' tendency to write too much when answering questions, thus losing coherence in their texts and failing to complete the set task adequately:

> They always try to look competent, knowledgeable by writing long answers and I say, well the first thing is stay on topic because of course that's more important.

The comments shown in these extracts, therefore, tended to relate to problems regarding specific academic writing skills especially related to connected discourse and syntax. They also concerned difficulties in producing texts that had not been copied from elsewhere. Although the inability to produce texts that are not copied could stem from a lack of academic skills such as poor referencing or inadequate citations, or indeed, from a deliberate desire to cheat, it could also be due to difficulties with the language, as Claire implied. Indeed, "a growing body of research into L2 students' source-based writing has revealed language-related problems which may lead to inadvertent plagiarism" (Pecorari & Petrić, 2014, p. 275), so it is likely that the students in this study were either lacking writing subskills such as paraphrasing and summarising in certain cases or perhaps were even lacking specific reading skills. The problem for students to produce texts without resorting to plagiarism because of their lack of language proficiency has also been addressed by Hyland (2001, p. 380), who found that,

> After they mentally compare their texts with target 'expert texts', they may feel so overwhelmed by the distance between what they are expected to achieve and what they feel capable of doing, that plagiarism seems the most realistic strategy.

Consequently, Claire's assertion that her students' attempts to copy from other sources in their assignments originated from language difficulties rather than from any desire to act dishonestly would seem reasonable.

From the analysis of the *Problems encountered in the target situation* conceptual framework, therefore, the most useful and relevant findings were that the students, when they experienced language problems, were most likely to have problems with their speaking, to a lesser extent their writing and also with vocabulary. The speaking problems tended to be influenced by affective factors, such as anxiety and shyness, which prevented many students from engaging in meaningful spoken interaction. These affective factors in turn tended to be influenced by multiple factors, ranging from students' lack of language proficiency to the classroom environment but also most probably by some of the teaching methodology employed by the EMI lecturers. Students' writing problems were generally encountered by the lecturers of the more language-heavy subjects, such as Politics and Accounting, and concerned specific academic writing skills such as producing connected discourse, demonstrating cohesion as well as general problems with syntax. Vocabulary problems were also reported by many lecturers and although they tended to be associated with a lack of knowledge of specific terminology, problems with basic or general vocabulary were also reported. Other problems that were not specifically language problems, but which affected the students' learning included content problems, especially lack of specific subject knowledge, and factors associated with the classroom environment.

4.3 Merged Data – Discussion of Findings

The findings that were generated in the data analysis and the subsequent merging of the data from the two datasets in order to achieve triangulation were used to help answer the first two research questions of this study. As mentioned, the findings that were extrapolated from the interview data with the ten EMI lecturers corroborated much of what was generated by the questionnaires with the students. The lecturers agreed that the four skills were needed in their EMI courses and from a frequency perspective, the most significant appeared to be speaking. As far as their exams were concerned, how-

ever, it was confirmed that writing was the skill that was most frequently required. The qualitative data from the lecturers provided an added perspective to the frequency of use as it became clear from the data that speaking was the skill that was most often referred to when discussing the use of English *in the classroom*; a feature that could not be inferred from the questionnaire data. However, these references to the skills also comprised references to the problems that the lecturers felt the students experienced, and very few mentioned problems related to reading and listening, which were the skills the students reported practising the most.

The data from the lecturers also generally confirmed the data from the students regarding for which purposes the skills were used. While not being able to provide information about the actual language proficiency levels of the students, the lecturers were able to provide information about the problems they felt the students experienced in their classes and exams. Although there were many language problems mentioned, problems also concerned other aspects that had an impact on the teaching and learning, such as affective and cognitive issues as well as issues connected to the specific content of the subjects taught in English. The findings showed that the lecturers felt speaking English in class was the most significant problem for the students, followed by writing problems encountered mainly in the exams, and also problems connected to an insufficient command of the technical and sometimes also basic vocabulary needed to study the various subjects in English.

The data from the interviews also produced findings concerning the origin of the students' language problems, and significantly one of the main reasons given for the students' perceived lack of speaking proficiency was not necessarily their overall communicative competence but their unwillingness to speak, especially due to affective aspects related to anxiety. Although the lecturers did not offer any reasons for this general reticence to speak, the findings from the interview data show that all the courses that used EMI were taught as traditional lectures, almost undoubtedly due to the relatively large class numbers, but also very possibly due to the academic traditions of university teaching in Italy where a traditional lecturing style has been reported as being extremely prevalent (Costa & Coleman, 2013). This traditional teacher-fronted lecturing style was observed by Costa & Coleman in their

study to provide students with few if any meaningful opportunities for interaction, a phenomenon that has been recognised in other studies of EMI classrooms (Zhang & Head, 2010; Wilkinson, 2012; Dearden & Macaro, 2016; Soruç & Griffiths, 2018). As a consequence, although most of the lecturers in my study stated that the students needed to speak in their EMI classes, the opportunities for speaking in those classes were probably generally few and far between and would almost certainly not have allowed many opportunities for student-initiated interaction or more prolonged student-student interaction given the class sizes and the traditional lecturing styles employed.

In sum, as far as frequency is concerned, both the students and the lecturers agreed that all four skills were used regularly in the classroom with a divergence in the findings concerning which skill was reported to be the most frequently used. Both the students and lecturers, however, agreed that writing was the main skill that was needed for the exams. As far as proficiency in the skills was concerned, the productive skills were rated as being the weaker skills by the students themselves, and the findings from the interviews with the lecturers tended to correspond with this view.

5. Key Implications for ESAP Syllabus Design

The findings that were generated from the merged datasets in the first AR cycle provided the focus for the redesigned syllabus. The existing syllabus, which was essentially a product syllabus with skills focus, would therefore maintain a focus on the main skills that were regarded as most needed to be improved by the students and the lecturers from a proficiency perspective, in other words writing and speaking, and there would also be a concurrent focus on reading and to a lesser extent on listening, given their frequency of use and therefore relative importance. Significantly, however, the redesigned syllabus would focus on providing students with more opportunities for engaging in the productive skills; in the case of speaking, there would be more opportunities to engage in spoken interaction, especially student-initiated interaction as well as more prolonged student-student interaction in small groups to mitigate some of the problems due to shyness. This aim evolved not only from the

reported frequency of use of speaking in the classes and the relationship that was demonstrated between the frequency of practice and self-reported proficiency levels, but also from the findings' clear indication that students were almost certainly not provided with opportunities for much, if any extended speaking time in their EMI classes.

As far as writing was concerned, the new syllabus would provide for more individually focused writing activities to provide more relevant writing practice. Moreover, the redesigned syllabus would also incorporate more opportunities for students to participate in the decision-making aspects of the ESAP course, and would therefore introduce elements that could be negotiated. This process approach to syllabus design, which introduces negotiation into the syllabus, would therefore act as a means to provide opportunities "for authentic language use about matters that are of immediate significance to learners" (Breen & Littlejohn, 2000c, p. 19) and so would provide opportunities for extended speaking time and, therefore, further opportunities for language and skills improvement, as well as allowing students to participate in some of the decision-making aspects of the course. Consequently, the process approach that used negotiation would directly benefit the skills-based approach to the syllabus as the negotiation would provide concrete opportunities for the students to engage in focused and relevant skills practice.

5.1 Redesigned ESAP Syllabus – Implementation Problems and Evaluation

The redesigned syllabus was implemented in the second AR cycle of this study where students were given the option to negotiate various aspects of their ESAP course with me directly. This implementation proved unsuccessful mainly due to a lack of student interest. In order to obtain feedback from all the students who had chosen not to negotiate the course contents available, therefore, a survey was distributed at the beginning of their written exam in order to gain as many responses as possible. The main findings were that the students generally felt that reading *Freakonomics* (Levitt & Dubner, 2005), the basis of the alternative to the negotiated elements of the course, was more interesting and less time-consuming than negotiating their own content. Conse-

quently, it seemed clear that if more students were to participate in negotiation, and thus benefit from the opportunities to participate in the decision-making processes of the course, how the source material was to be chosen would have to be reassessed.

A further aspect that arose while reflecting on the implemented syllabus was that the negotiation used in the second AR cycle had not involved classroom-based negotiation, which had been one of the aims of the study in order to provide more student-initiated interaction or more prolonged student-student interaction. Therefore, the modified syllabus to be used in the third AR cycle would also have to include a clear intention to include classroom negotiation.

5.2 Modified ESAP Syllabus – Discussion and Evaluation

The modified syllabus was implemented in the third AR cycle, and this time students were required to undertake the negotiation in the classroom. Moreover, given the problems that had arisen due to the previous cohort's unwillingness to deviate from the previous source material, I decided to maintain *Freakonomics* as the source material for that year. Although this decision might seem inconsistent given the intention to provide students with the freedom to choose, various accounts of unsuccessful negotiated syllabuses had also identified that the failure was often due to students' reluctance to assume responsibility for decisions (see for example Budd & Wright, 1990; Slembrouck, 2000; Boon, 2011).

The procedure was explained clearly to them and they worked in small groups so that they could discuss which chapters or aspects of the book they felt they wanted to focus on in the course without having to worry about speaking out in front of the whole class. The use of a worksheet provided them with a clear framework that aided the structure and contents of the discussion. They were given ample time to engage in student-student interaction in this first phase of the negotiation and then once all the groups had discussed all the aspects in the worksheet, they then negotiated their points with me in a whole-class discussion. As such, this particular class provided many more opportunities for extended speaking practice for each individual student than had ever been possible in previous courses.

Although this is only one example of a class that was characterised by negotiation, further negotiation occurred throughout the course as I began to loosen the teacher-control that had previously characterised the course. This, therefore, provided further opportunities for speaking practice. Moreover, more writing practice was provided through more regular and structured writing tasks, some of which were again negotiated with the students.

Given this study was an action research study, *reflection* is one of the four moments of the cycle, which in this study always incorporated the evaluation stage(s) of the study. The students were asked to evaluate the modified syllabus at the end of the course, filling in an end-of-course survey that was again administered at the start of the written exam. The data obtained were coded using the same procedure as was used to code the interviews with the EMI lecturers and were visualised in a conceptual framework, which can be seen in Figure 5.

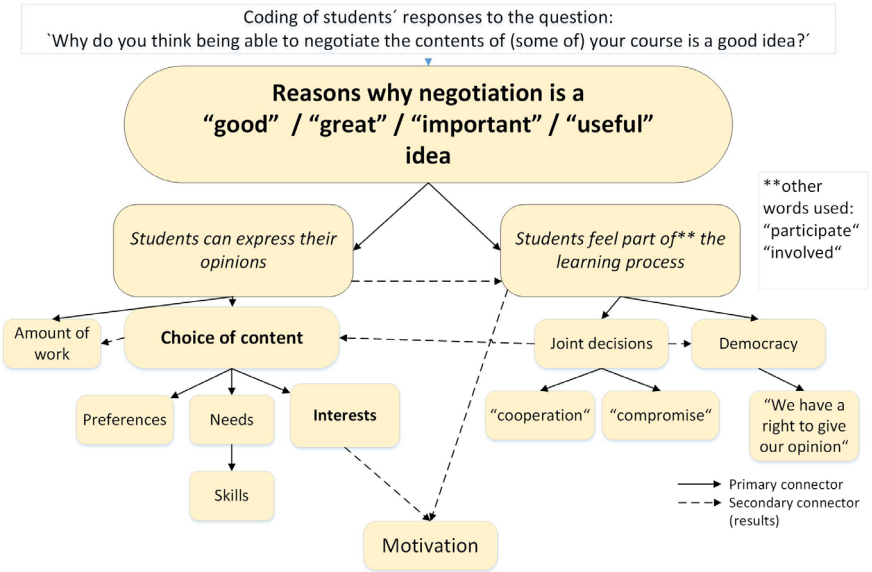

Fig. 5 – Conceptual framework of students' responses in the survey

The students were overwhelmingly positive about using negotiation, and of the 105 completed surveys, only three respondents did not believe using negotiation was beneficial. Of these three, only one gave a reason, stating, "I think that the professor should decide about the content of the course". This comment demonstrates how traditional educational practices with a clear division between the learners and the teacher can still be regarded as the preferred approach by the students concerned, which reflects perhaps the greatest opposition to negotiated syllabuses and which has been reported in other studies (Bloor & Bloor, 1988; Budd & Wright, 1990; Newstetter, 2000; Slembrouck, 2000; Smith, 2000; Sokolik, 2000). However, since the vast majority of the students surveyed in my study were positive about using negotiation in the course, citing aspects such as they felt part of the decision-making process, they could influence the contents based on their interests and needs, and this led to greater motivation, I believe that the approach used where negotiation was blended with a greater focus on skills development was essentially successful.

6. Conclusion

This study has shown that the use of negotiation in the ESAP classroom allowed the students to have opportunities to engage in the decision-making processes of their course. However, using negotiation not only allowed me to consult the students on the course contents, but the negotiation itself also provided opportunities for authentic language practice, an element that this study's findings showed was generally missing from the EMI classes that the students were following. The use of negotiation also provided the students with more opportunities to engage in meaningful tasks which provided authentic target language practice using student-student interaction, which has been observed to be beneficial in skills acquisition (Ortega, 2007).

This study has also provided an insightful classroom-based investigation into the use of a negotiated syllabus in not just a tertiary setting, but a tertiary setting that is characterised by EMI. Therefore, it extends and enhances the work of other researchers who have undertaken classroom-based

research on practical implementations of negotiated syllabuses in university settings, such as Martyn (2000), Newstetter (2000) and Sokolik (2000), among others. Given that most of these studies were completed more than two decades ago, when EMI was in its infancy, this study is certainly timely.

Finally, there may be some doubt that there is a need for ESP or ESAP courses in programmes where EMI is present. However, as this study has shown, the mere fact of following an EMI programme does not necessarily provide students with the language practice needed. In fact, it has recently been stated clearly that "the curricula of English-medium programmes should therefore ideally include ESP and EAP courses" (Schmidt-Unterberger, 2018, p. 530). If these ESP courses are designed to focus not only on the product but also on the process, then perhaps future students will be even better equipped for their future careers in this multicultural, multilingual and multifaceted world.

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Aligning Policy and Practice: Linguistic and Pedagogical Strategies for the EMI Classroom

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Abstract

The growing internationalisation of higher education has positioned university lecturers at the "interface between institutional demands and students' expectations" (Tange, 2010, p. 141). This change process can produce evolving institutional language policies as English medium education in multilingual university settings becomes a common practice (Dafouz and Smit, 2016). The interrelationship between language policy and practice can be critical as non-native English-speaking lecturers deal with issues concerning language proficiency, developing ways to increase student understanding and ensuring that programme quality is maintained (Doiz et al, 2011). This paper presents the results of a research study into EMI teaching practices at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano. A vertical approach to data collection was adopted using semi-structured interviews, classroom observation, and video stimulated recall (VSR). Post-observation interviews employed Coyle's (2005) critical incident technique, offering lecturers a chance to reflect on examples of good practice and/or problem areas in the EMI classroom. The results of the study showed that despite apparently high levels of individual self-awareness on the challenges of teaching in English, there appeared to be varying levels of effectiveness displayed by lecturers with the capacity to draw upon appropriate linguistic and pedagogical strategies necessary to meet the needs of multilingual and multicultural student audiences. Problems relating to levels of language proficiency, reliance on a limited range of pedagogical approaches, and lack of cultural awareness could be identified as tensions illustrating a gap between EMI teaching practices in the classroom context and language policies at institutional level. Nevertheless, there was also clear evidence of successful alignment between language and didactic strategies underpinning the concept of "language policy as practice" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012), when classroom practice mirrors institutional language policy which could have wider implications for diverse EMI settings.

1. Introduction

English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in the domain of higher education is not a new phenomenon, as Graddol (1997) noted over two decades ago, citing it as "one of the most significant educational trends world-wide" (p. 45). In Europe, the adoption of English as the language of instruction in higher education institutions (HEIs) has been systematically mapped (Maiworm & Wachter, 2014) illustrating the enormous growth in the number of English-taught programmes being offered across European universities, tripling in the decade from 2002 to 2012, with over 2,300 programmes representing a growth rate of over 300% (Doiz et al., 2011).

English-medium instruction across Europe highlighted the "imperative of internationalization" (Coleman 2006, p. 4), the increasing use of English used as a marketing tool to make universities more competitive (Phillipson, 2003, p. 47), in the shift away from an exclusive use of the national or dominant language for teaching and learning, to be replaced by English (Dafouz & Smit, 2012, p. 2) for the purpose of attracting international students. The "Englishization" of higher education signalled the marketization of tertiary education as decisions surrounding language policy within the institutional environment created new challenges for lecturers tasked with using English to communicate academic content (Hultgren, 2014).

As institutional language policies evolved, academic teaching staff found themselves positioned at the "interface between institutional demands and students' expectations" (Tange, 2010, p. 141), facing the challenge of adapting both linguistic repertoires and pedagogies to ensure alignment of teaching, learning and assessment in the multilingual and multicultural learning environment (Lauridsen & Lillemose, 2015). The interrelationship between language policy and practice was likely to be a critical factor when non-native English-speaking lecturers had to deal with issues concerning language proficiency, developing ways to increase student understanding and maintaining programme quality (Doiz et al., 2011). Whilst EMI programmes in general, prioritised the acquisition of subject knowledge, rather than the development of English language skills (Coleman, 2006, p. 4), lecturers remained responsible for expanding their students' knowledge of discipline-specific lan-

guage to gain the communicative skills necessary for successful completion of courses taught through English (Airey, 2011).

The main focus of this small-scale qualitative research study carried out at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, a trilingual university located in a bilingual region in northern Italy, was to investigate lecturers' linguistic and pedagogical strategies used in the EMI classroom and the extent to which they aligned with institutional language policy. The two key research questions informing the study were: (1) What factors inform lecturers' linguistic choices and pedagogical strategies employed in the EMI classroom? (2) How are language policy and teaching practice aligned in the EMI classroom?

Conceptually, this paper draws on two different models: teacher cognition, what teachers know, believe and think as exemplified through classroom practice (Borg, 2003) and the concept of practiced-language policy, which locates language policy at the level of language practices (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012). These two complementary models are appropriate for examining teaching practice in a multilingual tertiary setting as they offer a way to uncover the different factors influencing lecturers' instructional choices in the EMI classroom and the role played by language policy in co-constructing meaning in learning spaces where English is employed as the medium of instruction.

2. Theoretical Approaches

2.1 Teacher Cognition in EMI

The construct of teacher cognition, broadly defined as what teachers know, believe and think, positions teachers as "active, thinking decision makers who make instructional choices by drawing on complex, practically oriented, personalised and context-sensitive networks of knowledge, thoughts and beliefs" (Borg, 2003, p. 81). Links between teacher cognition and classroom practice have been found to exist in "symbiotic relationship" (Borg, 2003, p. 91) but it has been argued that contextual factors also play a significant part in influencing practice and the extent to which teachers can implement instruction congruent with their cognitions. Studies in the field of teacher cognition have

identified language management (e.g. explaining vocabulary, creating contexts for meaningful use) to be an overriding focus of teachers' pedagogical thoughts (Gatbonton, 1999), but awareness of the broader institutional context was also found to have a direct impact on teachers' decision-making in regards to lesson planning and content in response to what Burns' (1996) refers to as "organisational exigencies" (p. 162). Accumulated teaching experience emerged from the literature as a key factor informing teaching practice with practitioners' personal history of knowledge and information gained through trial and error providing guidance on what will work and will not work in the classroom (Crookes & Arakaki, 1999, p. 16). Teachers' capacity to transform subject-matter content into a form appropriate for teaching and learning, referred to as pedagogical content knowledge, broadened the concept of teacher cognition to encompass the idea of blending of content and pedagogy adapted to the diversity of interests and abilities of learners in the classroom environment (Shulman, 1987, p. 8 cited in Borg 2006, p. 22).

2.2 Practiced Language Policy

The concept of "practiced language policy" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012) highlights the interconnection between language policy at the level of language practices embedded in classroom discourse. As a construct it provides an appropriate theoretical lens to examine lecturers' discourse in multilingual teaching and learning spaces where English is the medium of instruction. Spolsky's (2004) model of language policy found at the levels of language management, language beliefs and language practices assumes an integrated approach, with each component, that is, 1) language management ("the formation and proclamation of an explicit plan or policy, usually but not necessarily written in a formal document, about language use"), 2) language beliefs ("what people think should be done"), and 3) language practices ("what people actually do") (Spolsky, 2004, p. 1014) operating together, rather than as separate entities. While classroom discourse can be construed as socially constructed, it is shaped by institutional language policies and the language choices made by individual lecturers according to their own language beliefs and ideologies. In Spolsky's model the "real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices that [sic] its management" (Spolsky, 2005, p. 2163).

Looking for instances of practiced language policy in the EMI classroom required the researcher to focus on those communicative exchanges demonstrating how institutional language policy can be "interactionally constructed in practice" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012, p. 217). In exploring policy at the level of practices the aim was to "look at what people do and not at what they think should be done or what someone else wants them to do" (Spolsky, 2004, p. 218).

3. Literature Review

A considerable body of research on English as a Medium of Instruction has emerged in recent years (see Coleman, 2006; Smit & Dafouz, 2012; Dearden & Macaro, 2016; Macaro et al., 2018) highlighting the critical role played by university lecturers responsible for implementing evolving language policies connected to English in diverse higher educational settings. Much of this research has centred on stakeholders' perceptions towards EMI in countries experiencing rapid growth in the use of English as language of instruction and on ways in which institutional language policies directly impact teachers' professional practice. Two Danish studies (Tange, 2010; Werther et al., 2014) outlined the challenges faced by lecturers' teaching their disciplinary content through English as a second language. One major issue identified was the lack of systematic planning at an institutional level, resulting in staff having little warning prior to delivering their courses through English (Werther et al., 2014, p. 10). Limited language proficiency, minimal EMI teaching experience or awareness of the difficulties teaching through a second language also emerged as contributing factors linked to poor classroom performance. The absence of dedicated language training or strategies designed to support lecturers implementing EMI policy affected lecturers' ability to meet institutional expectations (Werther et al., 2014, p. 13) and mirrored earlier concerns identified by researchers about lecturers' attempts to transform management strategy into sustainable teaching practice (Airey, 2011; Tange, 2012). Low levels of linguistic proficiency (teachers and students), general lack of experience or under-

standing of the implication of teaching through English, and limited support for EMI programmes in the institutional context also emerged as recurrent themes (Dearden & Macaro, 2016) in the EMI research literature.

An early study on the effect a change in instructional language might have on teaching performance (Vinke et al., 1998) reported that Dutch lecturers' felt "less capable of expressing themselves clearly and accurately" (p. 387) due to linguistic inflexibility, and an inability to adapt one's language to different instructional situations. This was evidenced in observational data which revealed a change of instructional language tended to reduce the redundancy of lecturers' subject matter presentation, and slowed down the rate of speech, clarity and accuracy of expression (Vinke et al., 1998, p. 392). Studies exploring the link between lecturers' attitudes towards teaching in English and professional practice confirmed "the irrefutable need to take stakeholders' underlying beliefs into account when aiming at successful educational innovations" (Smit & Dafouz, 2012, p. 6). An investigation into lecturers' beliefs surrounding language use and proficiency in a Spanish multilingual university introducing English as a third language of instruction also highlighted the need for EMI stakeholders to receive teacher training, although the form this type of training should take was not clearly defined (Fortanet-Gomez, 2012, p. 59). One possibility mooted in a research study exploring Italian lecturers in ICLHE contexts was to offer methodological training as part of a collaborative effect between English language and subject-matter specialists to support EMI practitioners in developing more self-awareness of the type of language issues they faced in the EMI classroom (Costa, 2012, p. 43).

In Italian higher educational contexts, the use of English as language of instruction is much less advanced than in many northern European countries where English Taught Programmes (ETPs) have been in place for several decades (Costa & Coleman, 2012). In 2007, the Conference of Italian University Rectors' (CRUI) annual survey noted a "poor propensity" to set up Bachelor's degree level courses in English, whilst there was "fairly good vitality" in the provision of English-taught courses at post-graduate level (CRUI, 2007, p. 1). A decade later, CRUI's 2016–2017 survey confirmed a rapidly increasing number of Italian universities delivering programmes taught in English (CRUI,

2018). According to Costa & Coleman (2012), the main drivers behind the growth in EMI courses were linked to universities' desire to raise their international profile (32%), attract foreign students (21%), and prepare Italian students for the global market (24%). However, what the findings revealed was that most university administrators (77%) did not prioritise training programmes for academic staff, with only 8% offering any form of methodological training; moreover, whilst 30% of survey respondents voiced concerns about the levels of English language competence of lecturers and students, only 15% of Italian universities provided formal language courses (Costa & Coleman, 2012).

Language policy decisions surrounding the introduction of English medium of instruction programmes in Italian higher educational settings could be imposed from above, as was the case in the Politecnico di Milano's shift to an English-only formula for all postgraduate and doctoral courses as part of its 2012–2014 Strategic Plan, with English providing the "instrument to attain these objectives" (Molino & Campagna, 2014, p. 162). Other initiatives focused on designing more inclusive language policies and support programmes, occurred at the University of Modena, where a combination of teacher training support and financial reward offered an incentive to encourage lecturers to teach through English as the language of instruction and be active participants in implementing language policy (Long, 2012). The University of Padova adopted a participative approach in developing its EMI language policy, encouraging academic staff teaching through a second language to reflect on their own teaching practice and access language support and pedagogical training to acquire the strategies necessary to engage students more actively in the EMI classroom and adjust to the new reality of the multicultural and multilingual learning space (Guarda & Helm, 2017, p. 903), an approach that directly contrasted with that adopted by the Politecnico di Milano in its attempt to introduce EMI policy excluding key stakeholders from the language decision-making process.

A constant theme emerging from studies on EMI practices in Italian higher educational settings was the need for universities to design language policies that offered a layered approach in supporting students' and lecturers' teaching and learning through English. This could encompass programmes

that integrated language and content, the provision of pedagogical training and language support for teachers and learners to expand their linguistic repertoires rather than focus on a "monolingual mindset" (Molino & Campagna, 2014, p. 169), goals that were less likely to be achieved by applying a "top-down imposition of English-medium instruction" (Pulcini & Campagna, 2015, p. 85).

4. Data Sample and Analysis

The study used a mixed-method approach including classroom observation, video stimulated recall and semi-structured interviews to investigate EMI lecturers' use of linguistic and pedagogical strategies and how they aligned with institutional language policy. Academic staff, who had previously participated in an intensive training course for EMI practitioners conducted by the British Council as part of the university's professional development programme between 2015–2017, were invited via email to participate in the research study. A total of 5 participants were involved in this small-scale qualitative study, 3 EMI lecturers teaching in the Faculties of Education, Computer Science and Economics and Management, as well as 2 faculty staff tasked with managing and implementing institutional language policy. The EMI lecturers had varied levels of experience of studying, teaching and researching through English as members of their respective global academic networks. LEC1 and LEC2 appeared to have significant experience (>15years) teaching in EMI contexts, whilst LEC3 had less exposure (<10years) delivering discipline-specific content using English as the medium of instruction. The lecturers had different L1's, with two lecturers identifying themselves as self-reported trilingual speakers. Data collection took place between January and June 2018.

4.1 Method: Observation, Video-Stimulated Recall, Interviews

Observation makes available direct information as opposed to self-reported accounts (Dörnyei, 2007) and unstructured classroom observation in educational settings enables the researcher to collect descriptions of teaching and get an overall impression of lecturers' language proficiency and teaching strat-

egies employed in the EMI classroom (Kling Soren, 2013). Three lectures (each between 2–3 hours duration) were video recorded but not transcribed. In addition, the researcher took field notes with brief notations on the types of activities taking place and the classroom atmosphere.

Video stimulated recall (VSR) drawing on video recordings of particular observed practices plays a valuable role in promoting the reflective practices of teachers (Reitano & Sim, 2010). In observing their own teaching through short video excerpts, practitioners are encouraged to activate prior knowledge and experience (Kleinknecht & Schneider, 2013, p. 15), reveal tacit knowledge about their pedagogy, and access an alternative way to "see" their practice (Tripp & Rich, 2012). One of the key aims of this study was to explore the connection between language beliefs and language practices in the EMI classroom, and VSR offered the potential to provide a minimally intrusive means to study classroom phenomena, allowing the teacher to "relive an episode of teaching" (Calderhead, 1981 cited in Reitano & Sim 2010, p. 218) and gain access to participants' decisions during teaching. An individual video-stimulated reflective interview was organised with each participating EMI lecturer between March and June 2018. Each post-observation interview lasted approximately 1 hour and short video excerpts (2–3 minutes in length) were used to guide the participants' reflections during the interviews, which were recorded and subsequently transcribed.

Adapting Coyle's (2005) critical incident technique (CIT), which involves lesson observation, provided opportunities for practitioners to reflect on "learning moments", which act as triggers for collaborative reflection and discussion between the participant and researcher. Semi-structured interviews provide "privileged access to a linguistically constituted social world" (Kvale, 1994, p. 147). Individual interviews were carried out with two senior staff offering a unique perspective on how language policy related to English as a medium of instruction was both shaped and implemented in this institutional setting. A set of 4–5 open-ended questions to guide the discussion together with a diagram modelling the university's language policy acted as additional prompts. Both interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Applying a thematic analytical approach in the first stage of open coding, I looked for discernible themes when reviewing the lecturers' post-obser-

vation interview transcripts. A number of themes emerged from the data set and were categorised as follows: language; interaction; pedagogy; language policy; reflection. I applied a similar approach to the data set from the semi-structured interviews with the language managers and identified two overarching themes: language and policy. Written student evaluations relevant to one lecturer were also included in the first stage of analysis and two themes emerged: language proficiency; teaching effectiveness. In the second stage of analysis the different data sets were triangulated to identify any shared themes.

5. Findings

5.1 Linguistic and Pedagogical Strategies

Research Question 1: What factors inform lecturers' linguistic choices and pedagogical strategies employed in the EMI classroom?

In educational contexts, the instructor's choice of language may be categorised according to purpose, disciplinary specific language, language of instruction and classroom management. Developing ways to enhance language awareness has been found to assist teachers and students to communicate more effectively in EMI learning contexts (Dafouz, 2017), particularly, specific types of communication-enhancing strategies such as commenting on terms and concepts, task content, discourse structure, and signalling importance and the use of questions (Björkman, 2010, p. 80).

The findings of this study showed that lecturers drew upon different strategies in helping students to extend their knowledge of discipline-specific vocabulary. LEC1 introduced disciplinary specific language in a deliberately structured way, highlighting its application to academic and professional contexts, displaying a conscious perception of language learning and language use (Garrett, 2006, p. 293):

> LEC1 It is finance you know. However, I do start from zero. I don't use any technical language but slowly I build up the vocabulary and try to use abbreviations.

RES From the start of the course?

LEC1 Exactly, so I start with 'net present values', you explain them that this is 'NPB' and they have to remember because I repeat it all the time. On the blackboard I try not to write the words but abbreviations so that makes them a bit more attentive and trying to understand what does it mean…finance people talk in abbreviations it's the language in newspapers

RES So you're almost getting them used to a familiar environment?

LEC1 Yeh but not that much for example when you go to the real business to be a practitioner and you hear them talking 70% of the words they say is financial jargons. So, I really put very few, but do because I think it's quite important for them to feel comfortable then later, when they read the financial news, or anything there connected to finance, they'll feel comfortable because they know what it's all about

In the Faculty of Economics and Management, at both micro (classroom) and meso (departmental) levels, English was regarded primarily as a communicative 'tool' enabling students to gain access to future professional discourse communities. Such views mirrored earlier studies that found business teachers perceived English as essential to the pursuit of academic studies in business-related subjects (Dafouz, Hüttner, & Smit, 2016).

Despite having the necessary specialised terminology related to his disciplinary field, LEC2 was unable to access sufficient general lexis to make comparisons or indicate relationships across professional domains:

LEC2 […] sometimes something I feel, you know, if you make a comparison with some completely different domain then my feeling is I'm not very fluent with the vocabulary in this other domain and then it's difficult to make comparisons you need the vocabulary there to explain it of course my vocabulary is rather limited to computer science terminology yeh I sometimes try to avoid this because it's risky sometimes I would love to be able to include more of these things because this would be a good way to explain a relationship or...

Where there appeared to be a gap between the lecturer's proficiency in respect to disciplinary and general lexis, this could lead to tensions in the learning context. In the case of LEC3, this was reflected in student course evaluations highlighting concerns about the instructor's overall linguistic capability:

> the professor lacks of the basic knowledge of the English grammar and vocabulary
>
> I think that the professor struggles in explaining himself on the subject because of his low competence in English and therefore he cannot fully express himself on the things he wants to say
>
> the language competence in English of the professor is very inappropriate making it hard for students to follow him as he talks
>
> a great problem was the understanding of the language spoken by the professor

However, it was also evident from students' positive responses in the same end-of-course evaluations that in adopting a variety of didactic approaches, LEC3 could, to some extent, mitigate against the problem of having a restricted linguistic repertoire: ("I have really appreciate the support…video, power point and book"; "Moreover he gives several ways in order to understand topics covered during lessons…"; "Very good videos of the lessons available online").

The findings showed considerable variation in the type of pedagogical strategies utilised by the lecturers participating in this research study across different disciplinary areas. Levels of interactivity and participatory learning were not necessarily tied to the individual lecturer's level of English proficiency. The experiential dimension of teachers' knowledge (Golombek, 2009, p. 156) emerged as a key driver behind the choice of pedagogical strategies used in the EMI classroom:

> LEC1 Well, from my experience I really don't expect much interaction from the second year students[...] I've tried during the start of my career to ask questions and give them points for asking questions and answering them…but then it's really a waste of time and it's not engaging many people…so, from my experience, interac-

> tion within a large group of students is not really useful, especially when they are actually starting the topic off.

Although LEC1 considered the use of questions as time consuming, he did employ simple questions strategically "to see if people follow me, or at least think about the topic and not about something completely unrelated", which supports previous research on the use of questions in multilingual learning contexts as a didactic tool to monitor student engagement and facilitate comprehension (Björkman, 2010). From LEC2's perspective, interactivity occurred not only when students' actively participated in asking questions, but also through other forms of classroom engagement:

> LEC2 […] this was not a very interactive class this year so there were one, two people, three people not very interactive but at least they were always sitting here and you have the feeling they are listening to you.

LEC3 displayed a much higher frequency in his use of open and closed questions and had a clear rationale for incorporating this pedagogical approach into his teaching practice: "the goal of interacting with students many times is also to present experiments, for which, in that situation, you are part of the knowledge that is being created there" (LEC3). However, the data revealed instances where LEC3's inability to correctly frame a question could lead to disfluency:

> LEC3 I was making a kind of summary to a question but I was losing the point I was creating a question starting from a nowhere position maybe I started from a point then I thought that I should switch to another one and therefore the sentence is a nonsense I was aware that there was something wrong but maybe I was not able to get what was going on.

Each of the lecturers participating in the study were observed to use a variety of pedagogical strategies to enhance learning in the EMI classroom, including the use of anecdotes, demonstrations, exercises, experiments and quizzes. One interesting finding was that a lecturer's language proficiency was not necessarily the only determinant in influencing the level of interactivity. This was

the case for LEC3 who, despite his restricted linguistic repertoire, appeared to be much less risk averse than LEC2 about introducing a wider range of didactic strategies into his teaching practice. Experimentation in the classroom setting can lead to greater levels of student participation but can also create misunderstanding if the lecturer is unable to structure tasks in a clear and transparent way for students. Concerns about the adequacy of lecturers' English language skills have emerged in other studies on learning in EMI contexts (Guarda & Helm, 2016), and research has shown that choices surrounding pedagogical and interactional strategies adopted by EMI practitioners are likely to be "highly context-dependent" (Dafouz, 2018).

5.2 Language Policy

Research Question 2: How are language policy and teaching practice aligned in the EMI classroom?

The notion that the "real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices that [sic] its management" (Spolsky, 2005, p. 2163), was the driver to investigate how lecturers enacted EMI language policy in the international classroom. The findings revealed instances of alignment between language policy and practice as lecturers demonstrated a strategic use of linguistic and pedagogical choices to ensure effective communication in the EMI classroom context. However, there was also evidence that a restricted linguistic repertoire could cause misalignment in meeting the students' expectations with regards to English medium instruction. In such cases, institutional efforts to re-align EMI policy and practice through direct intervention took various forms: providing professional development courses, language support, or, more drastically, terminating teaching contracts.

If we consider in more detail the notion of alignment, it was noteworthy that all of the study's participants fulfilled the main criteria of the university's EMI language policy to only use English for instructional purposes. Where there was apparent divergence between lecturers was in varying levels of conscious perception or sensitivity to language for teaching, learning and use (Garrett, 2006). Having access to a sufficiently wide linguistic repertoire

(disciplinary specific and general lexis) enabled LEC1 to be strategic in matching his linguistic choices to the needs of his students:

> LEC1 Yeh I can speak faster I can use slang all the mighty power of British English but then it would just be complicated for them for me it's better to speak clearly, slowly, pronouncing the main themes, and then avoiding using complicated words but from the lexical choice I try to be versatile.

For LEC1, this strategic approach was also apparent in the choice of instructional language and pedagogical strategies used to enhance students' understanding, a teaching style that resulted in positive end-of-course evaluations and institutional recognition as an outstanding teacher. Those lecturers able to successfully adopt a strategic approach to language, as a tool for teaching, learning and professional use to match the needs of the multilingual learning space, reflected a form of practiced language policy (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012) with classroom practice in alignment with institutional and learners' expectations.

The data showed that LEC2 was less strategic in his use of language, due in part to his lower proficiency in English and more limited linguistic repertoire. He was also risk-averse to trying out a wider range of pedagogical approaches in the EMI classroom and, as a consequence, might be seen to offer students a more limited learning experience. Although LEC2 generated positive feedback from his students, his style of teaching could be considered as partially aligned with the institution's EMI language policy.

In the case of LEC3, there was clear evidence of a gap between institutional policy and practice, seen in student evaluations which highlighted the lecturer's inadequate language skills to effectively deliver academic content:

> In general, the course is really hard to follow because of the difficulties in understanding the professor's way of speaking

> Maybe it would be better if the course is taught in Italian the English of the prof is very bad

Such misalignment between language policy and practice resulted in direct intervention at the departmental level, compelling the lecturer to attend a one-week intensive EMI training course as part of his professional development. Although LEC3 used a range of pedagogical techniques in the EMI classroom, his weaker language skills and reduced awareness of the role language played in the multilingual learning context had the potential to impede student learning and prevent students from developing their disciplinary literacy, necessary for both academic and professional domains. In this institutional setting, negative student feedback relating to the lecturer's linguistic competence could result in the provision of additional language or pedagogical support, a change in the language of instruction or, in a worst-case scenario, the non-renewal of teaching contracts:

> LP1 When the feedback is very negative they have to change language and they will give their lesson in their mother tongue if there are really big problems the Deans always try to choose those who can really do it.

> LP2 If you have a negative student evaluation you're out for three years, you cannot even apply here it's not so much about what boxes they tick it's much more about the comments at the end…if you have comments of five students in a class of fifty and those five students say 'the teacher doesn't speak English' then you should not teach in that language.

Language policy operates in a "complex ecological relationship among a wide range of linguistic and non-linguistic elements, variables and factors" (Spolsky, 2005, p. 2155). It was apparent that language managers perceived the need to exhibit a shared responsibility in implementing EMI programmes to ensure they matched the expectations of different stakeholders (institutional, faculty, students):

> RES Whose responsibility do you think it is? The individual teacher?

> LP2 Yes definitely, you have the individual and then you have the institutional situation the person starts to teach in a certain language and we see oh oh that's not so good, we usually change that in other faculties I realised they just don't change

this because it's a position that is there so you have to provide that person with teaching and at the end of the day the individual says I am not going to change language so nobody makes really tough decisions.

The university's evolving language policy was designed to address the needs of each of the target group of stakeholders as part of a three pillared approach. Students were provided with intensive and semi-intensive language courses at each phase of their academic career; faculty had the opportunity to participate in dedicated professional development courses and language courses and a range of ESP programmes were offered at postgraduate level to improve students' academic writing and speaking skills. In contrast to previous research illustrating a general absence of structured language support or pedagogical training for EMI practitioners in Italian universities (Costa & Coleman, 2013), it was significant that in this multilingual university, resources were readily available for faculty engaged in delivering courses through English.

The university's commitment to internationalisation was underpinned by its language policy which had as its goal to enable students to integrate language and content, "not on one side language and on the other side content, but they have the knowledge in the three languages" (LP1). In positioning English as one of the official languages of instruction, a *lingua accademica*, institutional language strategies were also designed to provide support for staff and students to become effectively trilingual in a diverse range of languages, creating what Phillipson (2006) refers to as "balanced forms of multilingualism" (p. 27). Although the university's website promoted English as the *lingua franca* of scientific communication, it did not appear to "take for granted the position of English as the default option" (Tange, 2010, p. 139).

Nevertheless, in spite of the generous provision of linguistic and pedagogical support, language managers expressed doubts about the university's ability to achieve full alignment between language policy and practice:

RES Do you feel positive that there can eventually be better alignment between the university's language policy and the needs of each faculty?

LP2 I'm not so sure, on paper you always get this progress by increasing the levels to B2 C1, on paper it looks all nice for me, the only measurement is not if you do

> strategic alignment in lectures and so on the point is, what is working for the students five years later. Can they use it? It's much more about looking at the way they get aware of some information, how they filter information, and how they decide what to use and managing that process in favour of content. It is much more how you motivate people to listen to content than the content itself.

Enhancing students' learning puts the focus on content, and acquiring the disciplinary knowledge necessary to successfully transition to a professional environment with language utilised as an effective communicative tool.

6. Conclusion and Implications for other EMI Contexts

Drawing on two conceptual models, Teacher cognition (Borg, 2003, 2006) and Practiced language policy (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012), this paper has examined the linguistic and pedagogical strategies used by lecturers in the EMI classroom and ways in which EMI policy and practice are aligned in a trilingual university (Free University of Bozen-Bolzano) located in Northern Italy. A vertical approach to data collection was adopted, involving classroom observation, video-stimulated recall and semi-structured interviews, and produced a rich data set. The qualitative thematic analysis revealed instances of alignment of institutional language policy and teaching practices enacted in the EMI classroom, confirming Spolsky's (2005) idea that the "real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices that [sic] its management" (p. 2163).

Lecturers were observed using a variety of pedagogical strategies to enhance learning in the EMI classroom, introduced disciplinary-specific language in a deliberately structured way, highlighting its application to academic and professional contexts, thereby displaying a conscious perception of language learning and language use (Garrett, 2006), and made use of questions as a didactic tool to monitor student engagement and facilitate comprehension. However, there was also evidence of misalignment between policy and practice when tensions emerged in the EMI learning context as a result of student feedback related to lecturers' inadequate English language skills

which impacted student learning. In such cases, institutional efforts were taken to re-align EMI policy and practice through direct intervention, which could involve compulsory attendance in language courses, professional development, or termination of a teaching contract.

The findings showed there was provision for linguistic and methodological support included as an element of the university's three pillared language policy and high levels of awareness by senior managers tasked with implementing language regarding the challenges facing lecturers tasked with teaching academic content through English as a second language. Locally-appropriate solutions designed to expand the linguistic repertoire of students and lecturers were being developed at the institutional level to provide adequate support mechanisms for faculty positioned at the interface between institutional demands and students' expectations (Tange, 2010). The study found instances of classroom practice that mirrored institutional language policy through full alignment of linguistic and pedagogical strategies to meet students' expectations. However, it was apparent there was further need for ongoing language and methodological support when the lecturer's English language proficiency failed to match student expectations or where lecturers' more restricted linguistic repertoire prevented them from using varied pedagogical strategies in order to enhance students' EMI learning experience.

The study's limitation is that it was a small sample, focused on a single institution and so the findings cannot be generalised. However, this research study's mixed method approach resulted in a rich data set reflecting EMI teaching practice and language policy taken from an authentic teaching and learning context. The findings confirm the value of using video stimulated recall as a professional development tool for EMI practitioners to actively reflect on teaching practice and develop more self-awareness about the impact linguistic and pedagogical choices can have on student learning. The concept of "language policy as practice" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012), when classroom practice mirrors institutional language policy, has wider implications across a range of different HE settings as the prevalence of English-medium of instruction programmes continues to expand.

Notes

The following abbreviations used in the interview extracts refer to:
RES = Researcher; LEC = EMI Lecturer; LP = Language Managers

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Intercultural English as a Medium and Outcome of Instruction: The Case of the University of Trento, Italy

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Abstract

This paper presents a critical reflection on the role and meaning of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in higher education, grounded on the findings of a survey on EMI conducted by the Interdisciplinary Laboratory for the Quality and Innovation of Didactics (LIQuID) of the University of Trento (Italy). Trento strongly advocates the need to improve its international profile, switching from a local to a global perspective in teaching practice. This is consistent with an internationalisation drive in higher education in Italy and in universities worldwide, for which the adoption of EMI is considered a necessary step.

LIQuID thus developed a questionnaire with the aim of investigating faculty members' self-evaluation as EMI-users as well as their opinion on institutional and didactic aims, teaching practices, and learning assessment methods, comparing, when possible, their experience in teaching in L1 and L2. Data referring to a total of 150 EMI-modules offered in the academic year 2018-19 were collected. Starting from this dataset regarding Trento's experience, this contribution discusses the adoption of EMI from the local point of view, since internationalisation and one-size-does-not-fit-all policies cannot overlook the specificities of the contexts in which they are implemented. This necessarily leads to a reflection regarding EMI as a global phenomenon. In particular, the survey's results point at complex teaching-learning dynamics which may be associated to a spiral movement consisting of three laps: first, English is initially employed as a tool (medium) to reach general goals at a university level (i.e., innovation and internationalisation); second, English is used as ESP (English for Specific Purposes) to achieve subject-specific aims (i.e., improvement of students' specialised language competences and professional profile); third, English as a Lingua Franca fosters the development of linguistic

but also intercultural competences, thus mediating the shift from the local to the global context for both the University and the students.
This is what I would call EMOI spiral movement, in which inter-cultural English is the Medium and the Outcome of Instruction: English language is the starting point, the medium and the outcome of a multifaceted educational process. Institutional programmes aimed at a truly effective internationalisation of higher education should not disregard the final step of this movement in favour of the others, since a diverse and inclusive university community is grounded upon the nurture of cultural and intercultural competences in addition to linguistic ones.

1. Introduction

A growing global phenomenon which encompasses all stages of education and educational settings as a mechanism for internationalising their programme offer and joining a global community (Dearden, 2015), English as a medium of instruction (EMI) represents a new yet rapidly growing field of academic investigation (Macaro et al., 2018). In particular, an extensive body of research confirmed that EMI found fertile soil in the field of Higher Education (HE) (Smit, 2010; Brenn-White & Faethe, 2013; Wachter & Maiworm, 2014; Fenton Smith, Humphries, & Walkinshaw, 2017), with universities worldwide investing on an offer of EMI-programmes at both an undergraduate and postgraduate level (Lasagabaster et al., 2014; Earls, 2016). In her attempt to map the growth of this phenomenon on a global scale, Dearden (2015) provided a general definition of EMI as "the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English" (p. 4). This description of EMI entails a teaching practice *through* English, rather than *of* English, though language improvement is a by-product expected from EMI implementation[1].

The practical definition of EMI is *de facto* not as easy as it may seem. Dearden's study highlighted a twofold attitude towards its adoption, since EMI can offer opportunities but also raise concerns linked to such issues as its

1 For a full review of the debate on the topic, see Macaro et al., 2018, pp. 57–60.

potentially socially-divisive nature, the access to education for all socio-economic groups, the protection of the first language/national identity, the quality of educational infrastructures, the presence of linguistically-qualified lecturers, English language proficiency expectations, and the top-down introduction by policy-makers, regardless of the consultation with all key stakeholders. In fact, EMI contexts tend to differ from each other and the implications of its adoption vary greatly according to the location, the reasons behind this decision, the different relationships with English each setting has, and the actual users of English in class, i.e., the teachers and the students, each coming from a variety of first language (L1) backgrounds.

Thus, by its very nature, EMI is a diverse phenomenon, which poses several challenges to policy makers and universities as well as to non-native speakers who have to succeed using English and, therefore, with different degrees of pressure upon their shoulders. However, despite the important position of EMI in HE and its intrinsic complexities, few guidelines on teaching and learning through English exist either on a logistic or on a pedagogical level (Smit & Dafouz, 2012; Macaro, 2014; Costa, 2015; Dearden, 2015). Dearden's report (2015) highlighted the considerable differences in aims, scope, infrastructures, and consequences of EMI implementation worldwide. Likewise, several studies stressed the discrepancies on a European level (Cots, et al., 2014; Wächter & Maiworm, 2014; Dimova et al., 2015) with a clear geographical distinction between Northern countries, favourably and successfully embracing the adoption of EMI in HE, and Southern countries, showing a certain degree of reluctance and resistance to its implementation. This tendency is confirmed by looking at the Italian situation. In a survey by the European Commission (2012), Italy resulted second from last among 27 EU nations as for participants' self-assessed competences in a second language (L2), with only 38% of Italians claiming to be able to communicate in at least one L2, against an EU average of 54%. According to Wächter and Maiworm's 2014 survey on English Taught Programmes (ETPs, another term often used for EMI) in non-Anglophone countries in the EU, Italy ranked 21st, with only 0.5% of Italian students enrolled in such programmes. Italian is still the most used language in HE in Italy (Broggini & Costa, 2017) and the introduction of EMI raised criticism and provoked a heated debate (Dearden & Macaro, 2016).

The approaches towards EMI adopted on a HE level were found to vary between North and South (Pulcini & Campagna, 2015; Costa, 2017) as well as between public and private universities (Costa & Coleman, 2012; Broggini & Costa, 2017). In general, a slight increase in the provision of EMI can be detected: indeed, Universitaly's[2] online data about EMI programmes indicated that 61 universities were offering 440 courses in 2020. This marks an increase of 44% with respect to 2015 data, with 245 courses provided by 55 universities, as reported by Guarda and Helm (2016). Nonetheless, English is still far from replacing Italian as the language of HE (Helm & Guarda, 2015) and, in general, Italy still ranks quite low in the EF English Proficiency Index (2019), which assesses the general proficiency in English as L2 on a European and worldwide level (occupying the 26th and the 36th positions out of 33 and 100 countries, respectively), though with a stable increase.

Given such a broad and extremely varied scenario, this paper aims to develop a critical reflection on the role of EMI in HE starting from the analysis of a single case study, namely the University of Trento (UniTn). This choice responds to the need to approach the "jump" into the global starting from the concreteness of the local perspective, i.e., by determining purposes, teaching practice features, learning assessment methods, and potential concerns related to the adoption of EMI. In so doing, the present research discusses the meaning of EMI and its potential developments with the support of first-hand data provided by a questionnaire created by UniTn's Interdisciplinary Laboratory for the Quality and Innovation of Didactics (LIQuID). After presenting the survey and describing the data gathered, this study discusses EMI and an intrinsically diverse – even controversial – phenomenon which can positively enrich and be enriched by the intercultural environment its implementation should aim to foster, one in which English is the medium but also the outcome of an open and flexible, yet carefully-planned, well-supported and thoroughly-supervised educational process.

2 Universitaly is the web portal of the Italian Ministry of Education (MIUR - Ministero del'Istruzione, dell'Università e della Ricerca), which provides the information on course offerings for all Italian universities.

2. Methodology of Research

This was a small-scale quantitative study designed by LIQuID[3] as part of the 2017–21 University Strategic Plan. The main purpose of the survey was to identify the institutional and didactic aims, teaching practice features, and learning assessment methods used in EMI modules at UniTn and, where possible, to compare faculty members' experience in teaching through their first (L1) and second (L2) languages. The quantitative questionnaire research method was selected as best suited to collect a large amount of data in a structured and systematic way (Dörnyei, 2007) as well as to gather subjective information on the faculty members' objectives, attitudes, and opinions (Broggini & Costa, 2017). The online survey software tool Qualtrics XM Platform™ (https://www.qualtrics.com/) was used to design the questionnaire and collect the data. Questions were specifically developed for the present study and provided in both Italian and English. Respondents were asked to answer a maximum of twenty-six questions, most of which were close-ended to encourage completion. A number of questions included optional sub-questions to fill out with personal opinions, specifications or remarks.

Data refer to the modules offered by UniTn in the academic year 2018/19 for which English was the medium of instruction. The survey was carried out between April and September 2019, when the questionnaire was sent by email to EMI teaching staff. The email included a title, a description of the study, the instruction to fill out the questionnaire and the link to the Qualtrics XM Platform™. The survey was explicitly addressed to teachers who had held or were holding classes through English as a second language (L2) at UniTn in 2018/19. Teachers whose first language (L1) or whose dominant language is English were also invited to respond. In the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to state whether their mother tongue was Italian, English, or languages other than Italian and English in order to differentiate the questions accordingly. If, in the 2018/19 academic year, teachers held multiple EMI-modules, they were given

3 The questionnaire was developed by the following members of LIQuID: Andrea Binelli, Maria Micaela Coppola, Antonella Degl'Innocenti, Francesca Di Blasio, Sabrina Francesconi, Carla Gubert, Greta Perletti, Federica Ricci Garotti, Sara Dellantonio, Patrizia Maria Margherita Ghislandi, Carla Locatelli, Chiara Polli, Giuseppe Ritella. English version translated by Maria Micaela Coppola and Anna Masetti. Data elaboration by Flavia Valentini.

the chance to fill out either a single questionnaire or a different one for each module. Data were collected and processed anonymously, with no direct or indirect identification of respondents. The research findings were examined by using descriptive statistics. The following section presents the main results of the questionnaire. For a full list of the survey's question and response options, please see the Appendix section at the end of the article.

3. Results

An invitation to participate was sent out to 356 faculty members. A total of 150 responses by 139 teachers were collected (on 11 occasions, more than one questionnaire was filled out by teachers of multiple EMI modules), covering all UniTn's Science and Humanities Departments. Of these, 112 questionnaires were completed in Italian (74.67%), 38 in English (25.33%). The respondents' first language was Italian in 123 cases (82.00%) and English in 17 cases (11.33%). In 10 cases (6.67%), the respondents' answered "Other" (i.e., French, German, Spanish, Dutch, Hebrew, and Turkish). In accordance with the findings on the Italian situation by Guarda and Helm (2016) and by Broggini and Costa (2017), most of the EMI modules referred to Master's degree courses (77.33%). In the majority of cases, these classes were compulsory or limited elective (47.31% and 25.15%, respectively).

A section of the questionnaire aimed to investigate what are, according to the respondents, the main reasons for UniTn offering modules or programmes through English (Fig. 1). Each faculty member was allowed to select a maximum of three options among the possible answers (nine in total, including "no reason" and "other"). In most cases (86 and 83, respectively) the general objectives identified were to offer students the opportunity to work towards their future careers and to develop a professional international profile (22.57%) and to enable UniTn to enlarge its international learning and research community (i.e., by admitting more incoming Erasmus students or international researchers) (21.48%). Only seven respondents (1.84%) considered the promotion of innovation in teaching practices and learning activities the core reason for implementing EMI-classes.

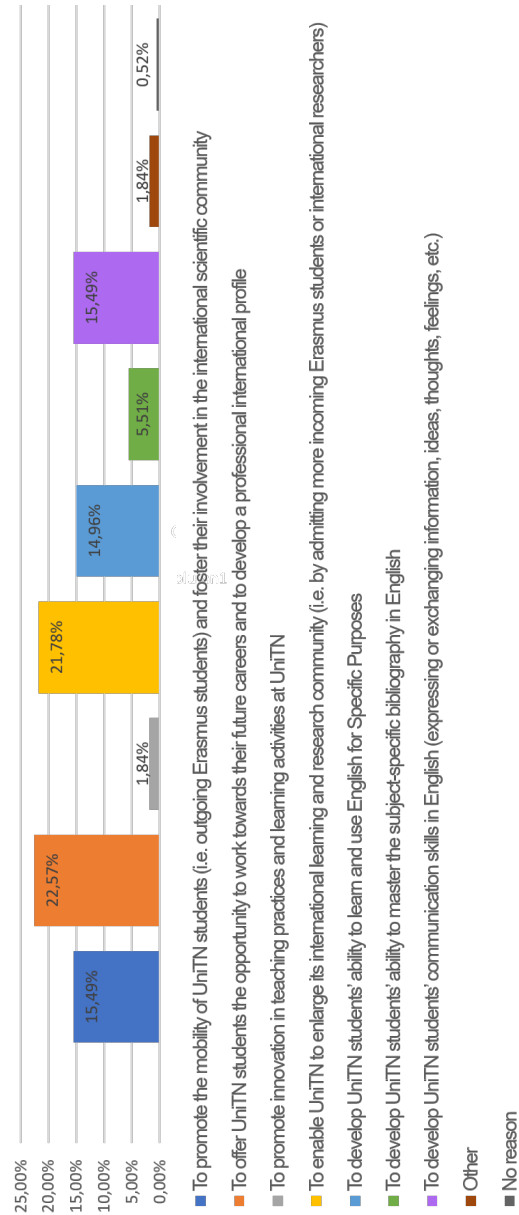

Fig. 1 – General Objectives – The University: In your opinion, what are the main reasons for the University of Trento offering modules or programmes through English?

Faculty members were subsequently asked to state the specific learning objectives of their EMI modules (Fig. 2). Even in this case, a maximum of three out nine responses per teacher was allowed. Most answers (79 and 78, respectively) indicated the possibility of offering students in their module the opportunity to work towards their future careers and to develop a professional international profile (21.29%), and to develop their ability to learn and use subject-specific English (21.02%). Again, the focus on the incorporation of innovative teaching practices and learning activities in the faculty members' module was considered a key-objective only in eight cases (2.16%).

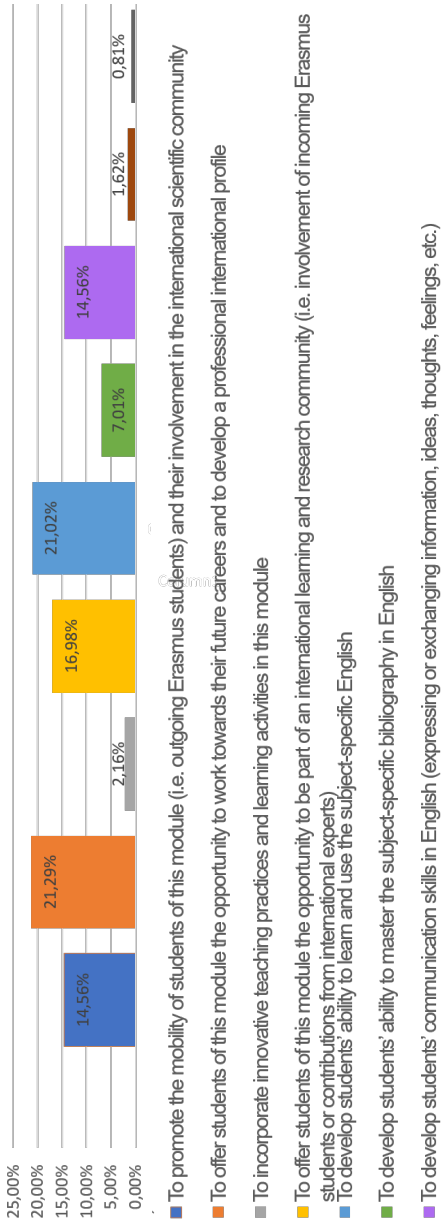

Fig. 2 – Objectives –Teaching practice/Module: What are the key learning objectives of this English-medium module?

Faculty members were asked whether they had taught through Italian (or through their first language, other than English) at UniTn in the last three academic years. In the case of positive answers – 97 cases (65.10%) – they were asked to respond to a subset of questions regarding their teaching experience in L2 and L1. This allowed for a comparison between the responses given on their lecturing style and on their students' competence evaluation and concerns in L1-modules and L2-modules.

To investigate the respondents' lecturing style, the questionnaire included a section on the tools used for personal reference while teaching (maximum three responses out of twelve options) and what such tools were used for (maximum two responses out of eight options). For both English and non-English classes, the main tools selected were notes and outlines on the lecture topics (29.33% and 37.33%, respectively), notes and comments added to the slides (18.73% and 16.00%, respectively), quotations and references from papers (16.61% and 14.00%, respectively). The findings on EMI modules indicated extremely low percentages regarding the use of language tools: in 6.36% of cases, teachers used specialised terms and vocabulary in English; only 3.89% of the participants used English pronunciation notes; 2.12% used English expressions and phrases you use to provide examples, be persuasive, or place emphasis; 1.77% used dictionaries; 1.06% used signposting language notes in English (i.e., expressions and phrases to signal progression through the lecture: e.g., beginning, moving forward, conclusion). By looking at the use respondents made of these tools, the results were similar in both EMI and non-English taught modules as consistent with the answer to the previous question. Tools were used as memos or outlines of the soon-to-be-covered topics (37.85% and 43.80%, respectively), for improving the intelligibility of the lecture (28.08% and 25.62%, respectively), and as a source for quotations and references (17.29% and 21.49%, respectively). Even in this case, the specific function of these materials was not linked to language support: only 5.14% used these tools as guidance with pronunciation, 2.34% with specialised terms and vocabulary, 1.40% with syntax and grammar.

These results seem to be consistent with the answers given to other questions regarding the faculty members' self-evaluation on whether they considered their English language proficiency adequate for teaching in that

language. As for their receptive skills, the majority of teachers answered "yes" and "probably yes" for listening (76.00% and 22.00%, respectively) and reading (90.67% and 8.67%, respectively); likewise, for productive skills, the majority of answers was "yes" and "probably yes" for both speaking (66.67% and 28.67%, respectively) and writing (78.00% and 19.33%, respectively). Overall, their self-perceived communication skills (i.e., the ability to integrate both receptive and productive skills) were considered adequate in 58.67% cases, with 36.67% "probably yes". Negative answers ("no" and "probably no") were extremely low: 0.67% answered "no" for listening, reading, and speaking skills and 1.33% for writing and communication skills; none answered "probably no" for reading skills, while the percentage was 1.33% for listening and writing and slightly higher for speaking and communication skills (4.00% and 3.33%, respectively).

Teachers were then asked what language skills they considered fundamental for a lecturer to teach successfully through English in intercultural settings (Fig. 3). They were allowed to select a maximum of two responses out of seven options. In most cases, their answer was clarity (36.59%) and intelligibility (26.48%). In accordance with the above-mentioned results on language tools, native-like pronunciation was not considered a fundamental requirement (2.79%).

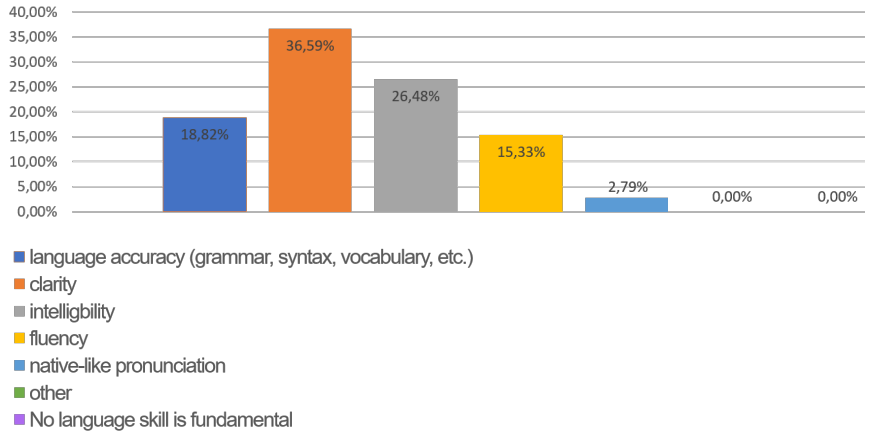

Fig. 3 – English language proficiency – Lecturer: In general, what language skills do you consider fundamental for a lecturer to teach successfully through English in intercultural settings?

After indicating their self-evaluation and the key-language skills required to teach EMI classes, the participants stated a maximum of three out of eight aspects of linguistic, communication and interpersonal competences that they evaluated in their students. As for both EMI modules and non-English medium modules, the aspects most frequently considered by respondents were the ability to learn and use the subject-specific language in 23.42% and 31.18% of the cases, respectively, and communication skills (expressing or exchanging information, ideas, thoughts, feelings, etc.) in 21.56% and 24.12% of the cases, respectively. A noteworthy number of EMI module respondents (15.61%) stated that they did not assess linguistic, communication, and interpersonal competences. In non-English medium classes, this percentage (14.71%) was slightly lower, while the focus on the ability to master the subject-specific bibliography increased (18.24% against 14.50% in EMI-modules).

When asked what concerns teachers had regarding the students' English language use in the classroom when they teach through EMI (maximum three options selected out of nine), the respondents' main answers were that their students were reluctant to use English (due to shyness, fear of making mistakes, insecurity, etc.) (24.73%), and that they had difficulty articulating complex arguments (20.49%) and expressing their opinion or holding a discussion in English (14.84%). Teachers were also asked whether students were able to speak English more fluently than they themselves, though only in 3.18% cases was this regarded as a concern. In 13.07% of cases, teachers found no concern. In the great majority of responses (62.50%), faculty members stated that their students' English language use in the classroom improved as their classes progressed.

As for non-English medium classes (maximum three options selected out of eight), the main concern regarding the students' communication skills in the classroom was confirmed to be their reluctance to speak (33.57%), followed by the difficulty using subject-specific language (15.71% against a mere 7.42% in EMI-modules), together with the difficulty articulating complex arguments and expressing their opinion or holding a discussion (both 12.14%). A higher percentage of faculty members did not find any concern (18.57%). Even in this case, 64.29% of responses positively assessed an improvement in the students' communication skills as the module progressed.

Teachers were asked whether they also used Italian (or their first language, other than English) in their EMI classes and, optionally, to state to what extent and why they did so. In 116 cases (77.33%), the answer was negative. Among the 150 questionnaires, 30 respondents answered the optional question by claiming that Italian is used for clarifications, individual explanations, jokes, greetings and casual talks, details about the exam and other technical issues, to be consistent with the language of exam, to stimulate quicker responses and when no international student was present. Likewise, the answer to the question about the possibility for students to also use Italian during EMI classes was negative in 93 cases (62.42%). The optional responses (45 in total) regarding the occasions in which students were encouraged to use Italian were during one-to-one conversations between native Italian speakers, during teamwork discussion among students, to ask questions and demand clarifications (usually translated in English by the teacher to make them comprehensible for international students), to foster the participation of students that were shy or less familiar with English, or in casual conversations at the end of the lesson.

Finally, EMI teachers were asked whether their students were allowed to choose to take the exam (or part of it) in Italian (or in a language other than English) and, if yes, in which cases and to what extent. Even during the learning assessment phase, the response was negative in 104 cases (69.80%). Faculty members opted to answer the optional question in 29 cases. The great majority of them (27) claimed that their students were allowed to choose the language of the exam to avoid any penalisation caused by the linguistic barriers, especially since their English proficiency was not under assessment.

4. Discussion of Findings

This small-scale study was aimed at investigating faculty members' attitudes towards EMI in an HE institution, namely UniTn, in order to evaluate the implications of adopting EMI programmes. According to UniTn teachers, the main catalyst for the implementation of EMI programmes on a macro-level is internationalisation, intended both as the creation of an outward looking profile for students in view of their future careers and as an opening up of the

whole academic community by attracting students and researchers from abroad.

The results of the present research also seem to be consistent with the findings of a 2015 survey on Italian universities by Broggini and Costa (2017) in which the university managers interviewed declared that the main reasons for establishing EMI courses were the improvement of their own international profile, the expansion of the foreign student population, and students' preparation for future entrance on the global market. Dearden and Macaro (2016) also highlighted how their Italian respondents were less idealistic about the objectives of their university administrations, which in their view introduced EMI exclusively for financial reasons and to compete with other HE institutions. In this view, EMI is conceived as an instrumental tool, which serves the purpose of internationalisation. EMI was found to be a university managerial decision to boost the international prospects of the institution (Naidoo, 2006), with the key stakeholders in the process of teaching and learning rarely being consulted by policy makers and university managers at both a national and institutional level (Dearden, 2015; Dearden & Macaro, 2016). In this view, it was essential to determine the specific motivations of UniTn faculty members in comparison to the institutional ones.

In accordance with the principle of constructive alignment for teaching and learning practices (Biggs & Tang, 2011), the specific learning objectives of the respondents' EMI modules are consistent with the general aims they attributed to UniTn. Indeed, most teachers conceived EMI as the means to offer their students the chance to work towards their future careers and to develop a professional international profile, also developing their subject-specific English (i.e., English for Specific Purposes) proficiency.

Internationalisation was found to be the major drive behind the adoption of EMI in several previous studies on teachers' attitudes towards EMI in HE contexts (e.g., Dearden & Macaro, 2016 in Italy, Austria and Poland; Başıbek et al., 2014 in Turkey; Choi, 2013 in Korea). In particular, Dearden and Macaro (2016) interviewed EMI teachers from Italy about their actual beliefs concerning the use of English in classes where it was neither the lecturer's nor the students' fist language. Their answers clearly pointed to an increase in the

students' professional opportunities abroad and the creation of an international outlook for them as key motivators. Moreover, they considered English the language of academia and, therefore, felt their students needed to master ESP to understand and possibly carry out research with international impact. In this respect and given the results of LIQuID's questionnaire, the conception of EMI as an instrumental tool which was pointed out at a macro-level (i.e. regarding UniTn's general objectives) goes hand in hand with the idea of English as ESP on a micro-level. Indeed, teachers used English with the aim of fostering their students' knowledge of a subject-specific language, as well their skills to actually employ it in their future career.

This necessarily underlies the notion of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) of communication in both job-related and research contexts, i.e., a language spoken by people who do not share a L1 (Jenkins et al., 2011). Students are expected to access an increasingly internationalised and interconnected professional world and, therefore, HE is expected to equip them with the linguistic competences and skills required to make the leap from the local to the global.

However, a University truly striving for an international turn cannot lean only on a merely instrumental integration of EMI modules in its programmes and the faculty members' use and dissemination of ESP. By using the metaphoric image of a spiral, the conception of English as a vehicular language and its use for subject-specific purposes are only the first two spires. Something is still lacking. The kernel of this process lies on the subsequent spire, which can be achieved only by means of the others and, in turn, illuminates and gives them meaning.

Conceiving of English only as a tool and teaching students to use it only as a vehicular language entails several risks. In his pioneering state-of-the-art paper about EMI in HE, Coleman (2006) predicted that "the world will become diglossic, with one language for local communication, culture and expression of identity, and another – English – for wider and more formal communication, especially in writing" (p. 11). However, he also highlighted how the "inexorable increase in the use of English" (p. 1) in HE entailed potential implementation problems which cannot be underestimated. Likewise, several studies tackled the various jeopardies this inexorable process may bring about

(Graddol, 2006; Jenkins, 2015) and Williams (2015) even maintained that the "current EMI implementation produces more challenges than opportunities" (p. 1) for both HE teachers and students.

A danger that raises serious concern is that the process of "Englishization" (Hultgren, 2014, p. 390) of HE may lead to undermining the status of home languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Pennycook, 2014; Galloway & Rose, 2015) and their domain loss with respect to scientific terminology and textbooks written exclusively in English (Hultgren, 2012), and that this process may have linguistic as well as social consequences. On a broader level, Phillipson talked of linguistic imperialism (1992; 2006) and potential pandemic (2009) in this respect, while Kirkpatrick (2011) explicitly lamented the risk of "a global society based on Anglo-Saxon values" (p. 11).

To draw a prestigious comparison, this evokes the recurring accusation Pierpaolo Pasolini (1987) made against the spread of "*l'italiano orrendo della televisione*" (the horrendous Italian language of television) which suppresses dialects ("*volgar'eloquio*" – the vulgar way of speaking, p. 39). According to Pasolini, the use of a standardised Italian entailed a process of linguistic homologation to the detriment of minor linguistic specificities which shape and prompt free thinking and ideas. Ideas stem from linguistic pluralism, whereas monolingualism engenders uniformity of thought. This is the second risk of conceiving ELF from a merely instrumental viewpoint: the homogenisation of conceptual frameworks owing to the tendency to think in conformity with the linguistic – and therefore cultural – code adopted. Indeed, given the unbreakable link between language and culture, a universalistic imposition of English also endangers cultural pluralism. This is clearly detrimental for scientific thought as well as for society as a whole.

HE cannot ignore such negative impacts since research development is grounded upon the exchange of ideas and the circulation of a diversified thought, whether we consider the so-called "hard-sciences" or humanities. In this respect, an academic policy aimed at internationalisation of HE cannot be biased towards the misconception that one size fits all, thus disregarding the specificities of the contexts in which it is implemented. For these reasons, it is of utmost importance to investigate the potential negative impact of the spread of English on home languages, focusing on an analysis of EMI from a

sociolinguistic perspective that take into account teachers' and students' feelings about their L1 being devalued or threatened, but also monitoring the availability of non-English resources preventing the negative impacts of EMI also in this process.

In this respect, UniTn's efforts in creating an international campus should stem from the idea of creating an academic environment with a European – or possibly worldwide – scope but preserving its connection to context-bound specificities, i.e., looking at a global perspective without neglecting the local cultural background in which it is set. Thus, going back to the metaphor of the spiral, the third leap may represent the key-factor to overcome this bias, i.e., the conception of English not only as an instrumental tool (EMI *strictu sensu*) and ESP, but also as a *Lingua and Cultura Franca*, whose introduction can foster the development of linguistic but also intercultural competences, thus mediating the shift from the local to the global context for both the university and students. Going back to its essential purpose, ELF is born to communicate effectively in intercultural settings, which involves establishing social relationships, negotiating meanings, and playing what Wittgenstein (1953) would have defined language games (i.e., creating social meanings and language itself through its integration with practice).

In this view, English language and culture are the starting point, the medium and the outcome of a multifaceted educational process according to what may be called an EMOI spiral movement (Fig. 4), an umbrella concept which emphasises how intercultural English is the Medium and the Outcome of Instruction.

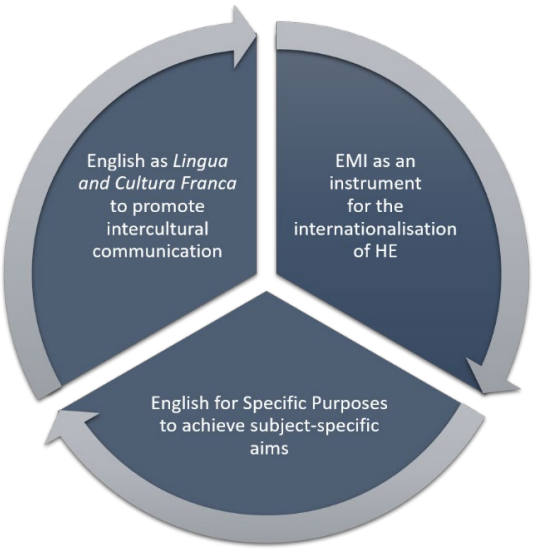

Fig. 4 – EMOI spiral: English as a Medium and Outcome of Instruction

Institutional programmes aimed at a truly effective internationalisation of HE should not disregard the final step of this movement in favour of the others since a diverse and inclusive university community is grounded upon the nurture of cultural and intercultural competences, in addition to linguistic ones. Rather than a label, an EMOI-based approach should be concretely applied on a practical level. In this respect, data acquired through LIQuID's questionnaire point at different areas of interest regarding teachers' English competences, in-class experiences, and evaluation processes, which academic policies should take into close account for a truly effective and diverse internationalisation.

As for faculty members' competences, the findings of LIQuID's survey suggest that UniTn teaching staff, which is mainly composed of Italian native speakers, consider their English proficiency adequate for their EMI teaching position. According to Macaro et al. (2018), most studies reporting on teaching staff's self-assessment about their English proficiency indicated that lecturers expressed linguistic concerns.

Studies on Italian university lecturers highlighted that most teachers perceived their English as inadequate and expressed the concern that students may not understand them, thus leading to an incorrect language learning process (Pulcini & Campagna 2015; Campagna, 2016). Likewise, Guarda and Helm (2016) found that language skills were considered a major difficulty in teaching on EMI programmes in ten out of 53 cases. Francomacaro (2011) reported that Italian Engineering lecturers felt quite confident about their English proficiency, the level of interaction with students, and the evaluation of their progress. However, in her view, "the discussion revealed how the discipline lecturers are unaware of the linguistic implications of their teaching and of their students" (p. 67).

Dearden and Macaro's study (2016) showed that the lecturers from Italy (but also from Austria and Poland) that they interviewed had no clear idea of what English level might be adequate to teach EMI modules, often pointing at PhDs from Anglophone countries and teaching experience abroad as the main criterion of selection. Several studies maintained that no benchmark of English proficiency in HE for teachers exist, and no data on the (either mandatory or optional) implementation and results of EMI-teaching preparation programmes are currently available (Lasagabaster et al., 2014; Macaro et al., 2018). Broggini and Costa (2017) indicated that, in Italian universities, in 45% of cases no minimum level of English is requested and in 33% it is self-assessed by lecturers.

Likewise, in Trento, no international certification is required to teach in EMI courses. In this respect, the evaluation of uncertainties and critical points is of utmost importance in order to plan formative activities to bridge potential gaps, meet teachers' specific needs and prevent the feeling of EMI as a constraint. In this case, the high percentage of positive self-evaluations seem to point at an encouraging scenario, in which English does not represent an obstacle for most faculty members. The results of reading and writing skills were expected, since the academic community is familiar with the reception and production of papers and volumes in English. Still, these are the competences less elicited in EMI classes. Speaking, listening and communicative skills are at stake when dealing with an international teaching environment

and, according to the questionnaire's results, staff's self-appointed competences are slightly inferior, though the percentage of "probably no" (4%, 1.33%, 3.33%, respectively) and "no" (0.67%, 0.67%, 1.33%, respectively) are extremely low or almost null.

A positive way to integrate EMOI formulation in this respect may be to nurture communicative skills as a combination of receptive and productive abilities and to work towards a conception of such skills in a dialogical, intercultural and pluralist viewpoint. This means to focus on teaching staff's knowledge of English not just as a sum of lexicon, grammar and pronunciation but also as a cohesive and coherent ability to share ideas, opinions and thoughts.

Findings regarding the language skills that faculty members considered fundamental for a lecturer to teach successfully through English in intercultural settings seem to be consistent with this view as, in most cases, their answer was clarity and intelligibility, while, for instance, the achievement of a native-like pronunciation was not considered a crucial requirement. This evokes the idea of "World Englishes" which inspired Jennifer Jenkins's homonymous volume (2009), and the idea that Standard English does not – and cannot – exist in a global setting. Therefore, different pronunciations co-exist under the umbrella term 'English', whose boundaries necessarily stretch to embrace its speakers' linguistic varieties. An inter-cultural context once again advocates multilingualism even within the same LF. Research showed that ELF goes beyond a culturally-specific, rule-based conception of English (Smit, 2010; Jenkins et al., 2011; Seidlhofer, 2011; Jenkins, 2015; Mauranen, 2015). ELF is flexible and fluid, with speakers even accommodating their way of speaking according to their interlocutors. Teachers should focus on clarity and flexibility, but also on empathy and accommodation, rather than on providing a perfect – yet static – language model (native speakers' English) by mimicking an ideal speaker (the native speaker of English), with the subsequent increase of pressure on themselves and on their students.

In this respect, LIQuID's findings indicate that this stance is maintained as for the aspects of linguistic, communication and interpersonal competences that teachers evaluated in their students. In their EMI modules as

well as in non-English medium modules, the respondents privileged communication skills intended as expressing or exchanging information, ideas, thoughts, feelings, in addition to the ability to learn and use the subject-specific language. This may indicate that ESP, i.e. the second spire of the EMOI spiral, is prone to merge with an intercultural and dialogical perspective. Clearly, communicative skills do not solely regard the evaluation phase, but encompass the whole teaching and learning experience. It is fundamental then that the employment of English does not hinder communication in the classroom.

For this reason, the questionnaire investigated the concerns teachers had regarding their students' English language use in the classroom and compared the results with those referring to non-EMI modules. Indeed, findings indicate that students seem to be reluctant to use English (due to shyness, fear of making mistakes, insecurity, etc.), show difficulty articulating complex arguments and expressing their opinion or holding a discussion in English. This result is seemingly worrying, though the same concerns were highlighted in non-English medium classes and therefore may be a symptom of students' general reluctance and difficulty in communication in classroom. Since in both cases data suggest an improvement in students' communication skills, UniTn's findings may lead to a reflection concerning how to enhance student-teacher and student-student interactions and create an inclusive environment, in which all participants are encouraged to share their thoughts and opinions with no fear of making mistakes and no penalisation caused by linguistic barriers, both in case of Italian native speakers using English and of international students who do not know Italian and have to struggle with an unfamiliar linguistic and cultural milieu.

The latter consideration also accounts for the question regarding potential concerns linked with faculty members having to face students who are able to speak English more fluently than them. This apparent provocation underlies the very concrete possibility for an Italian native speaker to teach students whose mother tongue is English or who are accustomed to use it at a highly proficient level. An international and intercultural research community should not fear but rather embrace such a chance, though faculty members should be well-equipped and trained to face this challenge. The organisation

of seminars, study days and forums to help, train, and assist teachers is a necessary step to ascertain that the leap from local to global does not turn out to be a bungee jumping experience. Though in LIQuID's survey such concern was pointed out only in 3.18% cases, this percentage may increase as UniTn opens to a broader international community. Therefore, policy makers should be aware and ready to face this issue. Moreover, teachers should bear in mind that they are the subject specialists, whereas their students, regardless of their English proficiency, are in class to increase their knowledge of a discipline in which they are not experts yet.

In that respect, it is of utmost importance for teachers to receive an adequate training on their lecturing style, not just to achieve language proficiency. The survey included a section on the materials used for personal reference while teaching, with results indicating that, for both English and non-English classes, the main tools selected were notes and outlines on the lecture topics, notes and comments added to the slides, quotations and references from papers. Surprisingly, the use of language tools (list of specialised terms and vocabulary, pronunciation notes, English expressions and phrases to provide examples, be persuasive, or place emphasis, dictionaries, and signposting language notes in English) during EMI classes proved to be extremely limited. EMI experts encourage the use of such linguistic tools as signposting language, notes to signal progression through the lecture and ease the learning experience for students, as well as of ready-to-use English expressions and phrases, so as to help non-English native teachers to provide examples, anecdotes, and jokes in a language which may not be familiar to those who are speaking or listening to the lecture.

Institutional policies and resources should be aimed at supporting the use of English by preventing potential damage to the quality of learning that may accompany EMI implementation. Therefore, EMI programmes have to be carefully conceived, planned and resourced (Lasagabaster et al., 2014) by further investing in teachers' preparation and professional development to face the challenges of EMI classes with appropriate tools to communicate effectively high-quality contents.

A further consideration in this respect regards the possibility of using Italian (or the first language, other than English) for both teachers and students in class and during exams. In LIQuID's survey, for most respondents, the answer was negative in both cases, though a number of faculty members claimed that Italian is useful in several specific contexts, such as teacher-student clarifications, one-to-one conversation and teamwork debate among Italian native speakers, jokes, greetings and casual talks, details about the exam and other technical issues (usually translated in English by the teacher to make them comprehensible for international students), to foster the participation of students that are shy or less familiar with English, to be consistent with the language of exam, to stimulate quicker responses, and when no international student was present. Interestingly, in a number of cases, students were allowed to choose the language of the exam to avoid any penalisation caused by the linguistic barriers, especially since their English proficiency was not under assessment.

By looking at other within-country data, in her 16-hour corpus of lectures, Costa (2012) found evidence of codeswitching from English to L1 (Italian), even in situations in which non-native speakers of Italian (about 25% in the Architecture classes) were in the audience. Broggini and Costa (2017) confirmed that in 58% of cases, English was the language of assessment in the Italian universities used for their case-study. However, they also pointed out that no standard regulation for the language of exam existed as this percentage varied according to the geographical position of the universities: English was used in 50% of the universities in the North, 67% in Central Italy, 64% in the South. Moreover, they maintained that a high percentage of the administrative staff interviewed did not know (or did not want to say) what language was used in the assessment of EMI modules (17%).

5. Conclusion

A crucial element to bear in mind at all levels of planning and teaching in an EMI setting is that languages other than English are always present and, paraphrasing van Lier (2004), students are not empty vessels as they take part in

learning activities. They always carry their cultural, linguistic, and identity background with them. In EMI environments in which students share a different first language, such as Italian in the case of UniTn, English-only policies are frequently established to prevent the switch to the first language and keep the communicative focus on English. However, an outright ban of other languages may result in their delegitimization as languages of knowledge and learning.

ELF should foster communication in multilingual contexts and not lapse into monolingualism. Palfreyman and van der Walt (2017) highlighted that ELF may positively promote multilingualism in campuses since "increasing numbers of students from different language backgrounds use the lingua franca to access and develop knowledge and competencies in a variety of languages" (pp. 2–3). Many campuses are currently working on developing intercultural competence and awareness among both domestic and international students and faculty members (Friedrich, 2008; Leask, 2008) to engage in intercultural communication successfully. Intercultural communicative competence (ICC) is grounded upon self-awareness about one's cultural and linguistic background, awareness of others, and the adequate ways of thinking and communicating to negotiate meanings in a diverse and plural context (Baker, 2009; 2015).

A university shifting from local to global cannot overlook that internationalisation should aim to bring people together and prompt a diverse and multilingual scientific community. As Brumfit (2001) claimed, languages "are used to create solidarity, but also to threaten solidarity, to conceal, but also to reveal, to claim identity both within and outside particular cultural groupings" (p. 138). In this respect, establishing a linguistic and cultural hegemony of English while disregarding the specificities of each HE environment is detrimental. First, a Lingua Franca (LF) should foster dialogue, which means creating rather than preventing an opening to other languages and cultures, since the development of a plural thinking is at the core of academic research itself. Second, treating a LF as a receptacle, in which all other languages are forced results in an impoverishment of both sides. Monolingualism and uniformity of thought may degenerate in staleness, which opposes the very notions of development and circulation of ideas and knowledge. An LF and its cultural

background can be enriched by multilingualism, thus overcoming the mere label of "receptacle" with a simple grammar and a basic vocabulary. A language used as LF can thus evolve and incorporate wide influences.

On the other hand, students learning to express themselves in English, without denying the usefulness of other languages, promotes diversity and bridges the communicative gaps between students in an international HE community. For instance, Italian native speakers may be ready for the encounter with a diverse, worldwide academic community while studying in Trento. However, the balance between a systematic use of LF and multilingualism is clearly delicate and difficult to maintain.

For these reasons, one size does not fit all: no general guidelines about language policies are effective across all contexts. They may change according to the nation, the university, or even the discipline. This accounts for the importance of continuing to investigate EMI and EMOI and their potentialities for HE. So far, LIQuID's research focused on the educators' viewpoint. Future inquiries should look at EMI from the students' perspective in order to gather valuable data about their motivations to study in an EMI setting and the challenges it poses.[4] A forward-looking strategic plan cannot overlook the constant need of corrective actions and improvements (e.g., in the light of the forced modifications of teaching practice on account of the Covid-19 worldwide emergency). For all these reasons, this paper proposes the EMOI-spiral model, in which English – in its intercultural sense – is the medium but also the outcome of a diverse, open and inclusive instruction system.

4 Students' perspectives on EMI have recently become the focus of a growing body of research. See Ackerley (2017); Clark (2017); Costa and Mariotti (2018); Guarda (2018); Doiz et al. (2019).

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EMI Professional Development in Italy: An Assessment Focus

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Abstract

This paper addresses the issue of assessment in English-Medium Instruction (EMI) and international teaching contexts in Italy. Its aims are twofold: to present the results of a survey of lecturers who teach in English-taught programmes (ETPs) in a northern Italian university regarding their experience of assessment in other cultures, their current assessment practices in ETPs and their attitudes towards assessment; and to report on a module developed as part of an EMI professional development programme that focuses specifically on assessment, feedback and learning outcomes. The lecturers completed the survey before taking part in the training module so educational developers would gain insight into their conceptions of assessment prior to the course. The training module was developed to support lecturers in developing assessment styles and practices that are appropriate for the international learning environment and ETPs.

1. Introduction

Assessment is a key aspect of teaching and learning and in EMI and international contexts, it requires careful consideration. Dunn and Wallace (2008, p. 249) identify "designing and delivering curriculum and assessment for 'localized (yet) international' content and teaching approaches" as one of the four main challenges in transnational education. This is largely because assessment styles and student approaches to assessment differ across cultures. Some countries tend to favour summative assessment, and others formative assessment; some countries traditionally use oral exams, while others rely largely on written modes of assessment such as assignments, papers and es-

says. There are also discipline-specific modes of assessment, such as laboratory exams in scientific disciplines. All students place importance on assessment, but some students may be more assessment-oriented than others; that is, placing greater importance on the attainment of high marks. Assessment is a "benchmark for the quality of the student, the instructor, the course, the programme and the institution" (Wilkinson et al., 2006, p. 38) and, as David Killick notes, is considered by many researchers to be "the most important driver of student engagement and learning" (2015, p. 168). This fundamental place of assessment is not usually reflected in research on EMI and English-taught programmes (ETPs), in which it has largely been a marginal issue (Kao & Tsou, p. 183). It is also sometimes overlooked in professional development courses for EMI lecturers, even though Fortanet-Gómez (2010) called for an assessment focus 10 years ago and Leask (2008, p. 121) has drawn attention to the need to focus staff attention on assessment practices in the transnational environment.

This chapter focuses specifically on assessment in EMI in the Italian context and on professional development for lecturers in ETPs. It draws on assessment concepts and definitions that are widely recognised and applied in both EMI and non-EMI contexts (Brown & Knight, 1998; Brown, 2005; cf. Earl & Katz, 2006). Summative assessment is usually equated with Assessment of Learning and involves assessment tools that sum up students' progress, using instruments such as time-constrained tests and exams, or final papers and reports, which provide a measure of achievement. Such instruments are high stakes for students as the outcomes can have an effect on their future studies or careers. Formative assessment, on the other hand, is often used interchangeably with Assessment for Learning (AfL) and involves assessment tools that work on improving student performance, providing opportunities for them to receive feedback in time for remediation of errors. Examples of formative assessment tools may include groupwork assignments, reflective commentaries, presentations, portfolios or role-plays (Brown, 2005, p. 82). Particularly in an international context in which students have diverse backgrounds and may aspire to working in multicultural contexts, it is important to create authentic, valid assessment

practices that enable students to develop transferable competences and knowledge (Brown, 2005; EQUiiP, 2019).

Academic staff who teach their subject through the medium of English as part of university internationalisation strategy sometimes have limited knowledge of how students are assessed elsewhere. As a result, they are often unaware of international students' expectations regarding assessment practices, or of the different "biographies, perspectives and emotional responses" (Killick, p. 157) that diverse students bring to learning and assessment. As Harju-Luukkainen et al. (2020, p.2) note:

> We know often very little of other countries' assessment policies and practices outside our own. While remedial actions are made and taken with attention on the local context, sometimes an in-depth understanding of, for instance, the long-term consequences or larger global influences is missing. Therefore, a more complex understanding of different educational systems, assessment strategies, policies, practices and their connections is needed. Given that we live in a globalised world, it is important that we understand the context of others in order to reflect our own and also to justify possible actions.

When a degree programme is internationalised or taught through the medium of English, lecturers thus need to review the type of assessment they use, taking into account student diversity and the special features of the international teaching and learning environment. They may need support in the form of professional development to raise awareness of other teaching practices and assessment procedures.

The Italian university has typically tended to assess student performance using oral exams, a practice going back a century (Pastore & Pentassuglia, 2015, p. 409). While worldwide, there has been a trend in the last 20 years towards outcomes-based assessment that focuses on the attainment of competences and away from exclusively summative assessment and norm-referenced marking, a high percentage of Italian courses still assess students using a final oral exam (Pastore & Pentassuglia, 2015). In addition to this commonly used oral mode, assessment in Italian higher education involves practices relating to marking and the

administration of exams that are peculiar to Italian universities. As a result, Italian lecturers in ETPs and internationalised programmes may need support in rethinking and designing appropriate assessment tools and developing clear and transparent communication around them.

Professional development for Italian EMI lecturers is increasing. In a 2015 survey of Italian universities offering ETPs, 60% of respondents said that there was no training for staff teaching these programmes, while 10% said the university provided methodological training and 2% a language course (Broggini & Costa, 2017, p. 253). This represented an increase on figures from the previous survey in 2012, so in the absence of more recent data, it can be assumed that the trend is continuing and the provision of training courses is on the rise. Although several Italian universities, particularly in the north, have developed training courses for staff, assessment is not usually a main focus. This corresponds to data from a Europe-wide survey of lecturers in EMI which shows that most European teacher education programmes focus on language support, practical teaching sessions and academic language and that less than half of teacher education programmes (TEPs) include some methodological component (Dafouz, 2018; cf. O'Dowd, 2018). Assessment practices do not usually feature in courses that prepare lecturers for ETPs (Costa, 2015, p. 134).

This chapter focuses on the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, a private university in the north of Italy with several campuses, which offers EMI and internationalisation professional development workshops for university lecturers from its own university and outside. It has two aims: (1) to present results of a survey of lecturers in ETPs which provide insights into their experience of assessment in other countries, their attitudes towards assessment and their existing assessment practices and (2) to outline the content of an EMI professional development module that was designed to support lecturers in using assessment styles and practices that are appropriate to the international learning environment. The purpose of the survey was to enable educational developers to have a clearer understanding of the needs of lecturers when it comes to assessment. The survey results also establish a broader portrait of assessment practices in EMI programmes in one Italian university than that afforded by a previous survey of 150

lecturers in the same university (Costa & Murphy, 2018). Costa and Murphy asked whether lecturers in ETPs change their assessment practices with respect to Italian-taught programmes and whether language competence was assessed separately as part of a wider survey on teaching practices. Overall, the chapter argues for the importance of including assessment as an essential part of EMI professional development.

2. Context, Research Questions, Method and Participants

2.1 Context of the Study

The research and training centre referred to in this study began offering professional development modules for EMI lecturers in 2016. Participation in the training is free and on a voluntary basis. The first modules were designed to raise awareness of the special features of the international classroom, to provide strategy for the classroom, including language support, and to offer feedback on lecturers' existing EMI practices through microteaching sessions. The team of educational developers includes EMI specialists from within and without the university, both Italian and non-Italian. Apart from offering practical strategies for the international classroom (Ryan 2005; TAEC, 2019; EQUiiP, 2019), the courses also provide a space for reflection on the opportunities and challenges of the EMI context and for lecturers to share personal experiences and needs. Through initial training modules, educational developers perceived that most lecturers had a limited experience of student assessment practices and marking schemes used in other countries, leading to the desire to investigate the issue further by means of a survey and to offer training in this area.

While assessment practices are specific to disciplinary areas, some generalisations can be made about assessment in different cultures: Anglophone countries, for example, tend to use continuous assessment, written assignments and exam papers, while in countries such as Italy, oral exams at the end of a course prevail in many disciplines. To give one example, the Italian approach to assessment and marking is vastly different from British-American-Australian models, where the essay is "one of the

most common measures of academic success and is emphasised in undergraduate education" (Rosin O'Hagan & Wigglesworth, 2015, p. 1729). In many Italian degree courses, the first written assessment that students undertake is the graduation thesis at the end of a three-year degree, although they may have completed short-answer style written exams. The Italian style of assessment bears comparison with some other European countries, but the marking system is different. Traditionally, summative assessment has been the main form of assessment. A final exam, sometimes oral, sometimes written and oral, has played a significant role in Italian assessment, making it a high-stakes occasion. A recent study of Italian students in three degree courses, Pedagogy, Psychology and Communication showed that an oral exam was taken by 73.1% of students, a written exam by 15.9% and a mixed form of oral and written exam by 11% (Pastore & Pentassuglia, 2015, p. 409). Students typically prepare for the exams by studying textbooks and lecture notes. A final oral exam may be the first and only occasion on which students receive feedback from the examiner.

The marking system in Italian higher education is unique to Italy. For each exam students receive a mark out of 30, while their final mark on graduation is out of 110. This system derives from an era in which the total mark came from the sum of marks assigned by each member of an examination committee: until the 1970s there were three members for a normal exam and 11 for a final exam, each of whom assigned a mark out of 10. In Italy a pass mark starts from 18 and a student who obtains 30 may be awarded *Lode* (distinction) if outstanding. Non-Italian lecturers in the Italian university system who have come from an Anglophone university, where percentage-based marks that correspond to grades are used, and in which 100 per cent is rarely awarded, are likely to need time to adapt to assessing students orally and assigning marks out of 30. It can only be assumed that for most international students, the Italian marking system is equally – if not even more – bewildering. As Dunn and Wallace (2008, p. 255) have noted "assessment is hard enough when students are accustomed to the same educational system as their teachers; when assessment tasks are clear and inclusively designed; when students are not over-assessed; when assessment tasks are pitched at the appropriate level; when requirements are explicit

[...]. How much more difficult is it when teachers and students are separated by diverse prior experiences of all these things?". Furthermore, at most Italian universities a student may refuse to accept the mark proposed by the lecturer and choose to take the exam again, more than once, to improve the mark. A fail is not recorded in the academic record and the student sits for the exam until passing. A good example of information about the Italian exam and marking system is set out on the website of the Guidance and Counselling Unit of Ca' Foscari University of Venice: https://www.unive.it/pag/fileadmin/user_upload/inglese/study/how_to/counseling/EXAMS_instructions.pdf . Such information is not necessarily as well explained or displayed by other Italian universities. This is significant because assessment modes, marking schemes and exam conditions differ greatly in other countries and the prior experiences of international students may not equip them to cope with assessment in the Italian system. On the other hand, Italian students who enrol in an English-taught programme may need extra support in understanding assessment practices adopted in an internationalised course.

2.2 Survey of Italian Lecturers in ETPs

The purpose of the survey was to gain insight into the experience and knowledge of assessment practices outside Italy and conceptions of assessment held by Italian lecturers in EMI. Conceptions of assessment are defined as "one's beliefs, meanings and understandings of assessment" (Fletcher et al., 2012, p. 120). In an international context in which student expectations and backgrounds may differ greatly from those of Italian students, it is particularly important to investigate the latter because, as Meyer et al. (2010) note, there is "evidence that attitudes held by staff about assessment and whether staff have assessment expertise have an impact on their use of assessments and feedback provided to students" (p. 332). The two key research questions that the survey was thus intended to investigate were: (1) How much experience do Italian lecturers in ETPs have of assessment outside Italy? and (2) What conceptions do Italian lecturers in ETPs have of modes of assessment, exam practices and marking schemes in the international teaching context? The survey bears some similarity with surveys of lecturers in

EMI in other contexts, such as Taiwan (Kao & Tsou, 2017) and Spain (Fortanet-Gómez, 2020).

The survey took the form of a questionnaire with 12 closed questions and two open-ended questions. The first two questions concerned the lecturers' experience of assessment outside Italy. Subsequent questions concerned lecturers' conceptions regarding student assessment and marking. Descriptors such as "assessment for learning", "assessment of learning", "peer assessment", "self-assessment", "summative assessment" and "formative assessment" were not used in order to avoid confusion if respondents were not already familiar with these terms. The two open-ended questions (1) asked lecturers to complete the statement "I chose to take part in this module because... and (2) gave lecturers the opportunity to express specific "thoughts or questions" as far as assessment is concerned. This section was added to give educational developers at the centre the opportunity to respond to specific needs in the training module and, if necessary, to integrate new material or activities.

The survey had 27 respondents, 26 of whom were Italian. There were no English native language users among the respondents. Respondents taught in a range of disciplines including Medicine, Science, Management, Economics, Agriculture, Philosophy and Psychology and all taught in ETPs at the time of filling in the survey, with varying degrees of experience. The majority of the respondents had completed the first EMI professional development module offered by the centre, which focuses on features of the international classroom, classroom strategy and scaffolding, and includes a practical micro-teaching session, so they had received some input from educational developers. They were invited to complete the survey when they enrolled for the second module. After filling in the survey, lecturers completed the module on learning outcomes, assessment and feedback.

For the analysis of the survey, quantitative analysis was applied to the closed-ended questions and qualitative analysis to the open-ended questions. The data from the survey was cross-referenced with data recorded during module discussion time, such as written notes made by the educational developers of participants' comments. The sample analysed in this paper is to be considered the first stage of investigation as it is anticipated

that there will be a second stage of research in which interviews with a sample of the lecturers will be undertaken. This will enable a greater insight into teacher cognition; that is, Italian lecturers' beliefs, awareness about teaching and thought processes with regard to assessment. Teacher cognition in EMI research is a growing area of interest (Henriksen et al., 2019) and more data is required to be able to gain a better understanding of EMI in Italy and how lecturers need to be supported.

2.3 EMI Professional Development: A Focus on Assessment

The second aim of this paper is to present the content of the EMI training module on assessment and to propose a focus on assessment in professional development elsewhere. The EMI assessment module lasts three hours and covers learning outcomes, assessment and feedback in the EMI and international context. The module needs to be short and concentrated because of the non-compulsory nature of EMI professional development at the university in question and because lecturers have little time for training. Although brief, it introduces the main assessment concepts known both in EMI and other contexts: assessment of learning; assessment for learning; continuous assessment, peer assessment and self-assessment. With reference to these concepts, the module also presents a range of different approaches and attitudes to assessment around the world. It engages participants in exercises on communication for assessment processes, the provision of timely feedback and the notion of feedforward (Leask, 2008, p. 127), and the expression of learning outcomes appropriate to an international context (EQUiiP, 2019). As far as learning outcomes are concerned, the course content was influenced by the work of Killick (2015) and Deardorff and Jones (2012) and introduces Biggs' (1996) concept of constructive alignment, in which assessment tasks must be aligned with intended learning outcomes and teaching practices as part of a holistic planning process. Overall, the module encourages lecturers to establish guidelines and adopt a framework and clear communication around assessment.

3. Survey Results and Discussion

3.1 Lecturers' Experience of Assessment Outside Italy

The first two questions asked about lecturers' experience of assessment practices outside Italy as a student (Q1) and as a teacher (Q2). Responses revealed that most lecturers had little experience of university assessment outside Italy in a teaching capacity, although some had had direct experience as students. 41 per cent had no experience of assessment in a teaching capacity of assessment outside Italy, 22 per cent had only indirect experience of assessment, meaning that they had not directly assessed students, but become aware of other assessment practices during periods abroad. A further 22 per cent had a little direct experience and 15 per cent had a lot of direct experience. This suggests that lecturers' experience and knowledge of assessment styles and approaches in other countries and of international student expectations and attitudes to assessment is, on the whole, fairly limited. A recent survey of staff in EMI in a Spanish university asked lecturers about the possibility of a short period teaching abroad and found 80 per cent would welcome the possibility (Fortanet-Gómez, 2020, p. 12). As offering teaching abroad for all EMI lecturers is probably difficult to administer, it is important to provide them with an international perspective through training.

3.2 Lecturers' Conceptions of Assessment in EMI

Question 3 asked whether lecturers change their assessment practices in English-taught courses. Nearly all respondents agreed (59%), strongly agreed (15%) or slightly agreed (15%) with the statement "I assess students differently in English-taught courses". This result is significantly different from Kao and Tsou's survey in Taiwan (2017, p. 189), which found 90% respondents reported no significant differences in assessment between EMI and non-EMI, and from a large survey administered to staff at the same Italian university in 2016 (Costa & Murphy, 2018), in which only 50% of lecturers said that they had made changes to assessment practices in their international courses (p. 609). The result in the present survey may reflect an existing awareness of some of the issues at stake as nearly all lecturers who signed up for the assessment module had already completed prior EMI

training with the centre, whose courses tend to attract lecturers who recognise a need for improvement and better understanding of and support for EMI and internationalisation. It may also be interpreted as a sign that the international teaching context is changing fast and with more and more ETPs in Italian universities, there is wider discussion about and interest in teaching and learning issues and internationalising the curriculum.

In question 4 in the survey lecturers responded to a statement: "International students find the Italian assessment system clear". The statement refers to lecturers' perceptions of international students' experience of assessment in Italy. No-one strongly agreed with the statement and 33% disagreed with it. However, 19% agreed and 48% slightly agreed with the statement, making a total of 67% who think that the assessment system is more or less clear. Lecturers' perceptions that international students find the Italian assessment system clear may not match those of the students, although no data regarding international student perceptions at the same university is available to confirm this. Perhaps significantly, the only survey respondent who had a lot of direct experience of university assessment outside Italy both as a teacher and as a student disagreed with the statement. This suggests that personal experience outside the Italian system may lead to a higher degree of understanding of the differences between Italian and other assessment processes and thus increase empathy with regard to international students' experience of these processes.

Question 5 concerned the marking system: "International students ask me to explain the Italian marking system". Only 7 per cent of respondents said that international students always ask for explanation; 26 per cent said that they usually do and 41 said they occasionally do, while 26 per cent said that students never asked for explanation. Given the idiosyncratic nature of the Italian marking system and the lack of readily available information in some departments and universities, it is perhaps surprising that more students do not ask for information. It is not my intention to explore the many possible reasons for which students do not ask for explanation, but rather to highlight the need for the provision of explicit information about exam rules, marking schemes and assessment criteria at an institutional, departmental and course level. For the nearly three quarters of students who

ask for explanation of marking even if only occasionally, it is important that lecturers are able to offer clear information and breakdowns regarding marking criteria, how learning outcomes are reflected in assessment and students' rights to accept or refuse a mark. As noted in the EQUiiP Internationalising Course Design Thematic Text, assessment "should be made transparent to the students" (2019, p. 8).

3.3 Existing Assessment Practices Used by Lecturers

Questions 6–10 were aimed at gaining insight into the existing styles of assessment used by lecturers in English-taught programmes. In particular in Q6 respondents were asked if they use a final exam as the only form of assessment in their international courses and Q7 asked if the mode of assessment in these courses is oral. A final exam (either written or oral) as the exclusive form of assessment is still reasonably common: 11% said that they always use a final exam, 15% that they usually use a final exam and a further 22% that they occasionally use it as an assessment tool in their international courses. This points to the need to raise greater awareness of assessment concepts and approaches to ensure that EMI lecturers use a range of different tools and reflect carefully on the purpose of the assessment they are using. Using summative assessment as the only form of assessment is probably not appropriate in EMI courses because it does not foster in students "an evolving level of competence" (EQUiiP, 2019, p. 7) or provide lecturers with "a multidimensional view" of a student's performance (Kao & Tsou, 2017, p. 199).

As far as using oral assessment is concerned, only 3.7% said it was the only form of assessment they used, while 37% said they partly used oral assessment and a further 3.7% mostly used it. The results differ significantly from data reported by Pastore and Pentassuglia, which showed a high number of Italian students being assessed in an oral exam, suggesting that EMI lecturers are sensitive to the need to use a mix of assessment. The figure that stood out was the number of lecturers who use no oral assessment in their ETPs: 52%. There is no need for Italian lecturers to completely abandon the oral exam, as it could be considered a local "vernacular" mode of learning and teaching (Dafouz, 2018, p. 550), but students must be supported in pre-

paring for it and provided with opportunities to practise before a final exam is undertaken. As noted above, it is important to offer students a range of assessment opportunities.

Questions 8, 9 and 10 asked for further details about assessment, such as whether continuous assessment is used, whether students are required to present portfolios and make presentations and whether Blackboard or other digital platforms are used for assessment purposes. While responses suggest that lecturers' assessment modes are shifting to accommodate the needs of diverse student cohorts, they also suggest that there is space for innovation as far as using technology and continuous assessment tools are concerned. Such practices would be worthy of investigation at a future stage of research. These issues are addressed as part of the EMI assessment module, as will be outlined in the next section.

3.4 Assessment of English Language Competence in EMI Courses?

Question 11 addressed an important issue in ETPs: whether students' English language competence affects their marks. This issue has been investigated by other researchers (Kao & Tsou, 2017; Strotmann et al., 2014; Costa & Murphy, 2018). In this survey 67% of lecturers agreed or slightly agreed that they take language into account when marking. A more in-depth understanding of what language aspects lecturers assess and how explicit the marking criteria are is urgently required. Comments from lecturers in the open-ended questions also pointed to a degree of confusion about the role that language should have in assessment, as will be discussed in the next section.

There is also the issue of whether content lecturers should be taking language skills into consideration at all and if linguistic discrimination is taking place. Kao and Tsou (2017, p. 191), whose study was focused mainly on the role of English in assessment in EMI programmes, found that although survey respondents "understood the importance of improving students' English proficiency through assessments, none of them applied assessment tools to evaluate students' English performance or indicated the English component in their criteria." Strotmann et al. (2014, p. 96) found lec-

turers did not "feel confident" assessing language as well as content. As Henriksen et al. note (2019, p. 10), many university teachers do not want the responsibility of providing language support and feedback to students, yet if language competence is going to affect grades, it needs to be supported.

An integrated approach to assessment may be appropriate in which the lecturer sets out content and language learning objectives in the course outline, supports the achievement of such objectives through teaching, and finally assesses them according to explicit criteria. Advocating the adoption of a CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) framework for assessment in ETPs has indeed become reasonably common (Wilkinson & Yasuda, 2013; Kao & Tsou, 2017). Given the worldwide interest in this matter, the role of English language in EMI assessment would be worthy of further investigation in future research.

3.5 Lecturers' Concerns and Queries

The final part of the survey consisted of two open-ended questions, which gave respondents the opportunity to express particular interests and concerns related to assessment. Lecturers' comments in the table below have not been categorised, but a few clear themes emerge: lecturers want an opportunity for "overall improvement", they are concerned about the relationship between learning outcomes and assessment, they want to know more about different assessment practices and troubleshoot specific problems, and they need guidance about the role of students' language in assessment:

- I want to improve my assessment procedure.
- I want to know more about alternative assessment procedures.
- I'd like to receive support in approaching international courses in a more holistic way.
- I'm interested in improving my professional skills.
- I need to refresh and check my teaching methods and also to share experiences with experts and colleagues.

- I need some training in teaching/assessment (no opportunity before) and to obtain tips about improving my impact on students' learning outcomes.
- My concern regards the definition of intended learning outcomes, because I think assessment depends on them.
- I think learning outcomes and assessment strategies should be defined according to the specificities of international classrooms and I would like to learn how.
- I want to know how to balance assessment of participation and creativity with "traditional" assessment based on having acquired knowledge of contents.
- I find it difficult to assess students' progress with a written exam.
- The problem is harmonizing oral and written assessment.
- How to handle: different language levels; links with learning outcomes; reasoning abilities
- My main difficulty is that I should not grade the language knowledge/competence, but in some cases, especially in open questions, language is functional to understand, and hence grade, the contents of the answer.
- It is a bit difficult to assess involvement of students (some are rather passive).
- I would like to know more about assessment methods in international classes.
- I'm taking part to improve my way of teaching in an international course.

Overall, the responses suggest a high degree of willingness on the part of lecturers to increase intercultural awareness of assessment practices and expectations, and to try to improve their own practices. They also demonstrate the desire or need for support in this area. Most revealing, perhaps, is the comment: "I need some training in teaching/assessment (no opportunity before)": Italian lecturers usually have no specific pedagogical training. As in Kao and Tsou (2017, p. 191), some comments indicate uncertainty about how to evaluate the language component. Although the sample of 27 respondents is quite small, survey results suggest a clear need to focus on assessment in EMI training for lecturers. The results of the survey also provide an initial

snapshot of existing attitudes to assessment and practices and open up the possibility of further investigation of teacher cognition and identity when it comes to teaching in the international and EMI contexts.

4. Discussion of EMI Assessment Module and Recommendations

The content of the module was outlined above, so this section discusses a role-play exercise and lecturers' comments in discussion time as well as providing recommendations for professional development with an assessment focus.

4.1 Role Play

Participants in the module take part in a role-play exercise, whose objective is to sensitise lecturers to the needs of both international and domestic students when it comes to assessment in an EMI course. As is clear from the role-play cards (Appendix 2), the scenarios are based on an Italian context. Lecturers are given a role-play card describing a scenario. These are based on case studies and research on student experience in the international context conducted by Marginson & Sawir (2011) and Handa (2005) and are designed to raise awareness of the challenges that international students face when changing academic cultures and that domestic students may face when enrolling in an ETP. Participants work in pairs, with one member of each pair playing the part of a student, and the other a lecturer. The student needs to ask for specific information regarding assessment and marking, or request feedback on progress. The teacher needs to provide clear answers and explanations.

The activities in the assessment module have so far not been video-recorded, but were observed by educational developers. Some participants in the teacher role struggled to offer clear explanations, highlighting the need for lecturers to prepare explicit instructions and guidelines for assessment and have a grasp of appropriate, concise language to provide further

details. Lecturers in the international context require extra empathy and patience when communicating with students. Leask (2008, p. 127) has drawn attention to the importance of effective communication around assessment processes:

> The ability to explicitly and succinctly communicate roles and expectations around assessment requirements and provide high quality and effective feedback to students on their progress towards achievement of course goals were highly valued by students. This included being able to explain to students where they went wrong and what they needed to do to improve their performance.

4.2 Lecturers' Concerns in Discussion Time

During discussion time in the EMI module, further questions and comments from lecturers emerged:

- Will students gain insight into the local educational culture if I change assessment to match international models?
- I have really big class sizes, so continuous assessment is difficult because I don't have time to mark so many assignments.
- I end up using multiple choice exams a lot as it's the easiest way to get round the different language levels of the students.
- I started using groupwork for assessment, but I had problems with group dynamics. Should I form the groups or allow students to form their own groups without my intervention?

These queries and comments are fairly consistent with the types of comments that have emerged in other studies (Fortanet-Gómez, 2020; Kao & Tsou, 2017) on transnational and international educational contexts.

4.3 Recommendations for Training

The EMI assessment module is still being developed and modified to take into account lecturers' needs and feedback from course participants. During

the module, recommendations regarding best practice in assessment and feedback are offered to the lecturers:

- Overall, assessment must be designed to reflect the intended learning outcomes (Killick, p. 168).
- Adopting formative assessment avoids having a high stakes final exam as the only form of assessment (Wilkinson et al., 2006). At the same time, it opens up opportunities for lecturers to provide "feedforward" on coursework or simulations.
- It is best to use a range of assessments in a course to obtain a multidimensional view of student performance (Kao & Tsou, 2017; EQUiiP, 2019).
- When designing in-class tasks, it is imperative to make their purpose clear, aligning them with learning outcomes (Biggs, 1996; EQUiiP, 2019) and providing rubrics.
- Explicit communication needs to be provided for all aspects of assessment, including breakdown of marks, marking criteria and whether English language ability is being taken into account. However, as Brown (2005) and Carroll (2015, p. 167) note, explicit information is not enough. Assessment practices need to be transparent so that students understand the assessment process and trust it.
- If written assignments are used, examples need to be made available when it comes to correct referencing and citing secondary sources. It is also useful to offer students samples of past marked assignments with written feedback and marks as a way of providing insight into marking criteria.
- Lecturers must make their expectations clear regarding both content and language and should consider adopting a CLIL framework for assessment in which separate content and language objectives are built into the course aims and intended learning outcomes and are evaluated according to clear criteria.
- Students undertaking an oral exam must be given the opportunity to practise during exam simulations.

- Interactive software such as mentimeter can be used for quizzes, and to stimulate wider class participation, which can then be turned into an opportunity for the provision of feedback and collaborative learning.
- Learning platforms such as Blackboard offer many possible tools for assessment and enable lecturers to provide feedback through audio files.

Assessment has an important role to play in teaching at all levels and preparing staff to adopt effective assessment practices is particularly important in EMI courses with international student cohorts. Meyer et al. (2010, p. 340) found that academic staff who had undertaken more professional development in assessment were more likely to agree that assessment improves teaching. According to Kao and Tsou, training in assessment concepts and tools enables lecturers "to better identify students' learning difficulties, provide more effective feedback, and thus enhance students' learning process" (2017, p. 203). Flexibility has been noted as an essential characteristic of the transnational learning environment (Leask, 2008; Hicks et al., 2005; Dunn & Wallace, 2008, p. 126) and lecturers need to be aware of other ways of assessing, offering feedback and expressing learning outcomes. Lecturers do not need to abandon local practices (Rizvi, 2017, p. 25), but to communicate these practices effectively, make them meaningful for all students and potentially integrating them with other practices that take into account the diversity of student profiles and backgrounds.

5. Conclusion and Future Directions

This paper has presented the results of a survey of 27 EMI lecturers in the Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, a northern Italian university with several campuses, regarding their experience of assessment in other countries and their conceptions of assessment practices. The lecturers came from a range of faculties and had varying degrees of teaching experience in English-taught programmes. After filling in the questionnaire, they completed a training module that focuses specifically on assessment. The paper also outlined the content of the assessment module, arguing that such

training can play an important role in supporting EMI lecturers to adjust their assessment practices to reflect the diverse backgrounds of students and to align them with learning outcomes and teaching. Survey results highlighted the need for specific training that raises awareness of a range of assessment concepts and that helps lecturers develop assessment practices that are appropriate in the international and EMI context. It also pointed to the need for EMI lecturers to communicate all details of assessment explicitly and in timely fashion and for ETPs to have clear guidelines for both staff and students regarding assessment tasks and marking. The importance of offering training in these areas cannot be underestimated given the importance that students place on assessment. Offering professional development on assessment in EMI and other topics also encourages reflective practice and facilitates the development of a community of practice around ETPs and internationalisation. Dafouz (2018, p. 549) recommends that teacher education programmes should be "sites of reflection where teachers tell and share their experiences". Although ETPs are found in most faculties of the university, there is often limited understanding among faculties of what happens in other programmes and of the existing practices used by other lecturers. A research agenda that gathers this kind of data and further analyses the practices lecturers use, as well as their conceptions of assessment, is being developed. It would also be useful to survey students in EMI programmes in Italy to gain an understanding of their expectations and preferences regarding assessment.

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Learners' Views of EMI: Non-Native Speaker Teachers' Competence and ELF in an Italian Master's Degree Programme

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Abstract

This paper reports on a qualitative study investigating the opinions on English Medium Instruction (EMI) held by Italian students of an EMI Master's degree programme of the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia. Data for this study were elicited by means of semi-structured interviews and are taken from a larger ongoing doctoral research study of students' attitudes towards English and its pedagogy that combines descriptive statistics and qualitative analysis. Respondents discussed EMI and Internationalisation at Home (IaH) in relation to a number of other topics, including: non-native speaker teacher (NNST)'s competence, English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and multilingualism, students' motivation, international students and teachers. Although the majority of the respondents expressed satisfaction with their learning experience, and they all revealed a positive attitude towards EMI, they were also unanimously critical of the communicative competence in English of the non-native speaker teachers (NNSTs) of the non-language courses. Due to the limited number of instances reported, further research is needed to validate the results. Nevertheless, it is hoped that this paper may provide useful contribution to the task of leading to better-informed ways of integrating language and disciplinary content for the internationalisation of academic curricula.

1. Introduction

Although most European universities continue to operate at a purely national level using their local language(s), English medium instruction (EMI) has grown exponentially, especially in the last decade (Jenkins & Mauranen, 2019), and English has now become the lingua franca of academic knowledge

making and communication within the European-integrated space of internationalisation of Higher Education (HE). The increased prominence of English in the framework of the internationalisation of European HE is, however, surrounded by controversies. Concerns have been raised about the risk of English stifling the vitality of the national languages and leading to the erosion of the national traditions of scientific and academic discourse (Phillipson, 2015, 2009). In Italy, with the sentence of the Consiglio di Stato that, in 2017, ruled against EMI-only postgraduate courses in the Milan Polytechnic, controversies over EMI have also reached the public debate and a host of arguments against *Internationalization as Englishization* have been put forward. A cultural argument against English and EMI ties language to culture and is premised on the notion that languages are first and foremost tools for the expression of thought. In this perspective, the defense of the scholarly tradition in the national language is a question of equality and speakers' linguistic rights (Calaresu, 2011). With regard to EMI, the cultural argument highlights the implications that English as medium of education has in terms of the non-native English speakers teachers (NNESTs)' communicative competence in English. A corollary of the cultural argument is a dumbing-down argument, which expresses a fear that EMI might lead to lowering the standards of teaching and literally dumbing down the academic content.

Jenkins suggested that the controversies that surround the increased Englishization of HE in Europe arise from a failure to acknowledge the existence of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) and uphold it as an alternative model to native English (NE) in EMI and internationalisation. As a matter of fact, although HE has been defined as a "a prototypical ELF scenario" (Smit 2018, p. 387), "the spread of the phenomenon of ELF, is often (mis)interpreted to mean the spread of native English" (Jenkins, 2018, p. 92). In her view, by reconceptualising English as ELF and positioning this within a multilingual and multicultural framework, risks of domain erosion would be reduced and the inequalities in communication between native English speakers (NESs) and non-native English speakers (NNESs) "would be speedily resolved" (p. 94).

As a matter of fact, the ELF approach foregrounds the instrumental function of language and upholds a notion of cultural identity that is more in tune with a post-structuralist understanding of culture as fluid, contingent,

constructed and negotiated in interaction, which is at odds with the concept of national cultural tradition that is implicit in cultural arguments against EMI (Baker, 2015; Ives, 2006).

Another argument against EMI denounced the practice of investing in English as the medium of instruction in the Italian universities, without much of an international student presence, as a cosmetic operation whose main purpose would be that of climbing the international university rankings (Cabiddu, 2017). The pressure put on universities to compete internationally in an ever more integrated global system of knowledge economy surely is an undeniable fact. It is also true that the term 'International' has become a euphemism for EMI, regardless of the presence of international staff and students. It is also a documented fact, though, that internationalisation in Italy is more outward- than inward-oriented, as it is aimed at offering national students an English-medium experience at home in preparation for future prospects of mobility (Jenkins & Mauranen, 2019). After all, the underlying principle of the Bologna process was that internationalisation has to reach all students and not simply the mobile few.

Though it is important to consider the arguments against EMI here summarized, as a matter of fact, English is now firmly established in its role of lingua franca in an increasingly internationalised academia and, therefore, if only for pragmatic, utilitarian reasons, there seems to be no point in resisting it on principle. The problem thus is not so much one of debating how Italian universities should curb English but one of how to conceive ways of making its impact compatible with the need to preserve the vitality of the national scholarly tradition, on the one hand, and with the respect for the multilingual and multicultural diversity of today's world, on the other. Curriculum change needs to rely on research, and it should arguably be preceded by dialogue with its stakeholders. The students' views of EMI, in this sense, acquire a special relevance, considering that EMI is a relatively new reality in Italian HE, and the attitudes of its stakeholders are still a largely unexplored area.

Interest in students' perceptions of and attitudes towards EMI has, nevertheless, been steadily growing in the last few years, and by offering the learners' views on issues where their voice would otherwise go unheard, this paper also aims to contribute to the task of leading to better-informed ways of

integrating language and disciplinary content for the internationalisation of academic curricula. It reports on a qualitative study investigating the opinions on EMI held by ten Italian students of an EMI Master's degree programme at the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia. The data under discussion are taken from a larger ongoing PhD dissertation study of students' attitudes towards English and English language teaching (ELT) that combines descriptive statistics and qualitative analysis, and attempt to answer the following research questions (adapted from those of the doctoral research study): What opinions do students hold of EMI? What underlying attitudes towards ELF do their opinions reveal?

2. ELF, EMI and Studies of Students' Attitudes

The reality of ELF has brought to question the traditional theory and practice of English language pedagogy. Based on the assumption that the native speaker target is not relevant for today's learners, the ELF research approach has highlighted the need for an "epistemic break" (Kumaradivelu, 2012, as cited in Galloway & Rose, 2015, p. 208) from native-speakerism and revisit the notion of integrative motivation (Dörnyei & Ushioda, 2009; Seidlhofer, 2011).

In this perspective of a radical shift, the importance of attitude studies related to the context of ELT has been recognized (Jenkins, 2007; Galloway & Rose, 2015; Galloway, 2017). Language attitude studies can provide a window into the prevailing orientations of teachers and learners towards matters of pedagogical concern, and lead to better informed curriculum design and implementation. Galloway and Rose provided a comprehensive review of the existing literature on attitudes towards English varieties and ELF, including studies, conducted in ELT contexts, of students' and teachers' attitudes. A common finding in all studies is that both NESs and NNESs tend to gravitate towards the native standards of English. More recent studies confirm this general tendency (Fang, 2018, 2016; Griffiths & Soruç, 2019; Tamimi Sa'd, 2018; Soruç, 2015).

Studies that looked at attitudes towards native and non-native English speech also highlighted the complex relationship between attitude and intelligibility and found that prejudice is as much a factor of influence on attitudes as familiarity is. A number of studies highlighted that "intelligibility (…) does not always equate with acceptance" (Galloway & Rose, 2015, p. 183), as NNESs were found to prefer native speaker (NS) accents but consider their own L1 inflected accents as more intelligible. However, other research findings pointed out that if difficulty in understanding a non-native accent may also lead to negative attitudes the opposite is none the less true. That is, a prejudicial negative attitude towards an accent can lead to poorer comprehension, and so make it complicated to determine the root problem (Lindemann & Campbell, 2018). Furthermore, when a prejudicial attitude plays a role in the perception of speech and its rating, negative attitudes lead to poorer comprehension rather than the reverse (Jenkins, 2007).

Other studies involving learners and instructors who shared the same mother tongue have investigated the students' attitudes towards NESTs and NNESTs. Perhaps not surprisingly, they all revealed a generalised preference for the NESTs, as regards, in particular, pronunciation and spoken communication skills. However, NNES learners have also noted that they feel more confident when speaking to a NNEST of their same L1 (Galloway, 2017, 2013), in line with previous research findings that concluded that when teachers and learners share the same L1 they also tend to share an ease of comprehension (Fraser, 2006). Partially contradictory results emerged from two distinct studies of students' perceptions of EMI conducted in Italy by Clark (2017, 2018). In a study that investigated the interaction between the NNESTs and NNES learners (2018) the students who participated overwhelmingly declared that they would prefer NESTs, and while most of the participants in the other study (2017) also expressed preference for NESTs, quite contrary to the expectations, one out of four were found to be totally against the NESTs.

A line of research in attitudes in ELT contexts has had the specific aim of assessing the dominance of NE norms and understanding whether an ELF-informed approach to ELT would find immediate support. A common thread of these studies is that, once more, students and teachers alike show a strong attachment to NE norms. While in some cases awareness of ELF was found to

be rather limited (Jenkins, 2007), it has also been shown that even when the idea of ELF can be conceived, there is a sort of "theory/practice divide" (Galloway & Rose, 2015, p. 189): ELF is accepted in the abstract, but tends to be rejected in the classroom.

Although research into EMI has proliferated in the last decade, a relatively low share of publications focused on Europe (Wilkinson, 2017). Furthermore, research on EMI has focused mostly on lecturers' experiences and perceptions, and fewer studies have investigated the views of the students. However, interest in the learners' perspective is growing, and papers that report on students' EMI experiences have multiplied in the last few years. Jensen et al.'s (2013) study that looked at students' attitudes to their teachers' English in EMI, in a major business school in Denmark, concluded that NNESTs' English language proficiency is a significant predictor of the students' perceptions of the NNESTs' general competence and vice versa.

Two noteworthy studies showed that that the use of ELF in EMI is not incompatible with a multilingual approach: Tarnopolsky and Goodman (2012), in Eastern Ukraine, and Kuteeva et al. (2015) in Sweden, revealed that teachers and students alike consider the use of the L1 in the classroom to be a natural function of the need for mutual comprehension, and normally adopt translanguaging strategies in order to ensure effective communication. Doiz et al. (2019) looked at the views on EMI of 145 Spanish students and 145 Italian students enrolled on English-taught programmes, with the aim of understanding the learners' linguistic demands. Findings showed that both groups favoured language assistance, although they considered that this is not part of their content lecturer's responsibilities. The data also revealed differences linked to the specific disciplines, which leads to the conclusion that the students' specialisation has an impact on their perceptions of the EMI experience.

A number of studies were conducted exclusively in Italian universities. Ackerley (2017) surveyed 111 students enrolled in various Master's degree courses at the University of Padova, finding a generalised satisfaction with the EMI experience. Approximately three-quarters of the participants also highlighted the advantages of improving their English comprehension skills and learning subject-specific vocabulary while studying academic content. The two above-mentioned studies by Clark were also conducted at the University

of Padova. In one of these (Clark, 2017), a questionnaire was administered to 37 domestic and 9 international students enrolled in a two-year postgraduate degree EMI course held at the Department of Political and Juridical Sciences and International Relations. Most participants in this study expressed satisfaction with their EMI experience and the level of their lecturers' English; they also reported that the course had helped improve their English language skills.

The results also revealed differences between domestic and international students, the latter tending to be less critical of their NNESTs' language competence, except for pronunciation, and between first-year and second-year students. Interestingly, first-year students were more critical of their lecturers than second-year students and, unlike the latter, they showed a tendency to use language as a measure of the overall quality of a lecture. These findings led Clark to suggest that, over the two years of EMI, students were able to reflect on the idea that successful communication and the effectiveness of a lecture are not merely a question of proficient language use, but depend in great measure on the teaching methodology and the lecturers' ability to stimulate discussion in class. Clark's subsequent study (2018) was part of the wider LEAP (Learning English for Academic Purposes) project, an initiative of the University of Padova Language Centre aimed at supporting lecturers required to teach in English. 75 EMI Master's degree students, of which 48 were from the social sciences and 27 from a science department, responded to an online questionnaire in which they were asked to evaluate their EMI experience. As previously mentioned, the participants in this study declared overwhelmingly that they would prefer NS English lecturers, thus confirming the findings of other studies of learners' attitudes towards NESTs and NNESTs.

Costa and Mariotti (2017) administered a questionnaire to 160 graduate EMI students from the Economics and Engineering Departments of three universities located in northern Italy, finding that one of the most important reasons for enrolling on EMI programmes is that these can lead to an equal or better learning of the subject matter compared to traditional Italian-medium courses. The participants also stated that there was room for improvement as far as their lecturers' competence in English was concerned. In a more recent study (Costa & Mariotti, 2020), the same authors explored how linguistic di-

versity in internationalised Italian universities is dealt with by the institution and by the students, and how it affects the learning process.

Rowland and Murray's qualitative study (2020) involving twelve students (and six lecturers) of an EMI Master's level programme in Biomedical Sciences indicated that flexible attitudes towards the use of the students' L1 was an important determinant of the widely reported learners' satisfaction with the EMI experience. Other recent studies involving Italian students were conducted by Guarda (2018), who combined qualitative and quantitative measures to investigate the perceptions of students enrolled on a variety of English-taught programmes, and Costa (2017, 2018). Costa 2017 pointed to NNESTs' pronunciation as the area on which students tend to be more judgmental, although some may also feel relieved to see it as an attainable target model. Costa 2018 reported on one of the few cases in which the decision-making process behind the implementation of an EMI programme had been documented: the pre-feasibility study includes an interview with the Dean, and a student questionnaire, which once again revealed that students had a positive attitude towards EMI.

In brief, positive attitudes towards EMI are a common finding in all the studies conducted in Italy; the small-scale size of most of these, however, prevents further generalisations. There is clearly a need for more research that suggests measures to facilitate the effective implementation of EMI degree programmes. While it is difficult to generalise from the results of context-specific single-case studies, it is hoped that this paper can provide a valuable contribution to this task.

3. Method

3.1 Participants

The participants for this study were selected through convenience (non-probability) sampling (Given, 2008). They were all students of the Master's degree programme in Languages for Communication in International Enterprises and Organization (LACOM), managed by the Department of Studies on Language and Culture of the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia. One (S10)

was in her first year, the other nine were in their second year, and all were female, aged between 21 and 26; nine were NS of Italian, one (S1) an Italian and French speaking bilingual. All of them had a background in foreign language studies, had studied at least another language besides English since middle school, and had at least one study or work experience abroad, both in an ENL and an EFL country. One student (S5) had also previously earned another EMI Master's degree from another Italian university, whereas for the remaining nine, LACOM represented the first EMI experience in Italy.

3.2 Setting

LACOM is a two-year EMI Master's degree programme that offers all its courses in English, with the exception of two courses that are held in another language of choice (French, German, Spanish), one in Italian, and elective one-year language courses in Chinese and Russian. LACOM has an emphasis in international communication, economics, and law, and it clearly has a multilingual and multicultural vocation. Within this framework, the English language is understood as a lingua franca of international communication, and throughout the two years of the programme the learners' awareness is raised on variation in English(es) and on ELF. All English-medium courses attended by the participants had been taught by NNESTs, with the exception of one course that had been taught by a visiting NEST.

3.3 Data Collection Procedure

This study utilised the in-depth, semi-structured face-to-face interview, an instrument characteristic of direct approaches to attitude studies (Garrett, 2010) and Folk Linguistics research (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003), that generates data from elicitation by the researcher of consciously formulated opinions, beliefs and judgements. The semi-structured pattern allowed, on the one hand, to guarantee consistency between the interviews and ensure coverage of the key themes, while preserving their free-narrative structure, on the other. The interviews covered a number of themes, all related to the participants' personal experience with English and its teaching, according to the research objectives of the PhD dissertation study.

In the ten interviews that were selected for this study, the students were invited by the researcher, at some point in the process, to evaluate their personal experience in an EMI degree programme and express their opinions on the use of English as a language of study. The interviews had been set to last approximately 45 minutes. However, some interviewees manifested a desire to speak at greater length and, so as not to interfere with the participant's narrative, and because of time constraints on either the researcher's or the participant's schedule, three interviews (S7, S8, S9) had to be interrupted and were resumed at a later time. In addition, one participant (S10), who had taken part in a pilot interview that had not included any question on EMI, was contacted again for a follow-up, after a substantial number of LACOM students took part in the research and the topic of EMI gained prominence. In total, four interviews were conducted in two stages.

All the interviews selected for this study took place between April and May 2020 and, due to the restrictions imposed in Italy during the Covid-19 pandemic lockdown (from March to June 2020), they were conducted at a distance via Skype and Google Meet. They were conducted in Italian, in order to make the participants more comfortable and avoid the risk of limiting discussion.

3.4 Data Analysis Procedure

The interviews were recorded with a digital voice recorder and transcribed. The interview transcription conventions are shown in Table 1.

Table 1 – Transcription conventions. Adapted from Niedzielski & Preston (2003) and VOICE Project (2007).

S1, S2, … , R	Speakers (numbered according to date) and researcher (R)
[name1][place1]	Anonymization (aliases are numbered consecutively)
[	Overlapping utterances
]	End of overlap (if duration is not represented by size)
=	Linked of continued utterances
(.)	Brief pause in speech (less than one second)
(3)	Approximate length of pause in seconds
:	Length (repeated to show greater length)
.	Falling (final) intonation followed by pause
,	Continuing (list) intonation
?	Rising intonation (question)
<?> molto numerose </?>	Final rising pitch ('uptalk' intonation pattern)
CAPS	Emphatic or contrastive stress
(.hhh) (hhh.)	Breathe in and breath out
( )	transcriber doubt / incomprehensible word(s)
io (non ci rientravo)	guess at the word(s)
sono (im-)	guess at some part oft he words
ing-	abrupt cutoffs and false starts
@	Laughter (one @ symbol for approximately one syllable)
<@> ovviamente sì </@>	Utterances spoken laughing
<LNen>proficiency</LNen>	Utterances not in speaker's L1 (en = English)
<low ley> okay </low key>	Speaker modes (open list)
<clears throat>	Speaker noises (open list)
{talking to somebody}	Contextual information is added between curly brackets

According to the research questions above, this study focuses on the extracts from the interview transcriptions in which the participants discussed their personal experience with EMI. However, care was taken not to lose sight of the overall picture provided by each full interview, and so, when necessary, reference is also made to other parts of the interview that help contextualise the participants' views on EMI.

Qualitative content analysis was the strategy adopted for the data here presented because it was thought that it would provide deeper insights into the underlying attitudes that underpin the participants' overtly expressed

opinions. Qualitative content analysis aims to seize "the underlying deeper meaning of the data" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 246); it is an approach that deals not only with the surface content, but also with the way in which the content is constructed in discourse. Data analysis was conducted first by focusing on the referential content of the participant's arguments, and subsequently on the forms in which the interviewees articulated their arguments. In order to familiarise them with the referential content, the interview transcripts were coded according to the themes that emerged and a separate corpus of extracts where the participants discussed their EMI experience was created. These extracts were subsequently coded again, in order to categorise a finer-grained set of themes that were then organised in a hierarchical order. Finally, the focus of analysis was turned to the linguistic choices and the prosodic features in the speech of the interviewees.

4. Results

While the interviewees confined most of their comments to LACOM, they also made generalisations and brought up topics of a wider scope. Two main thematic categories were initially identified, as the participants discussed their personal experience in terms of advantages and problems. The interviewees' comments on the perceived advantages referred to two main themes: integrated content-and-language method and internationalisation at Home (IaH). By far the most prominent topic, the NNESTs' competence in English was unanimously identified by the participants as the problematic aspect of their degree programme. After the extracts were re-analysed for a second time, a third category labelled 'ELF and multilingualism' was identified. All the themes are included in the framework (Table 2).

Table 2 – Analysis framework for transcriptions of interviews

ADVANTAGES OF EMI
Integrated content + language method
Internationalisation at home (IaH)
PROBLEMS OF EMI
NNESTs' competence in English, pronunciation and intelligibility
Justification for perceived NNESTs' deficiency
Dumbing down of academic content
ELF AND MULTILINGUALISM
EMI and multilingual education
Cultural load of English
ELF communication problems

Due to limitations of space, the full extracts from the transcriptions are not reported here. Although each thematic category is dealt with separately, the themes that were identified from the analysis often overlap and interrelate in the interviewees' arguments. For this reason, the interviews are cross-referenced for different themes.

Turning to the data, a clear pattern emerged: all the participants except one (S3) expressed satisfaction with LACOM, although they also had some reservations. All participants, however, revealed an overall positive attitude towards EMI, at least in principle, although not without ambivalences as regards its realisation.

4.1 The Advantages of EMI

4.1.1 Content and Language Integrated Method

Speaking of the advantages of EMI, six participants referred to the method of integrating the learning of content and language in the curriculum. S8 and S10 referred to it in the terms of an added value ("*valore in più*" and "*valore aggiunto*", respectively). S8, in the specific, said she saw the integration of language and content as an added value for two reasons: because it is a beneficial "full immersion" experience, and because the English language makes academic content more interesting and motivating. A similar argument for the benefits of EMI was also put forward by S4, who remarked that LACOM is very smart ("*molto intelligente*") because in its curriculum languages are applied to fields that are useful on the international level, such as economics and law. The motivating factor was also mentioned by S2, when she commented that, in consideration of the role of English as a lingua franca, studying subjects of non-linguistic discipline areas in English also allows one to see different viewpoints ("*punti di vista differenti*") and different systems ("*sistemi diversi*").

Interestingly, S10 observed that the integrated learning method does not necessarily have to assume native-like competence on the part of learners. She remarked that, if the level of learning ("*livello di apprendimento*") of the students is respected and language skills are gradually improved by teaching something more, little by little ("*insegnando qualcosa in più poco alla volta*"), EMI can be a constructive teaching method ("*un metodo costruttivo insomma di insegnamento*"). Like S8 who highlighted the benefits of the full immersion experience, S1 and S6, each speaking of her personal reason for the choice of an EMI programme, valued the integrated method as a way of maintaining and possibly improving one's English language skills.

In brief, the perceived advantages of integrating language and content relate to both sides, and it is perhaps not surprising that students with a background in foreign language studies show such a positive attitude towards English as a language of study.

4.1.2 Internationalisation at Home

Four participants related the benefits of EMI to the international experience "at home" offered by an EMI degree programme. Expressing an outward-oriented view of IaH, S9 said she choose an EMI programme because she thought it would prepare her to find a job abroad or work with foreign markets. S5 also highlighted the value of EMI as an IaH experience for the students who cannot afford to go on a study abroad programme, and also referred to the presence of international students as a motivating factor. The advantage of studying in an international environment was also pointed out by S10, who argued that EMI makes a degree programme more accessible ("*più accessibile*"), as it also invites international students and that these, in turn, contribute to creating a more constructive and motivating environment ("*un ambiente accademico più costruttivo in sé più e: invogliante*"). Like S5, S8 valued EMI as an opportunity for national students who cannot afford a study abroad programme.

Throughout her interview, S8 also spoke enthusiastically of the visiting NEST she had had in her first year, comparing her teaching method and her way of building rapport with the students with the approach of her Italian instructors. S8 highlighted the constructive ("*formativo*") value of introducing home students to different teaching methods and perspectives: it is a great thing ("*è BELLO*"), she argued, especially for a student who has never had the opportunity to study abroad because it's actually "the overseas that comes to her home" ("*in realtà è l'estero che viene: a casa sua*"). Aside from S8's clear preference for NESTs, which is considered further on (see 4.2.1), it is worth observing, at this point, that she regarded inward mobility of international teachers as a factor for motivation and quality improvement of IaH. S10, as well, pointed out the value of being introduced to new methodological approaches by the international instructors.

Summing up, aside from the personal instrumental motivations behind the choice of an EMI programme, the students who mentioned the advantages of IaH seem to agree that the potential appeal of an international degree programme depends on more than the mere fact of offering courses in English. This is also not surprising at all, given the multilingual and multicultural vocation of LACOM and the students' personal academic background.

4.2 Problems of EMI

Although all the participants expressed a positive opinion of EMI, they also had reservations about its realisation in practice. All the interviewees held a deficit view of their NNESTs' competence in English. Five of them were more specific and described it in terms of pronunciation, while seven participants in total discussed the theme of NNESTs' proficiency in relation to intelligibility, and three also spoke of its implications for the quality of teaching and content. Despite their negative judgements, the participants' attitude towards NNESTs' competence in English seemed to be less straightforward than their negative judgement let on, and eight participants also mitigated their claims by offering justifications for their NNESTs' perceived deficiency.

4.2.1 NNESTs' Competence, Pronunciation and Intelligibility

S4 referred to the competence in English of her NNESTs of the non-linguistic disciplinary areas in rather contradictory terms. After having stated that communication in the classroom is anyways successful ("*la comunicazione avviene (.) per carità*"), she observed, in a very assertive tone, that her NNSTs were not up to the task ("*essere all'altezza*") of communicating academic content without making errors that sometimes break down the communication ("*sono proprio errori che IMPEDISCONO la comunicazione talvolta*"). Although she stressed that that was a huge problem ("*è un problema ENORME*") that she had constantly come upon ("*che puntualmente: ho riscontrato nel corso di questi due anni*"), S4 did not specify what type of errors she was referring to.

Arguments that discuss the NNESTs' competence in terms of pronunciation and relate this to intelligibility provide perhaps the most interesting insights into the students' underlying attitudes towards native and non-native(-like) speech, and point to the complex relationship between attitude and perceptions of intelligibility. S7's words were particularly revealing in this regard. She introduced the topic of NNEST's competence by saying that it was often not easy to understand some of her NNESTs, that they were very hard to follow, and one had to pay extra attention in class, or else one would often lose the thread. To illustrate her argument, S7 offered the example of one of her NNESTs who is from the same area in Italy as she is. S7 observed that the particular accent in this NNST's speech that she recognised as familiar would

make her lose focus in class, and she repeatedly (four times) remarked that she could not even explain to herself how that happened ("*non so come spiegarlo veramente*", "*è una cosa che ancora non so spiegare bene*", "*non so come spiegarlo ancora non me lo so spiegare veramente*"); all she could say was that the teacher's particular inflection would make her miss the last word of his phrases ("*fa terminare (.) le frasi (.) in un modo che quasi da f- fa sì che io perda l'ultima parola del discorso*"). By stating clearly that it is a matter of loss of concentration on her part, she seemed to imply that the problem with the NNEST's speech was not exactly a matter of unintelligibility per se, that is, of not being able to process the meaning of the (mis)pronounced words.

In the end, S7 is well familiar with the accent she detected in her teacher's speech and she herself described the problem as one of prosody: he made his sentences end as if in a minor tone ("*un tono minore*"). Her words seemed to suggest that her loss of concentration may have be a matter of attitudinal factors: indeed, she was trying to account for an unconscious reaction to the teacher's accented speech. As if to soften her claim, S7 pointed out that there were also NNESTs who have lived abroad and are more confident with their English, that were very clear in their delivery, and, as if to further distance herself from her negative judgement, she added that other students felt the same way about the less proficient teachers. With a final remark: "*quasi (ti verrebbe da) dirgli oh senti dimmelo in italiano perché così facciamo prima*" (you'd like to tell him hey, listen tell me in Italian, it's quicker), she revealed impatience on the part of the students while pointing to an effort made on the part of the NNEST.

A clear preference for NESTs has been previously pointed out in S8's argument for inward mobility as a way of improving the quality of her Master's degree course; in all the participants' accounts of poor NNESTs' competence, the same native-speakerism preference seems to exist, albeit with different orientations. An ambivalent attitude to non-native speech was revealed by S2. After having observed that EMI is more of an advantage than a disadvantage, she argued that the fact of not receiving EMI in the best possible way can become a disadvantage ("*può <@> diventare uno svantaggio </@>*"), and added that the English of some of her NNESTs was rather deficient ("*c'è un po' un deficit forse da parte loro*"). The use of verbal hedges and fillers (pauses,

"*cioè*", "*diciamo*", "*insomma*") in her speech suggest that she was carefully weighing her words, while laughter signalled her embarrassment: after all, she must have felt that her position as a student demanded a certain degree of deference towards her teachers.

However, she was also clear in pointing out that a wrong ("*sbagliata*") pronunciation conveys a wrong message. Earlier in the interview, she had introduced the topic of pronunciation by saying that it is very important for proficiency and that a native-like accent is particularly valued. Nevertheless, later on, she had shifted her position, arguing that pronunciation is important only to the extent that it is functional to intelligibility and adding that it is fair for one to preserve her/his identity of NNS of English in speech. Very interestingly, she related the issue of pronunciation to what she referred to as the ambivalence ("*ambivalenza*") of ELF, that is the contradiction of a culturally neutral link language that one still feels pressure to use in a culturally appropriate way, by approximating NS standards. That ambivalence is reflected in her conflicted attitude towards native and non-native accents, and it is suggested here that by "wrong pronunciation", she may have been actually referring to deviations from a recognised standard that do not necessarily impede intelligibility, although she claimed the contrary. In other words, her perception of unintelligibility may have more to do with attitude than with an actual problem in processing the NESTS's message.

Similarly, the idea that attitudes to non-native speech may be based on prejudice was hinted at by S5's own words, when, recounting her previous EMI experience in another university; she said that she had been initially worried about the quality of the teachers' English, though in the end, everything went well. Other interviewees expressed a less negative judgement of NNESTs' competence. S1 said that, despite their rather deficient vocabulary ("*un po' carente*"), NSTSs are nevertheless intelligible ("you understand"). S9 commented that sometimes NNSTs may have been imprecise with their grammar and pronunciation but their intelligibility was never compromised; she also made it clear that she accepted code-switching[1] to Italian in the classroom

1 The term *code-switching* is here preferred to *translanguaging*, because it seemed more appropriate to define the act of switching from English to Italian in the classroom, for purposes of clarifications.

as a strategy for negotiation of meaning, a view shared also by S10. Earlier in the interview, S9, had also argued that pronunciation is important only to the extent that it is functional to intelligibility and that it is not necessary to be taken for NSs ("*essere scambiati per parlanti nativi*").

4.2.2 Justifications for NNESTs' Competence

As if to distance themselves from their claims that their NNESTs did not seem to be up to the job, eight interviewees also rationalised their NNESTs' poor competence in English with justifications.

S2 offered an excuse for her NNESTs' deficient competence by remarking that they had not studied (foreign) languages ("*non hanno studiato lingue*"), with the implication that they could not be expected to have a native-like pronunciation. The same argument that one cannot expect an instructor of non-linguistic disciplines to be highly proficient was also made by S1 and S8. S3, the only participant who said she was not completely satisfied with her degree programme, after observing that her personal experience had shown that the realisation in practice of EMI is problematic, she exonerated her NNESTs from responsibility for their inadequate English by suggesting that the NNESTs may have had no choice in the matter of teaching in English. She referred to "*questa cosa di doverli erogare in inglese*" (this thing of having to offer them in English), whereby the modal verb of obligation points to a demand imposed upon the NNESTs, while other features of her speech (hedges, fillers and prosodic features) revealed that she adopted certain discursive strategies that distanced herself from her own negative judgement. In particular, she made her personal opinion sound like an objective, matter-of-fact reality, by claiming that NNESTs' are deficient for obvious reasons ("*ovvi motivi*").

A similar argument was made by S4 and S7, who suggested levity on the part of the university in managing the academic staff and concluded that their university may not have been quite ready to offer EMI. The idea that this gap between principle and realisation is nevertheless inevitable, was expressed by S5, who claimed that "*inevitabilmente (.) è più difficile trovare professori (.) e:h che sappiano bene l'inglese*" (inevitably, it's more difficult to find professors who are proficient in English), thus ascribing the problem of NNESTs'

competence to a matter-of-fact reality, though without further expansion on the topic.

S10 too excused her NNESTs by offering both kinds of justifications that have been reported above: the fact that as non-language experts they cannot be expected to be highly proficient in English, and the idea that they may not have been given a choice in the language of instruction. Like her fellow students, she was also very cautious in articulating her negative judgement of NNESTs' competence, by making a conspicuous use of verbal hedges and fillers, to the effect of making her statements less assertive, and also by remarking that her view was a shared opinion among her fellow students.

Finally, S7 also added a psychological explanation to justify her NNESTs' poor English-speaking skills, suggesting insecurity in speech delivery stemming from the teacher's anticipation of the students' reactions to a non-native-like competence.

4.2.3 Quality of Teaching and Content

Three participants argued that the NNESTs' inadequate competence leads to lowering the quality of teaching and content. S3, however, hedged her claim by stating that that was "a feeling" she had and by suggesting that it was an inevitable consequence, through use of the adverb *ovviamente* (obviously): "*ho l'impressione che questo poi (…) vada a discapito ovviamente della qualità*". A similar view of inevitability was expressed by S5, who argued that it is inevitably more difficult to find NNESTs who are proficient in English.

In her argument that the deficient NNESTs' competence leads to dumbing down the academic content, S6 was more specific, as she referred to vocabulary as the level of language in which her NNESTs were found lacking. She also suggested that if an instructor's proficiency in English is poor, dumbing down the academic content is somehow inevitable. Like all the other participants who rationalised their teachers' deficiency, she also excused her NNESTs through a careful choice of words, indicated by the pauses, fillers and hedges, and made her negative judgement of NNESTs' English sound like an objective and self-evident fact, while also suggesting that her NNESTs actually excel in their disciplinary field.

4.3 ELF and Multilingualism

4.3.1 EMI and Multilingual Education

S4 pointed to an overfocus on English as another, though absolutely secondary, negative aspect of her EMI degree programme, claiming that there ought to be more courses in other languages, and mentioning Chinese and Arabic, which, in her opinion, are very much needed ("*ce n'è assolutamente bisogno*"). Similarly, S2 argued that in spite of the advantages of EMI (4.1), given her Master's degree programme's multilingual and multicultural profile, an overfocus on English is rather limiting. Although she regretted that her degree programme did not offer the same EMI courses in other languages, she pointed out that there are practical constraints to multilingual education: in her words, "*un insegnante dovrebbe essere plurilingue*" (a teacher ought to be multilingual).

Although she did not explicitly refer to EMI as too limiting, S5 also expressed a favourable opinion of multilingual education. However, in the same vein as S2, she also remarked that such a model of internationalisation of the curricula is possible only in theory, and pointed to practical constraints, observing that a multilingual model of internationalisation would not be cost efficient. The same pragmatic reasons to uphold EMI against a multilingualism model of internationalisation were adduced also by S10.

4.3.2 The Cultural Load of English

S8 commented that she did not see the emphasis on English to the detriment of the other languages as a problem, first of all, because she believed that English is more useful than the other languages. In addition, she remarked that studying certain subjects in English gives one the idea of the more advanced aspect of the subject ("*quell'aspetto: come posso dire? più: u:hm uhm più avanzato de della materia*"), thus making an implicit association between English and modernity. The fact that she was trying to find the words to rationalise her feeling, confirmed also by the prosodic features in her speech (hesitations, false starts, pauses and other fillers), can arguably be interpreted as proof that her view of English as more appropriate to communicating a specific academic content has no basis in empirical facts.

Besides her clear preference for English and how this influences her view of EMI as more motivating, however, an indication was found, in her words, that English is loaded with cultural values. Further on, she returned to the same topic, claiming that Marketing is quintessentially an English-medium subject ("*il marketing penso che è proprio la (.) non lo so la materia: pe- per antonomasia no? dell'inglese*") and that it was natural for her to associate it to the English language and the US culture. She repeatedly remarked that receiving the same academic content in her second language of choice (Spanish) would have sounded strange to her ("*mi suonerebbe tanto tanto strano*", "*mi farebbe strano*", "*mi suonerebbe tanto strano*", "*mi suonerebbe tanto tanto strano*") and, therefore, would have been less motivating ("*ci andrei più con: una mentalità distaccata*"). Expressing a negative attitude towards translating certain technical terms from English to Spanish ("*la (trovo) una cosa oscena*") she further confirmed that she saw a perhaps inextricable link between certain disciplinary fields and the English language. In this sense, she projected English as a culturally loaded language. More than that, the fact that she also seemed to be aware that her view of a close association between certain subjects and English may just be based on prejudice ("*è u:n un'idea probabilmente che io ho che deriva da <@> dei pregiudizi </@>*") shows that she was not unaware of the attitudinal underpinning of her own opinions.

4.3.3 Problems in ELF Communication

From the comments of three interviewees, another problematic dimension in ELF communication emerged. Although S10 expressed a clear view that the use of ELF facilitates international communication, by referring to occasional communication breakdowns having occurred between international students and NNESTs, she noted that communication in English between NNESs who do not share another common language may not always be smooth.

S8 similarly hinted at the fact that the use of English may not put everyone on an equal footing, especially in the classroom context, between a NNES learner and a NEST. Referring to her experience with the visiting NEST, she said that learners had been encouraged to speak freely in class, although, she observed, one might have felt judged, even subconsciously, because the instructor was a native speaker ("*anche <@> inconsciamente </@> perché lei ovvia-*

mente è madrelingua"). A tacit assumption of S8's argument seems to be that the NNES learner is expected to meet the target of a native-like competence, and, in this sense, it seems that the term "*inconsciamente*" (subconsciously) is key, as it suggests how deeply entrenched native-speakerism is in the NNES learner's mind and how this latently drives her/his linguistic behaviour.

The theme of inequality in communication was spontaneously addressed also by S5 in relation to the use of English as the lingua franca of international academia, when she expressed a concern for the use of English by NNESs causing a drop in the quality of research work. Although she revealed a positive orientation towards multilingualism and the respect of linguistic diversity, she also justified the use of ELF on pragmatic grounds, referring once again (4.3.1) to a matter of cost-benefits.

4.4 Discussion

An important finding of this study is the participants' confirmation that IaH is more than just EMI. As defined by Beelen and Jones (2015) "Internationalization at Home is the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments", therefore, "simply providing a programme in English is insufficient for it to be considered an internationalized curriculum." (p. 69). Although some participants highlighted the integration of language and content learning as the added value to their Master's degree programme, other motivating factors were also pointed out, namely the presence of international students and teachers. However, if inward mobility is recognised by some participants as a factor for improvement of their EMI programme, the outward-oriented view of EMI expressed in some comments confirms that, even without an international population of students, IaH is recognised as having an inherent value.

Turning to the negative aspects of EMI highlighted in the interviews, it is important to emphasise that a view of intelligibility being compromised by the perceived low proficiency of the NNESTs was not shared by all participants. Most importantly, a deeper analysis of the interviewees' comments revealed that the underlying attitudes towards NNESTs' competence in English were more ambivalent than the initial negative overt opinions let on. In par-

ticular, since in the majority of the interviewees' comments competence was discussed mainly in terms of pronunciation, the study suggests that perceptions of non-intelligibility may depend, at least in part, on an underlying negative attitude towards non-native accents.

S7's comment on this issue was foregrounded to illustrate this point. Although it would take a dedicated study to fully investigate the psycho-social dimension of S7's unconscious reaction to her teacher's accented speech, it has been suggested here that her concentration problem may have to be attributed to attitudinal factors. If so, the root cause of S7's problem may arguably lie precisely in her familiarity with the NNEST's inflection. It may thus be the case that S7's expectations of a teacher of an EMI class had been upset by the perceived familiarity of the accent, and that that particular accent was so much at odds, to her ears, with the formal and also international, cosmopolitan dimension of the EMI class. As previously pointed out (section 2), expectation of unintelligibility of an accent sometimes prevents an unbiased judgement on the actual intelligibility grade (Lindeman & Campbell, 2018). In this sense, the fact of S7 losing her focus may seem to prove that negative attitudes lead to poorer comprehension. By the same token, all the other participants' judgements of unintelligibility of their NNESTs would have to be taken with a grain of salt.

When S7 suggested that insecurity leads to self-consciousness and this, in turn, leads to inhibition and hesitation in speech, and when S8 spoke of fear to be judged by a NNEST, they also hinted at the important role attitudinal factors play in ELF communication. Furthermore, the participants' ambivalent attitudes suggest that ELF-informed overt beliefs may coexist with a deeper-seated negative attitude towards non-native and non-standard pronunciation. In this sense, this study's findings seem to be in line with the results of the earlier research examined above (section 2), which concluded that ELF is accepted in theory but resisted in practice. Although, in principle, all the participants who addressed the theme agreed that pronunciation is important only to the extent that it is functional to successful communication, it also seemed that, in the formal learning context of the classroom, considerations on the primacy of intelligibility are overridden by the expectations that learners have of their instructors, regardless of their NNES status. In other words, from the

learner's perspective, it seems that the EMI class demands that teachers adhere to the prestigious NE norm.

As these findings show, some participants actually regarded EMI as a way of improving English language skills, and it is suggested here that the fact that the participants in the study were enrolled on a language degree programme (and not just on any EMI programme) may have affected their perception of their lecturers' competence, in the sense that they may have had higher expectations of the proficiency of their lecturers, who may be seen, consciously or not, as models of language use. These higher expectations, in turn, may have affected their attitudes towards ELF vs adherence to NE norms. As pointed out above (section 2), previous research suggests that students' area of specialisation affects their perceptions of the EMI experience, and, in this sense, research conducted on EMI programmes in other departments than that of Languages may be expected to yield different results regarding student expectations. As a further consideration, it must be pointed out that the participants' comments also seem to prove that, however deeply they may be entrenched, negative attitudes towards non-native speech can be changed.

Considering the multilingual and multicultural vocation of LACOM, it was perhaps highly predictable that the participants would show a marked sensitivity towards multilingualism and the respect of linguistic diversity, although they all also seemed to safely assume that English can easily function as a culturally neutral international lingua franca. Even those interviewees who showed awareness of the controversial issues of domain loss and inequalities in communication between NESs and NNESs accepted ELF on pragmatic grounds.

To conclude, it is important to observe here that the ambivalences inherent in some of the participants' attitudes towards EMI and ELF seem to derive from the uncertain status that is still attributed to English, a language that is used as a lingua franca of international and intercultural communication, but which is also still associated to culturally specific native-speaker normative models and, as S8's comment on the cultural load of English suggested, to specific cultural norms and values.

5. Conclusions

This paper has suggested the importance of carefully considering the attitudinal component of communicative competence on the one hand, and hinted at the advantages of upholding an ELF-informed approach to EMI and internationalisation, on the other.

The ambivalence detected in attitudes towards ELF suggests that native-speakerism still exerts a considerable influence on learners; NSE, after all, is a powerful gatekeeper in educational contexts. Without structural change, the "harsh realities of gatekeeping" (Kafle, 2013, p. 68) will understandably influence both students' and teachers' orientations and prevent real attitudinal change. However, the importance and effectiveness of raising students' awareness must not be underestimated, and the findings presented here suggest that awareness and first-hand experience of ELF can lead students to question their own prejudicial views of English.

In addition, the positive attitudes towards the use of the students' L1 as a strategy for meaning-negotiation in the classroom suggest that effective communication may not necessarily assume a monolingual model, and so code-switching – alternatively defined as multilingual negotiation (Canagarajah et al., 2012) or translanguaging, as in recent post-structuralist reconceptualization of the notion (Kafle, 2013) – ought to be recognised as a viable approach to facilitating meaning-making in a multilingual classroom. Within such a framework, NNESTs may come to be accepted regardless of their non-native like accents and may arguably gain more self-confidence in speech delivery.

In the end, the participants' cautiousness revealed in their judgement of NNESTs' inadequacy suggests that their own position as students may have invited prudence, although the researcher's position as a postgraduate student, besides the terms of confidentiality of the interview, may have encouraged them to be open and speak freely. All things considered, the in-depth semi-structured format of the interview has yielded abundant data and it has arguably proven to be a useful instrument to investigate the stakeholders' views and orientations towards matters of concern in research on EMI and ELF.

5.1 Limitations

Given the limited number of students involved and the single EMI degree programme considered here, the findings of the present study are not conclusive and cannot be generalised. In particular, the attitudes and orientations of students enrolled on EMI courses in departments other than Foreign Languages remain to be investigated, as these may have different expectations as to language learning and the proficiency of their NNESTSs, on the one hand, and lower awareness of ELF, on the other.

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Part 2

Beyond EMI: Multilingual and Intercultural Approaches in Italian Universities

The Intercultural Dimension and BELF in the English Course Curriculum of Business Schools: Proposal for an Integrated Model

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Abstract

For a series of historical, economic and geographic reasons, English is considered the language of communication in the business field (cf. Crystal, 2003; Graddol, 2006). Since the last industrial revolution, the models of reference have been the British and American ones, and the hegemony of these two countries has affected also the field of higher education (cf. Phillipson, 2003; Altbach & Knight, 2007) and business schools in particular have followed American standards. Although the economic paradigm may start to slowly shift because of the new challenges represented, for example, by the Asian markets, English is still the main language used in academia and in business (cf. Graddol, 2006; Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). Language use is not a point of discussion in documents concerning the internationalisation of business schools, where it seems to be implicit that English is the medium of instruction, also in countries where English is not the national language.

However, merely offering English-taught programmes is not sufficient for any institution that wishes to provide students with an encompassing education which can equip them with the tools to succeed in an increasing globalised, multilingual and multicultural world (cf. Jones, 2013; Bieger, 2011). To this end, from a linguistic and socio-cultural perspective, two main aspects should be more promoted and integrated across the curriculum: awareness of language and cultural features embedded in both academic disciplines and in their models of instructions. Another factor to be considered is that, in the world of work, the kind of English used during the majority of business interactions belongs to the field of BELF - Business English as a Lingua Franca (cf. Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2013; Bargiela-Chiappini et al., 2007). The integration of a linguistic and of an intercultural dimension which takes into account the principles of

BELF, may help to improve the students and staff's intercultural and communicative skills in the context of business education.
With this purpose, a model of Business Intercultural Communicative Competence (BICC) is proposed, adapted from Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta's model (2011), and inspired by Deardoff's Model of Intercultural Communicative Competence (2006). After a brief description of the BICC model, its possible pedagogical implications will be discussed, providing a series of suggestions for implementing its dimensions in the English course curriculum of business schools.

1. Introduction

In Europe, English is the most frequently used language of instruction for higher education programmes (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014), also in non-Anglophone speaking countries; this growing trend has promoted the EMI phenomenon, a term which indicates that English is used as the Medium of Instruction in countries where it is not the official language (cf. Wilkinson, 2017). The introduction of courses delivered in vehicular English, called ETPs, English-Taught Programs (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014), is aimed at attracting international students and teachers, but also at preparing domestic students for an increasingly global and connected labour market (Knight, 2008), in which English is the lingua franca *par excellence*, both in the academic world (Coleman, 2006) and in the business world (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2013). Through these measures, institutions wish to become more competitive on a global level, increasing their visibility and prestige and positioning themselves in the rankings that present judgment criteria such as the quality of teaching and services provided (cf. Wedlin, 2010).

The other field which has been significantly shaped by English is the economic one. In the nineteenth century, Britain was the world's leading industrial country, and its imperialism has spread the national language around the globe, while during the following century, the presence of English "was maintained and promoted almost single-handedly through the economic supremacy of the new American superpower" (Crystal, 2003, p. 10). Nowadays, the changes brought by globalisation and technologies have extended the role

of English to all sectors of telecommunications, digital services and labour markets (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Knight, 2008). The growth of globalisation of businesses worldwide has been too fast in comparison with the internationalisation of business schools, affecting the schools' capacity to prepare managers adequately for the global market (cf. Bieger, 2011). Traditional American models of reference for teaching and accreditation did not take into consideration the multiplicity and complexity of workplaces which are now more and more multicultural (cf. Kaplan, 2014; Friga et al., 2003). This has created a gap between the preparation given by business education programmes and the actual set of skills needed for graduates to succeed in tackling globalisation challenges (cf. Bradford et al., 2017).

2. Features of BELF (Business English as a Lingua Franca)

This section aims at giving an overview of some of the features of English used in the business field, starting from business discourse, to explain the concept of BELF (Business English as a Lingua Franca), in connection with the ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) paradigm. Subsequently, some of the strategies put into practice during ELF interactions will be compared with strategies used in intercultural communication to interact in multilingual environments. Business discourse has been defined as "all about how people communicate using talk or writing in commercial organizations in order to get their work done" (Bargiela-Chiappini et al., 2007, p. 3). The widespread use of English for business has become the object of both teaching and research. Moreover, as many researchers of English in business contexts are also practitioners in teaching (Nickerson, 2005), this field has been highly influenced by LSP (Language for Specific Purposes) and ESP (English for Specific Purposes). However, unlike these two types of research, business discourse is more interested in understanding how people communicate in organisational and corporate contexts, than in finding pedagogical approaches connected to it (Bargiela-Chiappini et al., 2007). Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson and Planken have given an overview of the history of business discourse (2007, 2013), in which it is

shown how this field has steadily drawn from real business written and spoken productions, and how research has been influenced by disciplines such as discourse and conversation analysis, ethnography, pragmatics, genre theory and organisational communication.

In her review of the literature about business English, Nickerson (2005, p. 369) identified a shift from the analysis of isolated written texts or speech events, towards a more contextualised analysis of communicative genres, giving emphasis also to cultural factors. Another shift occurred when the focus of research moved from users' language skills to the language strategies which would make the communicative events successful, whether the users involved are native or non-native speakers of English.

Today, business communications occur more and more across borders, in multinational and multicultural contexts in which English is used as a lingua franca by first, second and foreign language speakers of English, sometimes in co-existence with one or more other languages (Nickerson, 2005, p. 377). In these communicative situations, the study of BELF – Business English as a Lingua Franca, has been relevant both for the field of international business communication and for ELF – English as a Lingua Franca (cf., for instance, Bargiela-Chiappini, Nickerson & Planken, 2007, 2013; Ilie, Nickerson & Planken, 2019; Rogerson-Revell, 2007; Gerritsen & Nickerson, 2009; Mauranen & Ranta, 2009; Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey, 2011).

In Europe, two large research projects conducted by Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen, from 2000 to 2009, led to the definition of the term BELF (cf. Louhiala-Salminen, Charles & Kankaanranta, 2005). In their first project (2000-2002), which investigated in-house interactions between Finnish and Swedish professionals, the pragmatic use of English was determined by the need of "getting a job done in the domain of business" (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2013, p. 25), and by the target audience and its communication preferences. This characteristic is in line with the underpinning ELF paradigm, in which:

> The term "lingua franca" […] is understood in the strict sense of the word, i.e. an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages, or a language by means of which the

> members of different speech communities can communicate with each other but which is not the native language of either – a language which has no native speakers. (Seidlhofer, 2001, p. 146)

In BELF interactions, however, business professionals use English in the context of a shared culture within the international business community, which co-exists with the BELF speakers' individual cultural backgrounds (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2010). BELF does not present fixed norms or standard versions, but it is composed of different varieties which differ from the "standard" English (cf. Kankaanranta et al., 2015). BELF users regard "proficiency" as useful, but their concept of proficiency is "intertwined with their conceptualisation of business communication competence, business competence and business know-how overall" (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2010, p. 207). In fact, according to the studies conducted in BELF situations, users are more focused on: (a) clarity, directness and politeness, rather than linguistic accuracy, to communicate more effectively (cf. Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2011); (b) the use of business terminology and domain-specific vocabulary rather than just general English (Kankaanranta and Planken, 2010); and (c) the development of a more relationally oriented discourse, aimed at building networks, which may ease relations and the transmission of information (cf. Kankaanranta and Planken, 2010).

Regarding language proficiency, research on ELF has helped to discover a different perspective which is not filtered by the cultural bias of native norm compliance (cf. Cogo & Dewey, 2006; Seidlhofer, 2000) and has made ELF a legitimate reference model (cf. Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004; Mauranen & Ranta, 2009), though challenging to be defined in the multiplicity of the European contexts (cf. Seidlhofer et al., 2006). In the academic field, ELF studies (cf. Mauranen 2012, 2010) may contribute to counterbalance the tendency to refer to the Anglo-American model which leads to a high standardisation of teaching approaches, through the adherence to native English speakers' language norms.

Normally, as part of the process of acculturation into a community of speakers, the linguistic forms of usage are acquired together with the contextual conditions of their use (Seidlhofer, 2009, p. 199). In BELF contexts, the

community of users is constituted by members of the global business discourse (cf. Kankaanranta et al., 2015), whose characteristics should then be known and acquired:

> specialized business know-how and knowledge of business communication conventions contribute more to BELF competence and proficiency than native-like linguistic correctness. In relation to teaching business discourse for the international context, this implies that a BELF model is now perhaps more appropriate and relevant than the native speaker model, in determining what constitutes sufficient competence in BELF, what learning targets are relevant, and how proficiency should be assessed. (Ilie et al., 2019, p. 30)

2.1 The Link between BELF and Intercultural Skills

Nowadays, the majority of international business interactions occurs among speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds who use English as their medium for communication. Most research into English in international business contexts has opted for an uncritical approach, observing and analysing English as a neutral medium, preferring to not associate it with a particular dominant culture (Nickerson, 2005, p. 377). An implication could be that language is used as a tool, favouring a pragmatic use of the language, where clarity and fluency are more important than accuracy.

However, even though in BELF interactions English can be perceived as neutral to each party's mother tongues, data collected in a multinational context revealed that its use reflected the cultural and linguistic backgrounds of the speakers (cf. Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2013). Although BELF is used as an internationally shared communication code, it is shaped and modified by the users' respective cultures (cf. Ilie et al., 2019). Therefore: "Doing good business presupposes sensitive insight into a different way of acting and speaking. What is therefore needed as a learning goal is a *lingua cultura* rather than a crude *lingua franca*" (Phillipson, 2003, p. 85-86).

Since language is not simply a tool, but is culturally rooted (cf. Crystal, 2003), cultural awareness has become ever more relevant in international business situations in which non-native speakers of English communicate with

others who can be both native or non-native speakers of English, and thus attribute different cultural connotations to the same concepts. Considering people's diverse linguacultural backgrounds, their communicative competence in lingua franca will be highly affected by their intercultural sensitivity, even more than in monolingual or bilingual contexts (cf. Mauranen 2006).

According to Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen (2010), when both parties are familiar with the business context of their interactions, misunderstanding in communication rarely occurs. However, BELF communication may fail because of a mismatch in cultural discourse and strategies between the participants (Gerritsen & Nickerson, 2009, p. 182). Failure can be caused by lack of comprehensibility, or by cultural differences and stereotyped associations, which can happen as singular events on in combination (p. 182).

For example, in a study of internal meetings in a multinational organisation with representatives from over 30 countries, a survey found a series of communication issues, experienced by both non-native and native speakers of English (Rogerson-Revell, 2010). Through a discourse-based analysis of the meetings, it was discovered that the participants were displaying some interactive strategies to facilitate understanding (Rogerson-Revell, 2010, pp. 442, 444, 446, 449): strategies such as "let it pass" (participants only focus on the gist of conversation), "make linguistic difference explicit" (requests for clarification), "procedural formality" (the use of strict conventions for turn taking and to follow the agenda), and "careful speech style" (native speakers adapting their speech).

It can be said that the use of communication strategies may help to overcome the lack of language proficiency and ensure that the communicative speech event is effective. In ELF interactions, research has shown that speakers manifest an orientation towards mutual intelligibility; for example, using frequent confirmation checks, self-repairs and self-correction, and signalling of comprehension, to ascertain an interactive flow and a successful management of the conversation (cf. Mauranen, 2006). Moreover, speakers who are involved in intercultural interactions may learn to anticipate and offset difficulties in communications by making a greater effort towards mutual understanding (Mauranen, 2006).

Accommodation is one of the prevailing pragmatic strategies in ELF communication (cf. Jenkins, 2010): "Repetition is used as an accommodation strategy in order to achieve efficiency and, at the same time, to show cooperation among speakers" (Cogo & Dewey, 2006, p. 70). Accommodation can also be manifested through convergence (a speaker tries to resemble the interlocutor's speech); divergence (the speaker makes use of verbal and non-verbal behaviour to be distinguished from others); or maintenance, when the speaker maintains his/her behaviour, without trying to converge or diverge (p. 70). Another pragmatic strategy used by ELF speakers is negotiation of meaning, which can be applied in many forms, not only to prevent misunderstandings, but also to explore cultural differences and idiomatic use of the language (cf. Cogo, 2010), or to adapt idioms and co-construct words that may suit the speakers' communication purposes (cf. Seidlhofer, 2009).

Other strategies which do not strictly belong to the ELF paradigm are those applied in the field of intercultural competence, where many models have been proposed over the last 30 years (cf. Deardoff, 2006; Spitzberg & Changnon, 2009). In one of the most accepted definitions, intercultural communicative competence (ICC) is described as "the ability to communicate effectively and appropriately in intercultural situations based on one's intercultural knowledge, skills, and attitudes" (Deardoff, 2006, pp. 247–248) to achieve one's goals to some extent. This concept presents some similarities with the communicative and strategic skills needed to succeed in BELF interactions (cf. Bargiela-Chiappini et al., 2007; Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2010).

Because of the characteristics of ELF and BELF discourse, and the contexts in which they occur, it is possible to compare them with the communication strategies described in intercultural models such as the one proposed by Deardoff (2006, p. 256) and Byram (1997). The table below (Table 1) illustrates the main concepts of BELF (Business English as a Lingua Franca) and ICC (Intercultural Communicative Competence):

Table 1 – Comparison between BELF/ELF and ICC

Characteristics	BELF (and ELF)	ICC
Context of use	Interactions in multicultural and multilingual environments	Interactions in multicultural and multilingual environments
Successful interactions require	Business communication skills and strategic skills.	Attitudes: Respect (valuing other cultures); openness (withholding judgment); curiosity & discovery (tolerating ambiguity).
The users aim to	Effective communication; Get the job done (pragmatics).	Effective and appropriate communication & behaviour in an intercultural situation.
Non-native speakers are seen as	Communicators in their own right.	Communicators in their own right.
Cultural identity	Business community culture and individual cultural background.	Cultural self-awareness, deep cultural knowledge, sociolinguistic awareness.
Norms of reference	Norms and strategies of business shared by the business community.	Informed frame of reference shift (adaptability, flexibility, ethno-relative view, empathy).
Skills used in communication	Focusing on clarity, brevity, directness and politeness.	To listen, observe & evaluate; analyse, interpret & relate.
Strategies needed for communication	BELF speakers need to possess accommodation skills, listening skills, an ability to understand different "Englishes", and overall, tolerance towards different communication styles. (Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen, 2013)	"Knowledge of others; knowledge of self; skills to interpret and relate; skills to discover and/or to interact; valuing others' values, beliefs, and behaviors; and relativizing one's self. Linguistic competence plays a key role" (Byram, 1997, p. 34)

As Table 1 suggests, BELF and ICC seem to have a set of similar concepts, which in some situations may overlap, as far as the context of use and the skills required for successful communication are concerned. This concept will be further expanded in the section dedicated to the model's proposal, in which suggestions will be given on how to adapt and integrate these characteristics to transform them into common learning outcomes for higher education curricula (cf. Par. 4).

3. The Use of English in Business Schools

The linguistic and economic hegemony of English has been exerted also in the field of business education, whose aim is to create and disseminate knowledge about economics and management, and which is highly affected by market forces such as globalisation, technological innovations and changes in the power balances (cf. Friga et al., 2003). The birth of business schools can be traced back to 1819, when the world's first business school, ESPC Europe, was founded in Paris, offering both theoretical and practical approaches. The school immediately introduced an international element: one-third of the students were coming from outside France, and ten different languages were taught (Kaplan, 2014, p. 530). Other pioneering institutions were opened in Belgium - in Antwerp - and in Italy, where Ca' Foscari University of Venice was the first in 1868, followed by the privately financed Bocconi in 1902 (p. 530). The business schools founded in Germany chose the more theoretical educational model, which was then also followed by Scandinavian business institutions.

Notwithstanding the multiplicity of European economies and institutions, since 1945 there has been a growing Americanisation of European business schools. This process slowed down only after 1997, when the EQUIS (European Quality Improvement System) accreditation was created (Kaplan, 2014, p. 530), and thus the standards and criteria for quality were established at the European level. The business schools founded in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century were inspired by the ideas of Taylor and

Ford and were directed to a more local audience of future American entrepreneurs (Kaplan, 2014; Friga, et al., 2003). Universities in the USA aimed at the standardisation of their procedures, thus the creation of rankings and of accreditation agencies (such as the Association to Advance Collegiate Schools of Business – AACSB) helped the establishment of benchmarks, and of the educational models of reference. While in the US, the need to adhere to general quality standards for education led to a homogenisation of the system, in Europe the Bologna process begun in 1999 has promoted a harmonisation among the various academic institutions (Kaplan, 2014; cf. Altbach & Knight, 2007).

Another consequence of this process has been the internationalisation of universities, defined as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of higher education at the institutional and national levels" (Knight, 2008, p. 21). Internationalisation has also been used as a strategy to expand a university's network and improve its status and position in global rankings (cf. Wedlin, 2010).

For business schools, the main rationales behind the need to internationalise are both academic and economic (cf. Hawawini, 2016; cf. Knight, 2008). According to Hawawini (2016, p. 18), the academic reasons are driven by the desire to: (1) accomplish the school's educational mission; (2) remain academically relevant in an interconnected world; (3) attract the best students and academic staff worldwide. Instead, the economic reasons are meant to increase the university's revenues, reduce risks thanks to geographical diversification (e.g., when a business school has branches in other countries) and to receive funds for supporting its activities on the main campus (p. 22). The latter set of rationales seems to be mainly linked to the situation of privately funded business schools, which have to rely on the funding coming from their students, alumni or economic partners (cf. Hawawini, 2005). Therefore, the field of business schools is highly competitive, and it is also characterised by the isomorphism of the reputation-seeker schools which try to imitate the fewer prestigious ones (cf. Guillottin & Mangematin, 2015). American elite universities have led the business education sector also with their teaching methods, for example, the case-study approach invented at Harvard Business School (Kaplan, 2014), and exported their model abroad. The exportation of a

specific methodological and ideological model has probably contributed to the spread of English as the medium of instruction in higher education (cf. Wilkinson, 2017, p. 40). In Europe, according to the ACA survey (Wächter & Maiworm, 2014, p. 66), the highest proportion of English-taught programmes is offered in social sciences, business and law (35%).

However, "if business schools just teach standardized disciplinary models, they degenerate into pure selection machines and [….] they become exchangeable" (Bieger, 2011, p. 106). Once the benchmark for quality standards has been reached, diversity of strategy should prevail over uniformity (Guillottin & Mangematin, 2015, p. 354). For any business school that intends to differentiate itself from other institutions, it is important to adopt "a more systemic and integrated perspective on teaching" (Bieger, 2011, p. 104) which would have an impact not only on the business and management curriculum, but also on the reference models used for teaching.

4. Proposal for an Integrated Model of BICC (Business Intercultural Communicative Competence)

Considering that the majority of current business communicative situations occurring today happen between non-native speakers of English using the language in a pragmatic way, higher education institutions should be able to provide students with the tools to develop both disciplinary knowledge and intercultural awareness. This is particularly necessary for business schools aiming to prepare their students for a globalised job market in which intercultural understanding is necessary to operate in increasingly diversified workplaces, also at a local level.

As previously observed, language skills are considered as a common requisite, but language accuracy is not sufficient by itself, if it is not combined with intercultural skills and the language specific terminology belonging to each work domain. From a pedagogical perspective, the model of Global Communicative Competence (cf. Figure 1) suggested by Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta (2011) seems to represent a good framework of reference for

business higher education. Their model entails the acquisition of a core communicative competence (inner circle) where the three other layers represent competences in: managing multicultural communicative situations (multicultural competence); using BELF strategies focused on "clarity, brevity, directness and politeness" (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2013, p. 28); knowing the business-specific terminology of the business domain and the norms shared by the business community (knowhow).

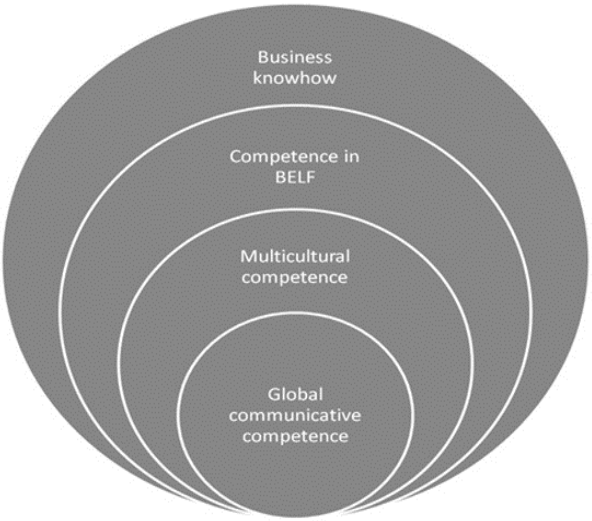

Fig. 1 – Model of Global Communicative Competence (adapted from Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta, 2011, p. 258)

An adaptation of this model could be possible for further integrating both a linguistic and an intercultural dimension for the acquisition of communicative competence in a business environment. For example, by modifying the focus of the inner circle, and inserting as a core competence the knowledge of "Domain-specific business terminology" (1) since language awareness should be a priority. In the second level, "multicultural competence" may be associated with Multiculturalism, which "indicates that different cultures exist and may interact within a given space and social organisation" (Bekemans, 2013, p. 170), but has been considered inadequate to express the need for a more

inclusive approach (CoE, 2008, p. 9). Therefore, it could be transformed into "Intercultural Competence" (2), taking inspiration from the theories which define the skills that are needed not only to communicate in multicultural and multilingual environments (cf. Table I), but also to detach from one own's culture and identify those aspects which could hinder the communication with a user from a diverse linguacultural background (cf. Deardoff, 2006; Byram, 1997). An approach which promotes Interculturalism also encourages interlocutors "to mutually benefit from intercultural encounters, while respecting each other's diversity, which in turn can help to promote tolerance and understanding" (Bekemans, 2013, p. 170). In line with this approach, "Competence in BELF" (3) would then include the strategies used in ELF communication (e.g. accommodation and negotiation), and a perspective on the language which sees non-native speakers of English on the same level of native speakers, as the focus is more on intelligibility and politeness rather than on grammatical accuracy (Kankaanranta & Planken, 2010; Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2013). Finally, the outer layer of "Business knowhow" (4) would include all the practices applied to the specific context of business, which has been described as "the particular domain of use and the wider, overall goals, norms, and strategies shared by the global business community in general (e.g., strategy-driven performance, appreciation of win-win scenarios, significance of stakeholders) and the particular business sector at hand" (Kankaanranta et al., 2015, p. 131).

In the figure here below (Figure 2) the new adapted model is suggested, with the four dimensions going from the more specific and circumscribed – the business terminology – to a more global and less explicitly codified, represented by the "Business knowhow" competence, at the outer level (4).

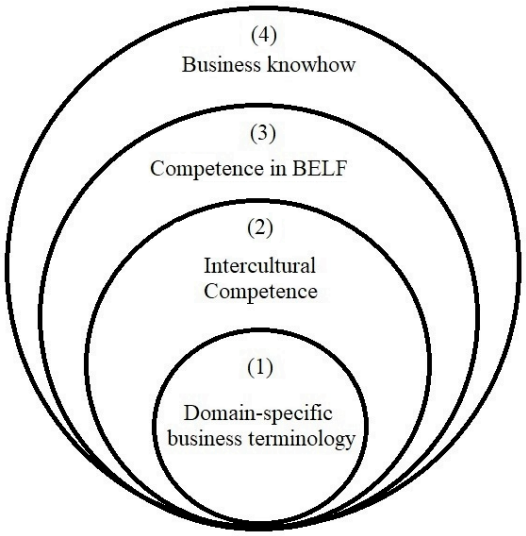

Fig. 2 – Model of Business Intercultural Communicative Competence

Within the domain of business education, the pedagogical implications of this model can be discussed at various levels of the course curriculum and syllabus design. Starting from the inner circle, the knowledge of domain-specific terminology is an essential component of business discourse, and thus should be taught in the context of the real business world, so as to allow learners to acquire "business knowledge and business competence at the same time as they are developing their discursive and/or linguistic skills" (Ilie et al., 2019, p. 103; cf. Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2013).

The teaching and acquisition of language specific terminology (1) should be the main aim of any academic programme, whether the language of instruction is the local language or English, i.e. in EMI settings. To realise a more widespread language awareness, language outcomes should be more integrated into the general curriculum of the programme, being considered on par with disciplinary content knowledge and expertise.

The switch to English Medium Instruction has highlighted the necessity of explicit guidance in the construction of the specific language pertaining to each academic discipline on the part of the teacher who is the expert (cf.

Lavelle, 2008; Airey, 2012). The same concern and attention for students' comprehension which has been noted in studies about EMI settings in higher education (cf. Coleman, 2006) should also be given when the language of instruction is the students' mother tongue.

A series of suggestions are provided by Bryant, Sheehan, and Vigier (2007) on how to embed more language learning across the business curriculum. They suggest favouring it through content-based materials, which can be used to make the students more proficient in the necessary terminology for communicating effectively (2007, p. 74). Moreover, students should be stimulated through exposure to authentic texts, to give them occasions to use the language in context (p. 74).

In English language courses within a business school programme, intercultural skills can be enhanced through "interactive, hands-on, task-based, learning activities, such as role playing and negotiating simulations, small group presentations, and debates" (Bryant et al., 2007, p. 78), helping students to reflect on their cultural behaviours and on the image they project of themselves. While using their communicative skills in student-centred activities and interactions, students can also apply new learning strategies and practice soft skills (e.g. teamworking, leadership) and other cooperative strategies (e.g. accommodation, cf. Seidlhofer, 2009; and negotiation of meaning, cf. Mauranen, 2006) which may pertain to both the fields of ELF and intercultural communicative competence.

Since it takes time to acquire and develop intercultural competence (2), it needs to be constantly practised in authentic and meaningful interactions. Therefore, having intercultural competence among the general learning objectives should become compulsory in any international programme (cf. Jones, 2014). Intercultural skills can be taught either through a dedicated course, or when not possible, through seminars and workshops; however, defining clear intercultural learning outcomes remains problematic because of the difficulty in measuring and assessing intercultural communicative competence (Deardoff, 2006). In an English course curriculum of a business school, intercultural elements could also be inserted in activities involving pragmatic strategies (e.g. on cross-cultural marketing or customer behaviour), to give students

more occasions to discuss other cultures' habits and attitudes, and to examine their own cultural beliefs.

Competence in BELF (3) can be gained through practice in multilingual environments (cf. Ilie et al., 2019). Some of the strategies of a competent BELF speaker are similar to those used for managing intercultural interactions and can be practiced at the same time. For example, negotiation of meaning and accommodation can be applied in both BELF and multicultural situations, while the "let it pass" principle is not valid for all business communications, as even small misunderstandings may have organisational and financial consequences (cf. Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2013).

At the university level, students may become more aware of ELF and BELF practices through explicit learning in foreign language classes where emphasis should be given to fluency and intelligibility of pronunciation, following Jenkins' suggestions (2000, 2007). According to Kankaanranta and Louhiala-Salminen (2013, p. 30): "Business knowledge and awareness should be imported into the BELF classroom, for example, with the help of case studies, problem-based learning, and different types of simulations." Moreover, since features like politeness, clarity and – in some situations – directness have been identified as key factors in both business communication and BELF, they could also be transformed into criteria to evaluate students, (p. 31) perhaps in the form of rubrics for grading written assignments or oral production (cf. Kankaanranta et al., 2015, p. 142).

As for the "Business knowhow" (4), it is a type of procedural knowledge, usually tacit, which entails the capacity to know how to perform a task, and it can thus be acquired through hands-on experience in the world of work. From the perspective of communicative competence, it also means to possess an understanding of the degree to which an expression is actually performed by a community of users (Seidlhofer, 2009, p. 198). Since "communication knowhow" is an integral element of "Business knowhow" for today's business professionals (Kankaanranta & Planken, 2010), it is important to help students become familiar with it. To do so, as in the case of BELF, the use of real-life simulations and problem-solving tasks has been suggested (cf. Lainema & Lainema, 2007; Ilie et al., 2019, p. 104).

After these considerations about the pedagogical implications based on the model proposed, the following section further explores future options which could be adopted by higher education institutions, and by business schools in particular.

5. Suggestions for Future Actions in Business Education

The advent of the Knowledge society and of the service sector has transformed universities into the providers for highly educated individuals who can contribute to the economic growth of their countries (Altbach & Knight, 2007, p. 290). Universities wish to offer the highest quality in education and research, and to attract the best students and most prepared academic staff, and internationalisation represents one of the means to achieve both these goals (cf. Altbach & Knight, 2007; Hawawini, 2016). Offering an internationalised form of higher education, however, cannot only consist in the provision of English-taught programmes, as it has often been the case for many institutions (cf. Wächter & Maiworm, 2014). The programme content and learning outcomes should be internationalised as well, for it to be considered an internationalised curriculum (Beelen & Jones, 2015).

Being highly competitive institutions, business schools have to face a series of challenges to internationalise their institutions (cf. Hawawini, 2016), and to preserve their function of creating knowledge and solutions for the global society and of training graduates to handle the complexity of real-life issues (Bieger, 2011). Some of the pressing issues that business schools were facing in past years are still valid today: the effects of globalisation on business education and how to respond to it; the impact of information and communication technologies on teaching and learning methods; the need to introduce more soft skills into the curriculum (Hawawini, 2005, p. 771). Globalisation and digitalisation have already modified the way in which people communicate, especially the kind of interactions occurring among speakers in multicultural environments. Soft skills are nowadays required not only by employers of multinational corporations, but at all professional levels (Jones, 2014). Often

called employability skills, they include: "team working, negotiation, and mediation, problem-solving, and interpersonal skills, flexibility, organization, and good communication" (Jones, 2014, p. 7).

The type of employability skills which can be gained through an internationalised curriculum that incorporates international mobility experiences, should also be available through an internationalised curriculum at home for local students (Jones, 2013). Employability skills should be promoted throughout the students' career, for example creating a sort of portfolio of all their curricular and extra-curricular activities and projects, listed and evaluated according to criteria of intercultural competence (cf. Gregersen-Hermans, 2015), to keep track of the skills they have acquired and of their development over time. According to Deardoff (2006), it should be possible to measure intercultural competence; however, considering its complexity, it should be done by using multiple assessment methods (cf. Gregersen-Hermans, 2015), over a long period instead of at one point in time, and by taking into consideration all the students' experiences (Deardoff, 2006), both in and out of the classroom, at home and abroad.

Another tool which can increase students' awareness could be a self-assessment test administered before and after an internship or a mobility experience (usually questionnaires of this kind are managed by European agencies, when the project is international). If a business school wishes to start acknowledging the role or impact of such student experiences, they should be monitored and tested regularly. The purpose behind the definition of students' intercultural competence is not only to measure the effectiveness of internationalisation strategies (cf. Deardoff, 2006), but also to raise the question of how these skills are learnt and applied in the context of international higher education.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter, an adapted version of Louhiala-Salminen and Kankaanranta's Global Communicative Competence model (2011) has been proposed with a further integration of the linguistic and intercultural dimensions that assume

specific features in the context of business interaction. From a language point of view, most of these interactions can be attributed to the BELF paradigm, in which speakers of different linguacultural backgrounds choose English to communicate in business-related communicative situations (cf. Gerritsen & Nickerson, 2009). BELF users belong to an international business community where the language is used mostly with a pragmatic function – to get the job done (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen, 2010; Kankaanranta & Planken, 2010) – and make use of communication strategies to ensure the effectiveness of the speech events. From a socio-cultural point of view, these users need to possess both Intercultural Communicative Competence, which is the capacity "to interact with people from another country and culture in a foreign language" (Byram, 1997, p. 71), and "Business knowhow", meant as the procedural knowledge necessary to understand how to perform a job or to communicate within the boundaries of business discourse. Therefore, the new adapted model "Business Intercultural Communicative Competence" (BICC) presents 4 main dimensions (cf. Figure 2): (1) Domain-specific business terminology; (2) Intercultural competence; (3) Competence in BELF; (4) Business knowhow. All four dimensions are integrated and are essential requirements to define a successful member of the international business community.

To make sure that the future business professionals are equipped with these competences, some suggestions have been made on how to implement this model into the English course curriculum of Business Schools. For example, students can be supported in acquiring the specific business terminology through the use of authentic texts, and through task-based projects, simulations and negotiations in which they can learn to apply communication and intercultural strategies (cf. Table 1). BELF and intercultural skills are best developed through constant practice, and the internationalisation of higher education and of the curriculum may create occasions for meaningful interactions among international students and local students attending the same English-taught courses. The possibility of training these skills in the classroom may help learners to "become more sensitized to the multicultural nature of international business and how culture shapes communication and discourse" (Ilie et al., 2019, p. 33).

Finally, this model could be applied both to EMI programmes and to business programmes delivered in the local language, to also become an integrated part of the curriculum for domestic students who do not have the opportunity to participate in a mobility experience. The acquisition of "Business Intercultural Communicative Competence" (BICC) may be useful for enhancing communications and comprehension between people of different nationalities and backgrounds, who can feel part of the same global community.

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EMI and Translanguaging: Student Language Use in an Italian English-Taught Programme

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Abstract

Italian universities are striving to enhance their internationalization policies through the implementation of English-Medium Instruction (Costa & Coleman, 2013) and the University of Padova is no exception, with a total of 49 fully English-taught programmes (ETPs) now on offer. Yet this phenomenon is problematic, with ongoing concerns about guaranteeing quality (Beccaria, 2015; Wilkinson, 2013) and ensuring the role and status of the local language, in this case Italian, along with its academic culture (Motta, 2016; Phillipson, 2006). Yet many of the discussions around EMI in Italy fail to take account of its relationship with multilingualism, focusing instead on the implications of teaching and learning in a non-native language. This chapter will attempt to address this gap by looking at EMI in the context of the multilingual university and investigating the impact that this has on student language practices in the classroom. Studies have shown that, even if not officially encouraged, the practice of translanguaging may be adopted in EMI amongst student populations (see for example Goodman, 2017; Guarda forthcoming). Translanguaging in this context refers to "any practices that draw on an individual's linguistics and semiotic repertoire" (Mazak 2017, p. 5), covering not only code-switching but also cases in which, for example, students speak their native language while writing texts in English.

The aim of this article is thus to explore the extent to which students make use of translanguaging during EMI classes, for example during class discussion or collaborative tasks, and their perceptions of their own language use. It will focus on one ETP at the University of Padova, a bachelor's degree in Psychological Science, which was first introduced in the 2015–2016 academic year. To collect data, an online questionnaire was administered to two cohorts of students, receiving 66 answers, and a quantitative and qualitative thematic analysis was then conducted. Overall the students' answers appear to indicate that the use of two or more languages can help

them in verbalizing their content knowledge and may thus enhance their learning process. At the same time, there was great sensitivity to the issue of inclusion, with students always careful that their language choices did not exclude any peers form the interaction. My analysis aims to uncover some of the motivations behind language choices, relating these to the concept of translanguaging agency. It will conclude by reflecting on how translanguaging in EMI relates to issues of diversity in multilingual university settings.

1. EMI and the Multilingual University

Monolingual ideologies have traditionally been prevalent in higher education institutions (Carroll & van den Hoven, 2017, p. 142; Mazak, 2017, p. 7). Exceptions are to be found in those areas traditionally characterised by bilingual populations or sizable language minorities, such as the University of Fribourg (Switzerland) or the University of the Basque Country. The Free University of Bozen-Bolzano, for example, is officially trilingual (German, Italian and English) and also offers some courses in Ladin. Much has been written about the increasing superdiversity of society as a result of increased globalization and migration flows, leading to the ever developing phenomenon of multilingualism, which according to Blommaert (2010, p. 102) "should not be seen as a collection of 'languages' that a speaker controls, but rather as a complex of *specific* semiotic resources" and which, as King and Carson argue, is "a resource to be cultivated" (2016, p. 11). This process has been mirrored in university settings where the drive towards internationalisation has led not only to rising student mobility within projects such as the ever popular Erasmus Programme, but also to universities going to great lengths to attract international students to enrol on their undergraduate and post-graduate degree programmes. The result is the appearance of the multilingual and multicultural learning space where "students and teachers represent diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, but have to operate within given academic cultures of the HIE in question" (Lauridsen & Lillemose 2015, p. 16).

In the non-English speaking world, it is this process which has given rise to the exponential growth of EMI, as the use of English (or in some cases,

other languages) as an academic Lingua Franca has made it possible for universities to host international students with insufficient competence to study on courses in the local language. However, there are I feel a number of elements which have led to a certain neglect of the relationship between EMI and multilingualism. One is the perseverance of English-only policies, in which use of the local language (or other languages) is avoided or even actively discouraged (Goodman, 2017; Carroll & van den Hoven, 2017). This may be related to the desire to ensure the inclusion of international students, but also to enhance the language proficiency of both home and international students. After all, it should not be forgotten that amongst the many factors inducing students to choose an EMI course is that of improving their language skills in the hope that this may give a boost to their career prospects in the global market (Macaro, 2018; Wilkinson, 2013). In the Italian context, although figures vary according to the degree course chosen, the vast majority of EMI students are Italian, and have specifically chosen to study in English rather than in their native language (Guarda, forthcoming).

Cenoz and Gorter (2015, p. 2) define multilingual education as "the use of two or more languages in education, provided that schools aim at multilingualism and multiliteracy". Yet even though EMI by its very name implies teaching through just one language, it always takes place in a multilingual setting, as the overwhelming majority of participants (both teachers and students) are not native speakers of English, but speakers of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), and all of them bring to the learning environment knowledge of and competence in at least one, of not more other languages. Yet rather than exploiting this resource, "English-medium colleges and universities often adopt blinkered and atomistic approaches to the linguistic diversity in their midst" (Preece & Martin, 2010, p. 3). One of the widely-discussed issues in EMI is whether students learning is in any way impeded by the fact that it takes place on a non-native language. It is also, however, necessary to understand the role of other languages in the construction if content knowledge. The fact that classroom teaching, background reading and exams are conducted in English does not mean that learning takes place exclusively in English. As one EMI student explains:

> For example, when I study, since all the material we have is in English I can understand that I really got what I'm studying and I'm able to interpret it and to focus on it when I can speak about it even in Italian[1].

In the 2017–2018 academic year I began teaching a course in Academic English for the students studying on the University of Padova's first ever ETP at undergraduate level, Psychological Science. Unlike many other ETPs, the programme developers had decided right from the start that the degree course would include one compulsory English language exam, graded on a pass/fail basis. The final assessment involved the writing of an academic essay, but the course itself, to meet student needs, also included a focus on academic speaking skills. In line with my own teaching beliefs, the aim was to increase student autonomy and foster collaboration in the classroom. For this reason, I proposed a large amount of task-based learning involving collaborative writing (some of which took place in the computer lab). As, apart from this course, all my university teaching takes place on degree courses for students majoring in foreign languages, I was curious to listen to and observe the students' language use while carrying out tasks. I was immediately struck by the fact that many of the groups used Italian, or a combination of Italian and English in their discussions, for example while producing written work in English. These exchanges represented complex examples of hybrid language use involving ELF along with other local (and non-local) languages. This observation led me to the investigation that will be presented and discussed in sections 5 and 6. The lens through which I will analyse student language use will be that of "translanguaging", which will be the focus of the next section.

2. Translanguaging

This section will provide a brief explanation of the term "translanguaging", which I have used frame the students' observations about their language use in EMI classes. First of all, it is important to stress that, as Mazak (2017) reminds us, translanguaging is "an evolving term" and as such, it is hard to take

1 Private conversation.

apply one fixed definition to any study of this phenomenon. Rather, ongoing research into this phenomenon is continually adding to our understanding of it. In the literature it is common to find references to the original use of the term with regard to a pedagogic approach in bilingual education envisaging the "systematic use of two languages within the same lesson" (Baker, 2011, p. 288), for example by reading a text in one language and discussing it in another. Its advocates argue that translanguaging can have a beneficial effect on both the learning of content knowledge and language/literacy, as it "maximises both linguistic and cognitive resources, and helps achievement and progress" (Baker, 2011, p. 229), mirroring the natural tendency amongst bilinguals to resort to both languages in acquiring content knowledge.

This understanding of translanguaging as a pedagogical tool was subsequently expanded and developed to encompass "the complex and fluid language practices of bilinguals" (García & Lin, 2016, p. 118); in other words, its concern is with how bilingual speakers use their languages "to make sense of their multilingual worlds" (García, 2009, p. 140). As translanguaging involves the use of two (or more) languages in interaction, its relationship to the concept of code-switching has been widely discussed (see for example García & Lin, 2016; Jonsson 2017; Otheguy, García & Reid, 2015). The basic difference lies in the conceptualisation of the bilingual speaker's languages: these are not viewed as separate entities, but rather as a whole, or an integrated system or repertoire. The latter may be related to Blommaert's idea of repertoires as "the complexes of resources people actually possess and deploy" (2010, p. 102). Thus, when multilinguals interact, they do not simply shift or "switch" between languages, but they draw on their entire repertoire to "make meaning, transmit information, and perform identities" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 109). As Li Wei (2018, p. 23) reminds us: "Translanguaging is not simply going between different linguistic structures, cognitive and semiotic systems and modalities, but going beyond them."

Some additional remarks need to be made on translanguaging, which are relevant to my findings and analysis. First of all, translanguaging places emphasis firmly on the speaker: scholars are not so much interested in *what* language is used, but in the choices multilingual speakers make as they draw on their resources, in other words, in their language practices. It is embedded

in the notion of "flexible bilingualism" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 109), "a view of language as a social resource without clear boundaries, which places the speaker at the heart of the interaction" (Blackledge & Creese, 2013, p. 128). Moreover, it is not limited to utterances in which a mix of languages occurs, but rather takes into account all those communicative events involving the use of more than one language. For this reason, an exchange in a trade union office, where an employee and client look together at a document in Italian and discuss its implications in English could be considered an instance of translanguaging. Finally, as mentioned above, there are number of reasons why translanguaging may not be encouraged in EMI, and yet recent research has shown that even if not adopted as a pedagogical practice, it occurs both in lecturer/student and student/student interaction (see for example Dalziel and Guarda forthcoming). In recent years there has been increasing interest in translanguaging in higher education in general (Mazak & Carroll, 2017) and specifically in EMI (Paulsrud, Tian & Toth, forthcoming). The study presented below, albeit small-scale and related to one specific ETP, hopes to add to this growing body of research.

3. Context and Methodology

Since the introduction of English-Medium Instruction in the 2009-2010 academic year, the number of ETPs available at the University of Padova has risen rapidly. In the 2020-2021 academic year it offered two first-cycle degree programmes (Animal Care and Psychological Science), one single-cycle programme (Medicine and Surgery) and 25 second-cycle programmes[2]. Following in the footsteps of the School of Psychology's second-cycle ETP Cognitive Neuroscience and Clinical Neuropsychology, the first-cycle Psychological Science was launched by the in the 2015/2016 academic year. It is described as follows:

2 Information available at: https://www.unipd.it/en/english-degrees (last accessed August 2020).

> An international course of study held entirely in English that offers students the basic knowledge related to the main areas of psychology including, general, social, and dynamic as well as methods of scientific investigation. Students who want to study in an international environment, or if you are a foreign student who wants to train at the University of Padua, you will benefit from a network of strategic partnerships between institutions in the training sector that offer a valid based training path towards the international job market. Students will be able to pursue professional activities within public and private structures in the areas of psychometric, psychosocial and development assessment, in educational institutions, in companies and in third sector organizations, as well as in the management of human resources[3].

It is worth noting that both the first and the present director of the degree programme had previously attended the EMI support courses provided by the University Language Centre (CLA) as part of its LEAP project (Ackerley, Guarda & Helm, 2017) and the CLA was directly involved in curriculum decisions regarding the English language. It was decided that two English courses would be incorporated into the curriculum, Basic English in Psychology (6 credits – optional first-year course) and Academic English (5 credits – compulsory third-year course). Academic English is a 36-hour course, running in the first semester, with lessons divided between the classroom and the computer lab. It is attended by 35–40 students, around 30% of whom are international students.

The two identical online questionnaires on which this study is based were completed by two cohorts of students, one attending the course in the 2018–2019 academic year (34 responses) and the other in the 2019–2020 academic year (32 responses). The questionnaire consisted of 10 questions, of which the first asked respondents to state their native language(s), and the remaining nine questions were related to spoken language use in student-student interaction during EMI classes, in other words during pair work or group work discussions. Of the 34 students who completed the first questionnaire,

3 Information available at: https://www.unipd.it/en/educational-offer/first-cycle-degrees/school-of-psychology?tipo=L&scuola=PS&ordinamento=2015&key=PS2192 (last accessed August 2020).

26 of declared that they were native speakers of Italian, there were 3 English-Italian bilinguals, and of the remaining students there was one native speaker each of Hungarian, Polish, Serbian/Croatian, Spanish and Turkish. Of the 32 students who completed the second questionnaire, 22 were native speakers of Italian, 2 were native speakers of Turkish, 3 described themselves as bilinguals (one each of Italian-French, Spanish-English and Twi-English) and there was one native speaker each of Arabic, English, German, Indonesian, Persian and Portuguese. A quantitative analysis was conducted on seven of the questions, while the remaining two (the open question and a question where the "Other" option produced a wide range of answers) were investigated by means of a thematic analysis.

4. Findings and Analysis

As regards Question 2, "If you have to do pair work, group work or have discussions with other students during your university classes, which language(s) do you speak?", the results varied between the two cohorts. Therefore, in the table below, I have decided to show the results of the two cohorts both separately and combined.

Table 1 – Answers to Question 2: If you have to do pair work, group work or have discussions with other students during your university classes, which language(s) do you speak?

Choice	Cohort 1 (34 responses)	Cohort 2 (32 responses)	Cohorts 1 + 2 (66 responses)
Always English	4 (11.8%)	10 (31.3%)	14 (21.2%)
Always Italian	0	0	0
Sometimes only English and sometimes only Italian, depending on the task or situation	18 (52.9%)	10 (31.3%)	28 (42.4%)
A mix of English and Italian	10 (29.4%)	11 (34.4%)	21 (31.8%)
Other	2 (5.8%)	1 (3.1%)	3 (4.5%)

It is however necessary to see how the answers corresponded to the students' native languages. In the first cohort, of the four students who replied "Always English", three were international students, while in the second cohort, 9 of the respondents who only use English in class discussions were international students. In other words, in each cohort, only one native speaker of Italian answered "Always English". As mentioned above, since the lessons and materials were in English, I have considered using only Italian in class discussions as a form of translanguaging, as well as using a mix of languages. Thus overall, one can see from these answers that the majority of Italian students in these two classes do resort to some kind of translanguaging during student-student class interaction. Of those who chose the option "Other", one student answered "a mix and depending of the situation", while the comments below introduce the idea of inclusion and interlocutor sensitivity, which will be dealt with below. The second comment also appears to reflect the notion that "languages do not fit into clear bounded entities" (Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 112):

> Italian if only Italian people are present, English if there are no native speaker. And when I talk in Italian if the task has to be in English I talk a mix of them

> Sometimes only English and sometimes only Italian, depending on the nationality of who I'm talking with. *the "Italian" I come to use is some comfy mix with english though

In the light of the answers above, which bring to the fore the students' flexible language use, it is interesting to see that this is not always in line with their beliefs about how they ought to behave. When answering Question 3, "Do you think that students studying in English should use English all the time in class?" in both cohorts, most of the students answered "Yes" (58.8% and 59.4%) rather than "Not always, it depends on the situation". In other words, they do not seem to acknowledge their own language practices as being the right ones.

A recurrent concern is that of not excluding international students from the dialogue, which emerged in particular from the answers to Question 4 "What are your reasons for speaking English during group work discussions? You can choose more than one answer". Combining the answers of the two cohorts, the fact that "Some members of the group have difficulties with Italian" was a motivation for 55 of the 66 respondents. The other answers chosen were that using English is easier (42), they want to practice their English (25) and that their professors wish them to use English (8). The issue of English language practice relates to the students' reason for choosing an EMI course, as mentioned above, and the extent to which they perceive the ETP as an instance of CLIL, rather than simply a means to acquire content knowledge (for a discussion of the relationship between CLIL and EMI see Macaro, 2018, p. 15–43). The desire to "practice" English may relate both to proficiency in the language and to other opportunities students have to engage in ELF interaction outside class. A recent study revealed that international students enrolled on psychological Science were less interested in receiving extra language support than home students (Brian, 2020).

The issues of inclusion and interlocutor sensitivity also appeared in motivations added under the heading "Other":

> There are international students, plus we should try to speak English rather than Italian anyway

> Some people are not Italian they might not understand Italian. We should speak in a language everybody understands, so English is the answer

> I think it's impolite to use a language only some people in the class can understand

The answers reveal that in the EMI classroom, students spontaneously set the rules for interaction on the basis of the language repertoire of their peers: as there may be some international students with low proficiency in the local language, the latter is avoided so as to ensure understanding and to make international students feel that they belong to this international community of students. It should be underlined that the students' concern with inclusion is entirely in line with the conceptualization of translanguaging in bilingual education, which highlights its inclusive nature. As Rubinstein (2020, p. 247) writes:

> The prefix "trans" in translanguaging refers not only to creatively and critically transgressing social boundaries between languages and with other semiotic systems, but also to deliberately advocating for transformation towards more inclusive and socially just educational approaches that promote more and better opportunities for students.

In response to Question 5, "What are your reasons for speaking Italian (or another language) during group work discussions?", of the choices provided, the most popular was "It comes more naturally" (35 responses), followed by "It's easier" (31), "Our professors allow us" (5) and finally "I get tired of speaking English all the time" (2). However, 20 students offered additional answers to this question. Two of these were eliminated from the analysis as they contained general reflections rather than answers to the given questions. Of the remaining 12, the most common emerging theme is one which I have labelled Facilitating Communication (with 10 manifestations), which includes filling lexical gaps, avoiding misunderstanding and ease of expression. Some examples are provided to illustrate these points:

> Most students are Italian. Speaking Italian *speeds up the discussion* and *reduces the possibility of miscommunication* (my italics)

> When there are difficulties in *expressing some words or concepts in english* with other italians it's better to use Italian (my italics)

> Speaking in English is a bit more draining, and it takes some slight "warm up" to feel natural. But that's really no big deal. It's just that with nothing forcing you otherwise, you always tend to choose the path with the least resistance. And between "italian w/ english words fallback" and "just english" of course the former wins

> If I have to explain something again to an *Italian friend who didn't understand*, I'm probably going to do that in Italian as I tend to talk faster and *he or she is probably going to understand me better* (my italics)

Another theme appearing in three responses, in connection with Facilitating Communication, is that of Helping Peers, as can be seen in the following examples:

> If all the members of the group are Italian it is easier to explain or discuss something specific in Italian rather than English and/or *some students may have some difficulties with English* for some topics of the discussion (my italics)

> If I have to explain something again to an *Italian friend who didn't understand*, I'm probably going to do that in Italian as I tend to talk faster and *he or she is probably going to understand me better* (my italics)

The two themes Facilitating Communication and Helping Peers point to the collaborative nature of translanguaging (Moore, Bradley & Simpson, 2020) and its role in facilitating the acquisition of content knowledge (Dalziel & Guarda, forthcoming). This is of utmost importance given the criticisms that EMI cannot guarantee the acquisition of academic knowledge in the same way as study in one's native language (Beccaria, 2015; Motta, 2016; Wilkinson, 2013).

Two of the international students also mention using their native languages (German and Persian), signalling the Establishment of Other Linguistic Communities within the EMI context, as this example illustrates: "If my group members are Iranian we can have a bit of privacy in our own language". On a different note, one international student mentions Improving Language Competence as a reason for speaking Italian. Here it is worth mentioning that the use of Italian in the EMI classroom gives international students the chance to practise the local language, which they may wish to acquire during their three-year stay in Italy. This is related to Baker's claim that translanguaging "may help students develop oral communication and literacy in their weaker language" (2011, p. 290).

Finally, three answers have been labelled as Attitude, as they regard both the emotive implications of speaking English in an all-Italian group and the idea of target language use authenticity. The three comments are reported below:

> I find it really awkward to speak English in a group of native Italian speakers only.
>
> It might be embarrassing to speak English in a group of Italian people.
>
> It makes me uncomfortable to speak English to someone who wants to speak Italian. I feel like I'm showing off when they want to keep it simple.

EFL teachers are used to hearing students in a monolingual ELF setting making comments such as these, and are familiar with some groups sticking assiduously to the target language, whilst others shift into their native tongue. It is beyond the scope of this article to explore the role of the L1 in language learning, suffice it to say that in an EMI setting, where the ultimate goal is the acquisition of content knowledge, such an attitude can easily be understood. As in the EFL classroom, there may be a conflict between this "awkwardness" and the desire to practise the target language. The final answer above adds another dimension to the discourse. When teaching the Academic English course, I became aware of a great amount of peer pressure, perhaps due to the selective nature of the course (the limited number of places on the course make entry highly competitive). For example, after a module on academic speaking skills culminating in giving a 3-minute presentation, a number of students specifically asked to give

their presentation in private rather than in class in front of their peers. In the comment, the student appears to be aware of such a situation and very keen not to cause any uneasiness on the part of his/her peers.

The following four questions of the Questionnaire specifically regard the mixing of languages. The two tables below show the answers to Question 6, "If you are having a discussion in class in English, how often do you use words in Italian (or another language)?" and Question 8 "If you are having a discussion in class in Italian, how often do you use some words in English (or another language)".

Table 2 – Answers to Question 6: If you are having a discussion in class in English, how often do you use words in Italian (or another language)?

Choice	Cohort 1 (34 responses)	Cohort 2 (32 responses)	Cohorts 1 + 2 (66 responses)
Frequently	0	0	0
Occasionally	5 (14.7%)	2 (6.3%)	7 (10.6%)
Rarely	20 (58.8%)	14 (43.8%)	34 (51.5%)
Never	9 (26.5%)	16 (50%)	25 (37.9%)

Table 3 – Answers to Question 8: If you are having a discussion in class in Italian, how often do you use words in English (or another language)?

Choice	Cohort 1 (34 responses)	Cohort 2 (30 responses)	Cohorts 1 + 2 (64 responses)
Frequently	11 (32.4%)	9 (30%)	20 (31.3%)
Occasionally	10 (29.4%)	5 (16.7%)	15 (23.4%)
Rarely	8 (23.5%)	9 (30%)	17 (26.6%)
Never	5 (14.7%)	7 (23.3%)	12 (18.8%)

The table below summarises the reasons for the participants' choices, combining the answers of both cohorts.

Table 4 – Summary of answers to Questions 7 and 9

7. If you are speaking in English, when do you use words in Italian (or another language)?		9. If you are speaking in Italian, when do you use English words?	
When I don't know the English word	33 respondents	When I don't know the Italian word	28 respondents
When the word in Italian (or another language) expresses the concept better	29 respondents	When the English word expresses the concept better	48 respondents
When the concept relates to the Italian (or other) context	23 respondents	When the concept relates to an English-speaking context	39 respondents
I never use any words in Italian (or another language)	15 respondents	I never use any English words	3 respondents

First of all, the answers reveal the advantages of being in a multilingual context, in which lexical gaps can be filled when required. It is not surprising that when speaking Italian, the students tend to use English words to better express a concept or because they relate to an English-speaking context. As they constantly encounter scientific terminology related to their field in English, in some cases they may not even be familiar with the Italian terms. Interestingly, the same is also true, but to a lesser extent, of the use of Italian. Despite studying in English on an international course of study, references to the Italian context are inevitable. The following additional comment offered by one student explains this point very well, but also reveals the vitality and creativity of the meaning-making multilinguals can achieve thanks to translanguaging:

> When the italian word has the *precise meaning* par excellence (omertà, chiaroscuro, vaporetto). Otherwise (when an english equivalent doesn't come to my mind) I'd rather try to describe the term's meaning in whatever convoluted unorthodox way I can manage to pull out.

Further insights were gleaned by means of the final open question asking: "If you mix/alternate between English and Italian, what determines your language choice?", answered by 27 students in the first cohort and 27 in the second. All these answers were analysed qualitatively and the following themes were identified:

1. Interlocutor Sensitivity
2. Power of Expression
3. Language Competence and Performance
4. Present State

One of the keywords in the answers was "context", immediately indexing the flexibility and hybridity of language use in EMI classes, and contradicting the idea of these settings representing an "English-only" environment. The respondents' awareness of how the context determines their language choices is an indication not only of the complexity of the multilingual classroom, but also of their agency in the language work going on there. As in Toth and Paulstrud's study of translanguaging in Swedish schools (2017, p. 203), such agency may appear even when flexible language use is not actively encouraged by school language policy. In the case of the University of Padova, there are as yet no official guidelines for classroom language use, although a language policy document is at present being developed.

The first theme identified was that of Interlocutor Sensitivity: students noted that their language use choices were influenced to a great extent by the language background of the peer they were talking to:

> I take into account if the person to which I'm speaking knows or not english/italian

> The people I'm talking to (if they're only Italians then I will speak Italian, but even if only one English speaker is present I switch to English)

This is an important consideration as it highlights awareness of the fact that translanguaging should ideally represent an inclusive practice, as mentioned above.

Yet, as long as one was not excluding anyone from the interaction, the use of more than one language appears to enhance the Power of Expression, making it possible to have the best of both worlds. As two respondents note:

> the effectiveness of some linguistic structures themselves: some words, to me, represent their meaning more effectively in English, some others in Italian

> Sometimes it depends on what I am trying to say. For example sometimes I use the expression "virtue signalling" while speaking Italian […] I use this English expression because there is no Italian word or expression that captures and describes this kind of behavior

Another theme emerging from the respondents' descriptions of the factors influencing language choice is Language Competence and Performance. I have chosen this term since the students mention both lexical knowledge and spontaneous language use:

> Depending on whether the person(s) I'm talking to are more comfortable with English or Italian, and *whether my original knowledge of the topic is principally in one language* (my italics)

> a word doesn't occur to me in one language so I either use its equivalent in the other language or switch entirely the language of the conversation

> Another factor that affects my language choice is the content of the discourse. If I need to talk about things related to a topic that I' be recently studied in English, then it will be more likely for me to use the English language

Finally, I coded two replies with the theme Present State, as they show that EMI students' language use varies not only on the basis of context and interactants, but simply how they are feeling that day, for example:

> when I'm really tired, I have difficulties alternating between languages, so the language in which we started the conversation will come more naturally

Overall I would argue that the Questionnaire findings shed light on the fact that multilingual speakers have choices at their disposal, and that their agency and sensitivity allows them to draw on their linguistic repertoires in accordance with their own pedagogical and communicative needs and those of their interlocutors.

5. Conclusions

In his discussion of translanguaging, Macaro (2018, p. 8) questions the use of translanguaging in EMI as he argues that it would be hard to "arrive at a principled system of using two languages to teach". Yet even without the introduction of translanguaging as pedagogy, the EMI lecturer is most likely to encounter flexible language practices on the part of students, which I feel should be accepted and acknowledged, rather than discouraged. First of all, even without giving precise guidelines, as this small study has shown, EMI students appear to be capable of being responsible and sensitive agents in their dynamic language practices. Their translanguaging agency means that they can adapt their language use so as to enhance their content learning, whilst ensuring the inclusion of all participants in the communicative event, for example international students with low competence in the local language. While "the teaching and learning of content is brokered through complex, bi- and multidirectional exchanges" (Carroll & van den Hoven, 2017, p. 142), participants appear to be aware that translanguaging "is a communication strategy for involving others" (Creese, 2017, p. 8).

For the students studying Psychological Science, as with any ETP, the ultimate aim is the acquisition of disciplinary knowledge and competence in order for them to further their undergraduate studies or enter the world of work. Their language competence must necessarily be of a level to ensure adequate content learning, but their engagement in their language learning will vary. For example, there may be students whose competence in English is of

a high enough level at the start of their university careers for them to focus solely on academic content. There will also be those who view their chosen university degree course as a CLIL experience, keen to achieve greater mastery of the English language. Yet even if they wish to "learn" the language, in the everyday interactions in the EMI classroom all students are language users, who rather than "struggling to use language in order to participate in specific speech communities" (Helm 2018: 24), are already using English in their own speech community with its own features and norms of use. To conclude, internationalization is leading to the transformation of university education, allowing students from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds to come into contact. In the world today, cultural diversity goes hand in hand with multilingualism, which is seen as a rich and vital resource. It may therefore be considered desirable for universities to give EMI students not only the chance to practice English but to practice translanguaging and to gain enhanced awareness of inclusive multilingual practices, which could also be a valuable skill for the 21st century.

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South Tyrol and the Challenge of Multilingual Higher Education

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Abstract

Since its founding in 1997, the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano (Unibz) has looked beyond English medium instruction (EMI) as the preferred pathway to internationalisation, opting for a unique trilingual model of higher education with academic programmes delivered through modules taught in German, Italian and English. Additionally, the Faculty of Education offers subjects in a fourth language, Ladin, an ancient Romance language that enjoys a minority status in the Dolomite area. Through its plurilingual policy, Unibz seeks to put into practice a glocal vision: promoting interaction and intercultural exchange in the diverse languages and cultures of South Tyrol, while simultaneously consolidating its role as a multilingual Higher Education Institution (HEI) in Europe.

The challenge of delivering multilingual curricula to heterogeneous classes through innovative and effective teaching methodologies that integrate content and language (ICL) puts pressure on continually updating Unibz's language policy and practices to respond to the shifting needs of students, professors, and other stakeholders. Two critical points have emerged that reveal a gap between the multilingual mission of the university and the implemenation of language policy: first, the need to support students through an embedded approach to multilingualism across the curriculum in order for them to achieve the advanced-level competences in all three main languages required for graduation; second, the need to provide training to professors teaching in their L1 or L2 to classes with mixed linguistic competences, especially in terms of using language for specific and academic purposes (LSP/LAP).

This article analyses the effectiveness of the Unibz language-in-education policy (LEP) by examining some critical challenges of integrating content and language in multilingual teaching across academic disciplines. It suggests that constructive alignment can

help bridge the policy-practice gap by merging pedagogical, didactic, and linguistic learning aims for multilingual education contexts. An example of this alignment process in the design of a Unibz training programme for professors, "Excellence in Multilingual Teaching in Higher Education", serves to illustrate how EMI support, embedded in a broader multilingual strategy, can encourage cross-curricular critical language awareness.

1. South Tyrol and Multilingual Higher Education

Efforts to internationalise the higher education sector emerged following the Bologna Declaration (1999) and its reform strategies to harmonise tertiary education systems and programmes across Europe. Beelen and Jones (2015) identify three main strategies for internationalisation in higher education: first, outbound mobility through exchange programs for students and faculty, including dual/joint degrees with foreign institutions, partnership agreements, and unilateral mobility programmes; second, "internationalization at home" (IaH), which refers to the purposeful integration of international and intercultural dimensions into the formal and informal curriculum for all students within domestic learning environments; third, "internationalization of the curriculum", which refers to international dimensions of the curriculum regardless of where it is delivered, including through transnational /cross-border education – for example, through academic franchising programmes developed in one place but delivered elsewhere for external stakeholders.

While many European higher education institutions have adopted English-medium instruction (EMI) as the main means of achieving internationalisation in all three dimensions, the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano (Unibz) is one of a select few to embrace a genuine multilingual policy and to proactively pursue plurilingualism by integrating content and languages across its faculties and degree programmes. Since its founding in 1997, Unibz has looked beyond EMI as the preferred pathway to internationalisation, opting for a unique trilingual model of higher education, with academic programmes delivered through modules taught in German, Italian and English in an integrated content and language in higher education (ICLHE) approach.

Additionally, the Faculty of Education offers subjects in a fourth language, Ladin, an ancient Romance language that enjoys a minority status in the Dolomite region, in order to prepare teachers to work in schools in the Ladin valleys.

Through its plurilingual policy, Unibz seeks to put into practice a "glocal" approach to internationalisation: a vision at once defined by a strong local habitus while simultaneously looking beyond territorial borders toward an identification with a global community. According to the sociologist Roland Robertson (1995), "glocalization" refers to the co-presence or simultaneity of both universalising and particularising tendencies in social and economic practices. Through its plurilingual strategy for tertiary education, Unibz seeks to promote interaction and intercultural exchange in the local languages and cultures of South Tyrol, while simultaneously consolidating its role as a multilingual higher education institution (HEI) in Europe and globally. However, translating the university's multilingual mission into practice reveals an underlying tension between the local and global dimensions that is not easily resolved.

The emergence of a multilingual mindset in educational contexts in South Tyrol finds an obstacle in the monolingual habitus (Gogolin, 1994, 1997) reflected in educational norms and practices that are based on assumptions about language and its role in shaping a national culture or habitus. Education systems have often reproduced the myth of homogeneity in language and culture for the tacit purpose of creating a coherent nation state; this political agenda is especially marked in South Tyrol given the history of conflicts and tensions that have defined this contested border territory for the past one hundred years.[1] Consequently, multilingualism has historically been pursued in

1 At the time of Italian unification in 1861, the region was part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire and remained so until 1919. Subsequently, attempts to assimilate German speakers under Fascism (1920–45) resulted in ethnic cleansing of the German-speaking minority through assimilation to Italian or migration to Austria or Germany. Beginning in 1922, the Fascist attempts to "Italianize" the territory culminated in a 1941 agreement with Germany, the "Option": the German population was given the 'option' of assimilation to Italian or migration to Austria or Germany; about 86% of the German-speaking population opted for the German Reich, but only a small part of them left South Tyrol. Prohibition of the use of the German language in official public offices and on all public inscriptions was introduced, as well as policies of unilingual Italian education for all children starting school (*Riforma Gentile* October 1923), leading to a dissolution of all German-language schools and dismissal of German-speaking teachers. Only

the region through separate monolingual realities, each with its own social and institutional practices, as illustrated in the three distinct educational authorities – German-speaking, Italian-speaking and Ladin-speaking – that administer the region's schools from kindergarten to the end of upper secondary education.

Tertiary education in the South Tyrol breaks with this mould of formal linguistic separation, enabling Unibz to offer a unique model of multilingual education; the Unibz mission is for students to achieve plurilingual competences as part of their degree studies, as well as to develop a multilingual mindset, one that is open to languages and cultures and navigates these in a flexible way. This twofold goal is not easily achieved, however, and the university faces several challenges in realising its vision of multilingual higher education. First, more and more students from across Italy and Europe with different cultural backgrounds and languages are enrolling and are encountering difficulties meeting the exit requirements in all official languages of instruction by graduation; second, professors teaching these heterogeneous classes, at times in a language of instruction different from their first language (L1) due to multilingual curricular requirements, have little preparation or training in content and language integrated learning and may also have weak second language (L2) competences. These critical points are examined in the sections that follow, beginning with an analysis of the design and delivery of the university's multilingual strategy for language education.

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with the 1946 Paris Agreement (known as De Gasperi-Gruber Agreement) was protection guaranteed for linguistic minorities in South Tyrol; this legislative framework was subsequently enshrined in the 1948 Italian Constitution which recognised a special autonomy status for the region. Rising tensions and violence in the 1950s led to the 1972 "Paket" or Second Autonomy Statute – a formal agreement between the Italian and Austrian governments: the latter formally renounced claims on South Tyrol in return for legal guarantees for linguistic communities within the territory. This consociational model of political organization through a power-sharing agreement (PSA) continues in the region to the present day.

2. Multilingual Language Strategy at Unibz

According to data collected in the 2017 Kolipsi II study, the majority of secondary students in South Tyrol tested below B2 level for language competence in Italian L2 and German L2, notwithstanding the many years of language study at school. Among German L1 speakers, only 21.7% achieved a B2 level in Italian L2, 52% achieved a B1 level, 20% achieved an A2 level and 5.9% achieved a C1 level (Abel, Vettori & Martini 2017, p. 56–57). These results represent a significant decrease in linguistic competence from the previous Kolipsi I study (2007) when 41.1% of students tested achieved a B2 level, 46% achieved a B1 level and 9.9% achieved a C1 level (Abel, Vettori & Martini 2017, Figure 40). The L2 performance results are similar for Italian L1 speakers tested in German L2. According to data collected in Kolipsi II, only 13.8% of students achieved a B2, while 34.5% achieved a B1, 36% achieved an A2, 9.8% achieved an A1, and 6% achieved a C1 (see Abel, Vettori & Martini 2017 p. 56–57).

Furthermore, a lack of ease in using the L2 has increased for both the Italian-speaking and German-speaking groups, with the latter expressing a higher level of discomfort or anxiety (ranging from "some anxiety" to "much anxiety") when carrying out productive tasks in the L2, including "engaging in a brief conversation", "writing a brief text", and "speaking the L2 outside the region of South Tyrol" (see Abel, Vettori & Martini 2017, p. 114–115). These findings underscore the fact that the monolingual habitus of South Tyrol, with its system of linguistically segregated schools, is not helping students enhance their language confidence or competence in L2. Nor is it preparing the highly skilled, flexible and plurilingual workforce needed for the region's economic growth, which relies heavily on tourism and on the activities of small to medium local businesses.[2]

2 In the last five years (2013–2018), exports from South Tyrol have grown by 1 billion euros, a net increase of 25.5%, indicating the region's economic viability in the global marketplace (Associazione Imprenditori 2019). Not surprisingly, plurilingual competences lie at the base of this economic potential in the region of South Tyrol.

The Free University of Bolzano has sought to respond to this need by implementing a multilingual language strategy. Initially, the policy focused on assessing only the *entrance level competences* in order to filter out students who did not already have a B2 level in two of the three languages of instruction (German, Italian, English) according to the global scale of the Common European Framework of Reference for languages (CEFR); the policy recognised that the third language could be acquired over the course of studies. This initial policy orientation was based on the conviction that the expected language outcomes – C1 in L1, B2+ in L2 and B2 in L3 – would be acquired before graduation through a multi-layered language strategy, including attending general language courses, Language for Specific Purposes (LSP) and Language for Academic Purposes (LAP) courses, and courses taught in all three languages across academic disciplines in the faculties.

However, it soon emerged that the language competences of graduates were not sufficient for the South-Tyrolean labour market and, in the 2011-12 academic year, the University Council decided to amend its language policy and establish mandatory *exit level competences* for all students across degree levels for the three languages. The table below presents the current exit levels (2020) in all three languages of instruction at Unibz:

Table 1 – language competence exit levels foreseen in the Unibz language strategy across the university (in 2020)

Exit levels	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree (2 years)	Master's degree (5 years)
L1	C1	C1	C1
L2	C1	C1	C1
L3	B2	B1	B2

The high exit levels introduced for L2/L3 implied a considerable additional workload for students alongside their regular degree course requirements. Many left the language "hurdles" to tackle only at the end of their studies, sometimes remaining blocked and unable to graduate due to difficulty in ob-

taining the required certifications for language proficiency in L2 and L3. Considering that a regular 3-year undergraduate degree programme comprises 180 European Credits Transfer System (ECTS), the number of so-called 'hidden credits' for language study at Unibz can be as many as 40 ECTS (or 1000 hours of study) for some students, more than one additional semester.[3]

In March 2014 when the first cohort of students completed their studies under the new policy regime, it became apparent that the majority had not reached the exit levels for language proficiency. For this reason, a global language strategy for the university was developed with a tripartite goal:

- to enable students who met the entrance level requirements for languages (B2, B2 and A0) in the three teaching languages (German, Italian, English) the opportunity to enrol at the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano;
- to enable students without any knowledge of the third language (whether German, Italian or English) to achieve basic language competence (A1+) before the start of the first academic year through pre-sessional study, and to achieve independent language competence (level B1+) before the start of the second academic year;
- to ensure that students have the opportunity to reach the exit level required for proficiency in the third language by the end of the first semester of the second year of study, at the latest, in order to effectively consolidate and further develop the three languages during the remaining time of their degree studies and complete their degrees within the regular time period.

The greatest challenge faced by students is reaching independent language proficiency in the third language – a B2 level according to the Common European Framework of Reference – in order to be able to follow lectures, seminars or laboratories in that language, to interact with fellow students and professors during lectures, and to pass course examinations in the L3. Many students remain blocked and unable to graduate due to high exit levels required in three languages and the heavy workload to achieve these language competencies alongside regular degree course requirements.

3 This represents the study time required by a student whose L1 is neither German, Italian nor English. From B2 to C1 in L1 (8 ECTS = 200 hours); from B2 to C1 in L2 (8 ECTS = 200 hours); from A0 to B2 in L3 (24 ECTS = 600 hours).

It became clear that to fully realise the ambitious aims of the multilingual language strategy at Unibz, a structure was needed to embed language study across the curriculum in several key ways, as represented in the figure below: first (pillar 1), through general language courses (in German, Italian, English, as well as other optional modern languages) for all students up to a B2 level (CEFR); second (pillar 2), through courses in language for specific purposes (LSP) and language for academic purposes (LAP) in the various disciplines in order to help students develop the language of scientific communication; third (pillar 3), through integrating content-and-language (ICL) training and support for professors teaching in their L1 or L2 to heterogeneous groups of students with mixed-level competences in the three main languages of instruction. The three-pillared multilingual model of integrated content and language learning in higher education (ICLHE) is represented in the following diagram:

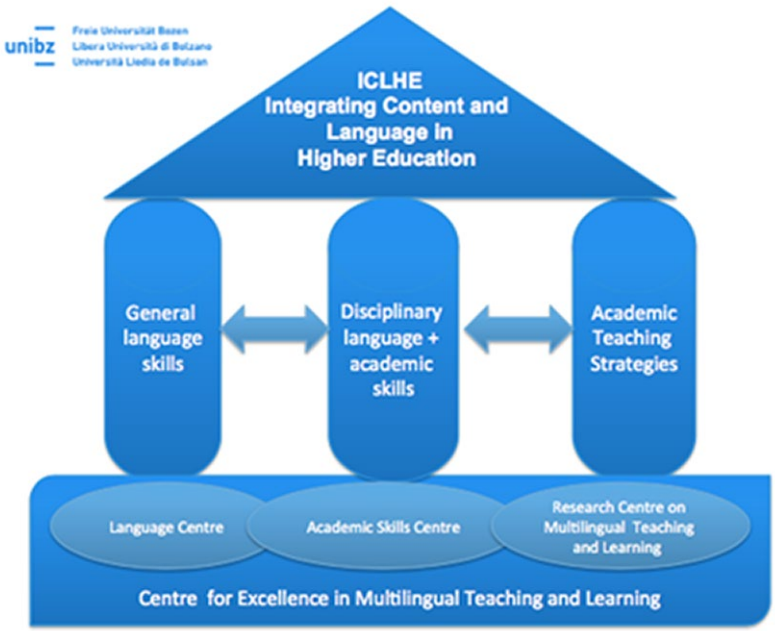

Figure 1 – the Language Strategy of the Free University of Bozen-Bolzano (see Zanin, 2018)

The first pillar was implemented at Unibz in 2014–15, with general language courses offered on a trial basis. The programme of language courses includes intensive courses offered during periods in the academic year when degree courses are suspended (February, July, September) and semester-long courses offered throughout the academic year, mainly in the evening so as not to overlap students' disciplinary studies. All courses are modular and progressive, enabling students to stop and start at will while progressing through a common programme. The language learning pathways were devised on the basis of the average number of hours required to reach the respective levels as determined by ALTE (Association of Language Testers in Europe). For the academic year 2019/20, the following number of hours was calculated for the four language learning pathways:

- Language learning pathway A0 - B2: 480 hours in total (12 modules)
- Language learning pathway A1 - B2: 440 hours in total (11 modules)
- Language learning pathway A2 - B2: 320 hours in total (8 modules)
- Language learning pathway B1 - B2: 160 hours in total (4 modules)

The intensive language courses take place at all three campuses of the Free University of Bozen/Bolzano (Bozen/Bolzano, Brixen/Bressanone, and Bruneck/Brunico), comprising 8 hours of lessons per day for 2 or 3 consecutive weeks. A first survey on the intensive courses at the beginning of the 2015/16 academic year found that although the 232 participants felt the intensive courses were strenuous, they were very satisfied with their progress. In fact, 105 students replied that they had significantly improved their language skills and 124 students replied that they had improved their language skills, which represents over 98% of respondents satisfied with their progress. Since then the language courses have been continually monitored by the Language Centre and the results of the ongoing surveys regularly lead to adjustments and improvements of the intensive and semester-long language courses.

In the 8 hours per day of intensive language study, 6 hours are dedicated to covering the course programme and 2 hours to individual in-depth guided study and practice with the help of the course instructor. The latter are hours in which learners reflect on what they have learned, scrutinize potential ambiguities and – possibly working in groups - actively practice what they

have learned according to the principle of constructive alignment (Biggs, 1996; Biggs & Tang, 2007, 2011). This principle, which can serve as a basis for ICLHE didactics, states that: "The intended outcomes specify the activity that students should engage if they are to achieve the intended outcome as well as the content the activity refers to […]" (Biggs & Tang, 2007, p. 52). Two teachers are scheduled per course, one in the morning and one in the afternoon. The two teachers are jointly responsible for the learning progress of the two supervised groups and meet regularly to discuss not only teaching strategies but also to share observations about the individual learning progress of each student.

The language teacher does not envisage his role as an "omniscient instructor but as a consultant, a moderator, a source of knowledge and a contributor to the activities" (Leisen, 2020a). The focus during the language courses is on autonomous learning, independent work, joint in-depth study, group work, cooperative learning and project work. As in Leisen's Teaching and Learning Model, "the tasks and roles are precisely assigned: The learner learns, the teacher steers, moderates, and promotes the learning process" (Leisen, 2020a). Teachers assume full responsibility for the professional design of learning environments and for facilitating numerous optimal learning processes.

To optimise the multilingual learning environment at Unibz and provide more opportunities for students to learn in a second/additional language, language learning must be transversal across the higher education curriculum; not only in language courses but in all courses. At present, the three-pillared multilingual model remains aspirational since only the first pillar has been fully realised; pillars 2 and 3 are currently being addressed in an *ad hoc* fashion through a variety of initiatives in the different faculties and through the Language Centre, but with no systematic or coherent university-wide approach.

Two critical points reveal a gap between language policy and its actual implementation: first, the need to further support students through an embedded approach to multilingualism across the curriculum in order to help them achieve the advanced-level competences in all three major languages by the end of their degree course studies; second, the need to provide pedagogical

training to professors teaching in L1/L2 to classes with mixed linguistic competences, especially in terms of using language for specific and academic purposes (LSP/LAP). The challenge of delivering multilingual curricula to heterogeneous classes puts pressure on continually updating Unibz's language policy and practices to respond to the shifting needs of students, professors, and other stakeholders.

3. Language Awareness in Multilingual Tertiary Teaching

3.1 Data Collection

In 2018, a survey was conducted on the Free University of Bolzano language policy to evaluate student satisfaction with the current language strategy and collect qualitative data for a needs analysis for future programme improvements (see Mastellotto & Zanin, 2018). The small-scale survey consisted in a questionnaire followed by semi-structured interviews[4]. The piloting of the questionnaire was conducted in 2018 with 15 students: 9 from the Faculty of Education, 5 from the Faculty of Economics and Management, and 1 from the Faculty of Computer Science.

Drawing on Fandrych & Sedlaczek's (2012) study on language practices in English-taught programmes (ETPs) in Germany, the Unibz questionnaire was adapted and translated (in Italian, German and English); it included the following six descriptors:

Table 2 – Questionnaire descriptors for Unibz student satisfaction survey (2018)

Part I	Personal data and language biography
Part II	Content questions on second / foreign languages
Part III	General assessment of language ability in the second/ foreign language

4 The piloting of the questionnaire and interviews was conducted by Lydia Görsch. See her unpublished Master's Thesis (2019).

Part IV	Reasons for decision to study at the Unibz
Part V	Assessment of linguistic and subject-related competences in foreign language lectures
Part VI	Assessment of the language skills of teachers and fellow students

The semi-structured pattern of the interviews facilitated coverage of key issues while preserving a free narrative structure to capture more fully participants' attitudes towards language study at Unibz and their direct experience of language teaching practices; this approach draws on the theory and practice of 'attitude studies' (Garret, 2010). The interviews were carried out with 9 students, all of whom were elected student representatives in the Faculties (7 students), in the Academic Senate (1 student), and in the University Council (1 student). The interviews were based on a series of questions subdivided according to the following 10 descriptors:

Table 3 – Descriptors for semi-structured interviews with Unibz student for satisfaction survey (2018)

Part I	Personal data and language biography
Part II	Content questions on second/foreign languages
Part III & IV	General assessment of language ability in the second/foreign language
Part V	Reasons for choosing Unibz
Part VI	Language preparation measures for the study programme
Part VII	Language use in the course of study
Part VIII	Assessment of linguistic and subject-related competences in foreign language lectures
Part IX	Assessment of the language skills of lecturers and fellow students

3.2 Discussion of Findings

Three specific areas of concern emerged from the survey in relation to trilingual tertiary study: (1) a lack of targeted B2+ training on language for academic purposes (LAP) and language for specific purposes (LSP) needed in the study of disciplines for students to succeed in their coursework; this shortfall may be contributing to students' achievement gap through their reduced ability to follow lessons in the L2 and to read and write in the L2 on an academic level; (2) a negative impact on the quality of disciplinary teaching by non-native speaker teachers (NNSTs) offering courses in their L2, often resulting in curricular compromises as concepts are diluted due to professors' lack of proficiency; (3) the need for a more balanced distribution of courses in the three languages across degree programmes in all academic disciplines.

The following comment by one student is included here as it highlights the first two issues above, critical aspects of teaching in L1 or L2 to heterogeneous groups of students in a multilingual context:

> I would say that we should make a policy of ... for how ... for the people you are going to hire, that is if a professor has been hired at the University of Bolzano he must have a good competence in English but beyond that he must be aware that you come here, you have an audience of people who come from more than two cultures because there are so many different cultures of native speakers and the professor can't wash his hands, in my opinion because if people say: "No I'll do mine. My English sucks a bit but I don't give a damn". No. There is in my opinion ... It is a policy ... that is if it is not a policy ... it is not a policy is to report a statement. If you come to teach at Unibz [...] you have to ... you have to be as particular as a student is, understand. That is, we are ultimately a little bit special as students ... even the teachers should be special.

This comment raises two critical points. First, a lack of proficiency in lecturers' L2 which can impede learning. This example of student dissatisfaction echoes the findings of recent studies regarding the linguistic deficits of NNSTs tasked with EMI classes (see Pulcini & Campagna, 2015; Campagna, 2016; Dearden & Macaro, 2016; Guarda & Helm, 2016; Francomacaro, 2011), sometimes unaware of the language level needed to teach through the medium of English.

Though they are discipline experts, they may lack L2 competence in explaining disciplinary concepts and interacting with students. The transmission of content in academic disciplines consists in conveying concepts expressed through vocabulary that is sometimes technical but is embedded in academic language and shaped by academic conventions that are not generic; professors must be aware of these factors when they teach, in order that form (language) does not become an obstacle to meaning (content).

Second, some professors (both NSTs and NNSTs) lack an awareness of the linguistic implications of their teaching and/or lack sensitivity about the linguistic and cultural diversity of the students and their specific needs in studying a disciplinary subject in L2. A lack of "language awareness" among professors – explicit knowledge about language, language learning and teaching practices, and a sensitivity to language diversity – contributes to a hesitancy to broach language-related issues in tertiary teaching and to a view that disciplinary specialists do not also "do language", as Airey (2012) found in his study of EMI lecturers in Sweden who, although engaged in teaching physics in English, did not believe their job was to "teach language".

Dafouz et al. (2014) similarly illustrate the case of EMI programmes in Spain where lecturers do not necessarily have explicit knowledge of ICL methodologies nor an approach to course design that includes a conscious reflection on the language dimension of curricula. Costa and Coleman's study (2012) of English-taught programmes (ETPs) in Italy found that all Italian universities from north to south demonstrated a marked focus on content over language. Helm and Guarda (2015) similarly note that Italian lecturers tend to compensate for their perceived weaker language competence in an EMI context (English L2) by focusing on the disciplinary content of lessons, often with highly scripted presentations which leave little room for spontaneous questions and discussions in L2, especially on language-related issues. The common thread across these studies is the perspective of subject teachers who fail to see language as a transversal competence underpinning all subjects across the disciplines or to consider how acquiring a good command of academic language goes hand-in-hand with the development of subject knowledge and understanding (Bolitho & Tomlinson, 1995).

Language acquisition research has, in fact, underlined the developmental value of enhanced "noticing" and of "consciousness raising" in relation to the target language (Carter, 2003). This, however, requires a willingness on the part of non-linguistic subject teachers to actively engage learners by highlighting particular language features emerging from the topics covered in their lessons. Drawing attention to language use across the curriculum is a first step toward an integration of content and language in higher education (ICLHE), which requires the constructive alignment of curricula in order to integrate disciplinary, pedagogical and linguistic practices.

Unibz's multilingual mission means everyone has to become more 'language aware' in teaching practices and assessments in order to support an integrated approach to content and language learning in higher education (ICLHE). Aguilar (2015) proposes that lecturers' attitudes and preparedness should be analysed and training programmes developed to support them in making at least the minimal necessary pedagogic adaptations for the integration of content and language learning in HE. This echoes Leisen's (2020b) view of a "language-sensitive lesson", that is, one in which form and meaning are inseparable for the learning/teaching of any discipline to succeed; an awareness of this union is needed, not just by language instructors but by all instructors, especially in the context of multilingual classrooms.

3.3 Training for Tertiary Teachers

The Free University of Bolzano has recently taken a first step in this direction by offering to professors an "Excellence in University Teaching" training course on pedagogical and linguistic strategies for multilingual classes. The twenty-hour course was held in September 2019 and targeted newly appointed faculty members from all five faculties – Education, Art and Design, Engineering, Economics, Computer Science – covering such topics as: "Constructive alignment in syllabus design", "Problem-based learning in the HE classroom", "Digital tools and environments", "Micro-teaching and peer evaluation for professional development", "Language across the curriculum", "Integrating content and language in course design and delivery", and "Communicative strategies for heterogeneous classrooms". The seventeen participants gained valuable insight on methodologies for teaching in multilingual classes

and are collaborating with the authors of this article on ongoing research into the problematics of tertiary teaching in ICLHE contexts.

The special autonomy statute of South Tyrol grants legal provisions that allow the university to appoint up to 70% of its professors from abroad; this has enabled Unibz to ensure that courses offered in German, Italian, and English across faculties and degree programmes are taught by native speaker teachers (NSTs). However, in order to ensure a balanced ratio of courses in the three languages of instruction, it happens time and again that lecturers are often asked to teach in their L2. Unibz is trying to meet this challenge through the implementation of a "languages across the curriculum" approach to multilingualism, resulting in a more complex language strategy than is often embraced by higher education institutions (HEIs) seeking to internationalise curricula.[5] This complexity represents a critical challenge to curricular delivery, that of integrating content and language(s) in the higher education curriculum.

At least two perspectives must be considered in relation to this challenge: the learning perspective and the teaching perspective. From a learning perspective, the following situations emerge which require a differentiated response: (1) students are L1 speakers of the language of instruction; (2) students are L2 speakers of the language of instruction. From a teaching perspective, two different situations also arise: (1) the professor teaches in L1; (2) the professor teaches in L2. If one takes an intersectional view of these combined dimensions of the classroom experience, it becomes clear that trilingual courses pose major challenges for multilingual teaching and learning.

Scenario 1 – the professor teaches in his/her L1; the course is followed by students for whom the language of instruction is either L1 or L2/L3. The language is not a problem for most of the L1-students, so they discuss technical questions and raise comprehension questions without hesitation. However, the language presents a hurdle for L2/L3-students, who do not intervene

5 This model differs from the courses provided through EMI in many Italian universities, which have recently encountered a legal barrier to English-only instruction: ruling no. 42/2017 makes courses taught exclusively in English inadmissible in Italy. Unibz has never pursued English-only instruction since this was deemed an inadequate response to the challenges of a complex society characterised by multilingualism and multiculturalism.

in class, avoiding discussions or spontaneous questions. For them, the lecture represents a challenge both in terms of the subject matter (content) and the language (form).

Scenario 2 – the professor teaches in his/her L2; the course is followed by students for whom the language of instruction is L2/L3, but there are also students present in class for whom the language of instruction is L1. The professor is still the expert of the discipline but not of the language of transmission; the design of the lecture thus represents a linguistic challenge for the instructor given that there are L1 speakers present in the lecture alongside L2/L3 speakers.

The diaphasic varieties of languages in use call for strategies of well-functioning adaptation which, at crucial moments, may go well beyond the concept of linguistic accommodation (Kabatek, 2015). These strategies are not only about mutual adaptation or the choice of a suitable variety or register within a language, but also about the choice of the language itself with the associated code-switching, also within the specialist language of the academic discipline (LSP). Teaching in a language other than the speaker's L1 involves recognising, learning and practicing the processes; therefore, didactic training for teachers who teach in a L2 should be a priority for multilingual universities given the heterogeneity of classes (in linguistic and cultural terms) and of the lecturers themselves.

Clearly, these teaching challenges cannot be solved through a uniform approach to training because it is necessary to take into account the different L1 languages of teachers and students in any such programme. Classroom observation and data analysis show that when teachers teach in a L2, they may sometimes use a more rigid and lexically restricted language, which leads them to largely avoid rephrasing, examples and questions (Costa, 2012). The contrastive divergences between the languages result from different conceptualisations in the languages and are reflected in the structure of communicative units, in the sequence of thematic and rhematic elements in the sentence structure, and in the focusing strategies. Knowledge is “packaged” and “sent” to the listeners. For this purpose, routines are used that belong to the linguistic knowledge, as well as to the cultural and textual knowledge, of the language community. As Feilke (1994, 1996) has shown for German, this “knowledge”,

as part of the surface structure, can be recognised, described and analysed as "idiomatic coinage" (see also Bertschi & Bubenhofer, 2005).

Language competence at the level of efficient communication at university level encompasses an indispensable component of idiomatic and prosodic competence as well as the ability to "package" the content elements of the communicative act from the point of view of information structure. Beyond these detailed aspects, it is also important to take a look at the larger context, which Ehlich (2000) addresses in the following way:

> Das Weltwissen ist nur als sprachgebundenes zuhanden. Die Weltwissensentwicklung, die in einzelnen Sprachen und Sprachstrukturen verfasst ist, gewinnt gerade hieraus die differenzierten Perspektiven. Über sie ist nicht, etwa in der Form einer Metasprache, hinauszukommen. Der Charakter der Alltagssprache als letzter Metasprache impliziert auch, dass diese letzte Metasprache in der Realität vielfältiger Sprachen existiert. Deren intersprachliche Kommunikation ist ein wesentliches Stück der gesellschaftlichen Arbeit, die für die Wissenschaft der Zukunft und damit für das zukünftige Weltwissen aufzubringen ist. Gerade die Weiterentwicklung der in den verschiedenen Wissenschaftssprachen angelegten Möglichkeiten eröffnet neue Perspektiven für die Wissenschaft insgesamt.[6]

The interlingual communication of professors and students is an essential part of the social effort required for developing the scientific discourse of the future and, thus, for future world knowledge. It is precisely the further development of the possibilities offered by the various languages of scientific communication that opens up new perspectives for science as a whole. When Ehlich (2000) in this context speaks of an impoverishment of scientific practice through

6 [Author's translation (Renata Zanin)] "World knowledge is only available as language-bound knowledge. The development of world knowledge, which is written in individual languages and language structures, gains its differentiated perspectives precisely from this. It is impossible to go beyond those, for instance in the form of a meta-language. The character of everyday language as the metalanguage also implies that this ultimate metalanguage exists in the reality of diverse languages. Their interlingual communication is an essential part of the social work to be done for the science of the future and thus for future world knowledge. It is precisely the further development of the possibilities offered by the various scientific languages that opens up new perspectives for science as a whole."

monolingualism and of necessary investments to counteract this, he touches on a nerve centre of tertiary education that has yet to receive enough attention by researchers, practitioners or administrators.

4. Conclusion

Unibz was created to help respond to the economic and social imperatives of modernising the region of South Tyrol and changing the prevailing monolingual ideology through an openness to languages and cultures as a strategy for greater internationalisation. However, the lack of a transversal approach to plurilingual education, one embedded across academic disciplines in the faculties, has hindered the full realisation of this mandate. At present the multilingual language strategy adopted at Unibz has a limited reach since it is not fully embedded in university-wide classroom practices that seek to integrate content and language learning in higher education curricula (ICLHE); this misalignment is due to the absence of a "practiced language policy" (Bonacina-Pugh, 2012), that is, language policy enacted at the level of language practices in classroom discourse.

In their concluding assessment of the efforts of German universities towards internationalisation, Fandrych and Sedlacek (2012) state that linguistic competence can only be achieved through the integration of languages into the curriculum, recognising that credit points must be awarded to the study of language(s) for them to receive the recognition they deserve. Unibz cannot realistically allocate credit points to the language training students receive in all three languages of instruction since the number of ECTS would be inordinately high given the ambitious language aims that drive the university's multilingual policy; consequently, an alternative approach is needed to promote language awareness across the curriculum.

The needed approach would establish a connection between general language courses, LSP/LAP courses, and training for professors, drawing on the framework of a Constructive Alignment Model (Biggs 1996, Biggs & Tang

2011), with the aim of achieving "*eine reflektierte, sprachbewusste und Sprachbewusstsein fördernde Mehrsprachigkeit in den Wissenschaften*"[7] (Ehlich, 2000). Such an alignment would help bridge the policy-practice gap by merging pedagogical, didactic, and linguistic learning aims for multilingual learning. Spolsky's (2005) idea that the "real language policy of a community is more likely to be found in its practices that [sic] its management" (p. 2163) suggests that finding the optimal alignment for multilingual higher education is highly complex; at Unibz this endeavour remains a work in progress.

The Free University of Bozen-Bolzano has taken a first step in this alignment process through the design of a Unibz training programme for professors, "Excellence in Multilingual Teaching in Higher Education", which illustrates how a focus on form, embedded in a broader pedagogical and didactic strategy to support content and language integrated learning, can encourage cross-curricular critical language awareness. This recent initiative to provide training to professors on effective strategies for incorporating language awareness into the delivery of content across academic disciplines through lesson observation and micro-teaching analysis is a way not only of actively responding to the needs of heterogeneous classes but also of fostering a multilingual habitus from the bottom up, through programme design based on educational research that seeks to answer the questions: "What to teach?", "How to teach?" and "Under what conditions?" (Van Els, 1994, p. 64).

7 [Author's translation (Renata Zanin)] "a reflected, language-aware and language-aware multilingualism in sciences and humanities"

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CLIL: Internationalisation or Pedagogical Innovation?

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Abstract

CLIL, the popular acronym for Content and Language Integrated Learning, refers to the learning/teaching of a subject in a foreign language and was first officially introduced in Italy in 2010 with the *Riforma della Scuola Secondaria di secondo grado* and, specifically, in Trentino in 2014 with the *Piano Trentino Trilingue*. In the latter context, the introduction of mandatory CLIL has meant a massive increase in subject teaching in English and in German throughout Trentino schools, from primary to secondary levels. This significant change to the traditional school curriculum has brought to light both the advantages and disadvantages of internationalisation at the didactic level, which is the general focus of this chapter.

Most of the challenges associated with CLIL in the transformation of education in the province of Trentino have not been exclusively related to the linguistic competences of learners, but rather to the wider didactic-pedagogical guidelines provided to teachers for its implementation. In fact, learners, teachers and families are generally very interested in the development of multilingual competences, while the epistemological and didactic reforms necessary for an internationalisation of the curriculum often arouse scepticism, if not outright rejection.

The design and implementation of the Trentino CLIL policy has thus generated a lively scientific debate, one which focuses on three main research questions: (1) Can an understanding of linguistic competence, which is often narrowly conceived as know-how in everyday communication, be broadened and expanded through CLIL? (2) What are the concrete objectives for the development of linguistic competence in non-linguistic subjects? Which of these aims can be realistically achieved by a majority of learners? (3) What are the basic principles that can contribute to the creation of a genuine CLIL epistemology?

This paper examines these questions by presenting the results of a study carried out in Trentino schools as part of the scientific monitoring of the implementation of the province's 2014 CLIL policy, including teacher training for CLIL. The Trentino CLIL plan is a case study of a controversial and complex vision, but one that represents an opportunity for curricular innovation that goes in the direction of the internationalisation of Italian and European schools. Although the case studies analysed here are not strictly linked to EMI contexts in higher education, there is, nevertheless, an implicit connection between CLIL and EMI: the various pedagogical and didactic aspects and critical issues elicited through the introduction of CLIL in a primary and secondary school habitus can also be found in the implementation of EMI in tertiary education. Introducing a foreign language as a vehicle for instruction at all levels of education requires an undeniable change in didactic and pedagogical approaches, which is often difficult to embrace; it is not merely a question of taking on an additional activity, but of a real and profound shift in perspective affecting every single part of the curriculum and all the actors in education. For these reasons, they are worthy of attention and further discussion.

1. CLIL Origins and Meaning

Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) was historically born as a European response to non-European language immersion programmes, especially Canadian ones. These programmes have as their objective the formation of a bilingual population in a social context of diglossia, or the defence of the weaker language where a lesser-used language risks being overwhelmed by the dominant majority language as in regions such as Catalonia, the Basque provinces, the Canton of Grisons in Switzerland, the Swedish provinces in Finland, and many others. Basically, CLIL is the teaching and learning of non-linguistic disciplines in a foreign language, a form of education that is not so novel or revolutionary, if we think that it was practiced over 5000 years ago: What was the education in Latin for the children of the Roman Empire who did not have Latin as their first language (L1) if not CLIL? Or the diglossia of numerous parts of Italy (as well as Africa) in which Greek was still spoken (and not Latin)? This created the paradox that led Horace to write in his Epistles: *Graecia capta ferum vincentm cepit? (*2006,

II:1, 156). "A conquered Greece in turn conquered its savage vanquisher" (Author's translation).

This chapter presents the most relevant findings emerging from a study conducted in Trentino, where a political decision by the local government introduced CLIL in German and English in 2014 as an obligatory form of teaching/learning for every class of the Region from primary school onwards. The research project is based on five case studies comprising classroom observations in CLIL classes, questionnaires, focus groups, and interviews with the teachers and learners involved in CLIL. The project was planned and coordinated by me with a research team consisting of five tutors, one for every year group, who were all expert CLIL teachers, certified with a Master's degree in CLIL Methodology from the University of Trento[1]. The results of the empirical research are summarised for each of the five cases, signalling how single realities benefit from CLIL. On the other hand, tensions or critical issues that also emerged in the analysis of these individual cases help to shed light on the overall Italian school system, as discussed below.

By taking into account both the strengths and weaknesses revealed through the study, a favourable context for CLIL to thrive in the Italian school system and more generally can be defined. The specific aspects examined in the study include: the importance of the language of and in the discipline; the disciplinary programme (as both a constraint and a resource); the relationship between Italian and the foreign language in CLIL; classroom interaction; the co-presence (in some cases co-teaching) of the subject teacher and foreign language teacher. The analysis of findings is followed by a brief conclusion which, on the basis of the data presented, seeks to answer two research questions: Is the Italian school system ready for CLIL? What are the most favourable conditions for CLIL in Italy and abroad?

1 For the scientific analysis and results of the project, see Federica Ricci Garotti (2019).

2. Disciplinary Language is Not (Only) Terminology

A critical issue that emerged from the classroom observations conducted centres on the language used in CLIL, which often, especially in lower secondary school (years 6, 7 and 8) where learners have weak L2 skills, is limited to a long list of subject-specific terms to memorize. This approach obviously requires a great mnemonic effort on the part of learners as well as the families who support them in their homework.

Subject teachers would no doubt agree that their own disciplines cannot be reduced simply to a nomenclature, or list of technical terms for which it is deemed sufficient to acquire the specific terminology rather than the underlying concepts. Although the expression of ideas obviously requires the knowledge and use of specific terms from that discipline, these are not the main focus of the teaching/learning process across subjects. However, using generic or everyday language in the context of a disciplinary lesson would imply sacrificing the specific conceptual dimension of the discipline. For example, accepting an expression such as 'to have strength' in a physics lesson would mean renouncing the discipline-specific concept being expressed (i.e. to exert a force), as Leisen (2004) illustrates. Such an expression might not require much mnemonic effort, but it implies an exhaustive process of indirectly approaching or circling an understanding of specific phenomena. The problem is, therefore, not a linguistic one per se, but a disciplinary one. Consequently, a disciplinary problem must be solved through the means of disciplinary teaching, not with the strategies of language teaching, and certainly not with a long list of words applied to, at best, vaguely understood concepts.

Insisting above all on accurate terminology, as if that were the only concern of CLIL, means using a mainly demonstrative and non-argumentative form of language — showing or describing phenomena — and then being satisfied with the verbal, equally demonstrative, reproductions of learners. By contrast, a positive example emerging from one of the examined cases demonstrates the vast potential of a CLIL lesson that uses lexis to draw attention to concepts. By focusing on the names for different types of leaves, drawing attention to their individual etymologies and definitions, a CLIL

lesson adopts an inductive strategy that supports the understanding of the meaning (content) through an understanding of the form (language). In this way, the teacher ensures that the term is memorised only when associated with the information; clearly, for this type of activity, the combined use of verbal and non-verbal language is highly recommended. This combination of conceptual meaning and linguistic form lies at the vital centre of CLIL, in which the two components are absolutely inseparable: without reflection on the form, the concept is incomprehensible, whereas an abstract understanding of the concept, when not recorded through the form, does not facilitate acquisition.

In fact, Leisen (2004) defined the union of form and meaning as a language-sensitive lesson but, in reality, it is simply the awareness needed for the learning/teaching of any discipline, which consists in concepts expressed through subject-specific vocabulary (possibly high level) that is not generic. Reflections on language and linguistic awareness have long been the sole prerogative of language teachers, as if the profound acquisition of disciplinary concepts were foreign to the language that contributes to defining them. Presenting content as a list of terms works exclusively in a lesson that does not care at all about the acquisition of concepts. Otherwise the separation of form and meaning has no reason: how can one learn a form without having learned its meaning, and vice versa?

3. Myths Concerning CLIL Programmes

3.1 Time

CLIL is never quick. In fact, teaching/learning a discipline in L2 takes a long time because reactions are slower and the process of understanding is less predictable. For this reason, it is necessary to dwell longer and with greater depth on the same concepts. The programme is often penalised by time pressures; instead, it needs to be planned in its entirety, followed through in full, and not curtailed, simplified or compressed. This presents a challenge that is not always consciously understood and is rarely verbalised, but one that is perceived by researchers who often see CLIL suffer as a consequence of ac-

cumulated classroom activities pursued frenetically, or from overly ambitious planning, perhaps too stringent in its level of detail.

3.2 Planning

Another factor that affects the delivery of CLIL is the lack of a CLIL system — a clear programme to follow — especially in Italy where there is no binding ministerial syllabus for CLIL, but rather some suggested topics to cover, recommendations and indications based on others' experiences. This is a concern for teachers used to being accountable for covering specific programme content over the course of a school year.

At the basis of CLIL programme anxiety lies the way in which the activities to be carried out in the classroom are planned. The teaching practices observed in the empirical research did not show a predilection for exercises considered traditional compared to more active teaching: on the contrary, the teachers often undertook a great variety of activities, each corresponding to as many thinking skills put into play[2]. This hyperactivity was not always guided by a central nucleus, a macro-objective of competences towards which the numerous activities were directed. The result often seemed to be one of excess, an accumulation of tasks without a clear or overarching goal.

This problem is one of planning, not one of didactic practices. If the direction of the course or the CLIL syllabus is not accurate, a teacher might inadvertently take too much time for a series of activities, activities not coordinated or connected with each other, especially if their goal is not declared. After all, planning has always been the most important action, much more so than didactic practices which are almost directly a consequence and application of teaching (and consequently also of learning). Here, the planning concern begins to touch on the issue of which competences learners actually acquire and the extent to which they master these.

2 For an analysis of the distinction between traditional and active-interactive tasks, see David Nunan (1993).

3.3 Tasks

The difficulty of planning suitable tasks, not only for CLIL but in general, at an appropriate level for learners that stretches their existing knowledge and skills, is highlighted by numerous scientific studies that address the concept of *task*. According to Kumaradivelu (1993), the task has a much higher goal than the activity, which in turn is much broader and more comprehensive than the exercise. In this sense, the task is defined as an activity based on meaning: the learners are concerned above all with activating a process of understanding, of sharing the meaning and, only incidentally, do they focus on linguistic forms, and this is always limited to what is required for the completion of the task.

A positive example emerges from one of the case studies in which Art is taught in German in lower secondary school. To fully understand the characteristics of the works of art studied, the learners were asked to draw relations between the antithetical scenes from various frescoes. For example: "The bride is beautiful" juxtaposed with "No one celebrates the bride". The task was assigned and carried out in L2 in pairs using a worksheet.

This task belongs to the category defined by Long (1981) as a task with two outputs: one activity requires a high cognitive competence (compare and evaluate), and does not necessarily have a single solution (the contrasts drawn between scenes could concern more than one pair of scenes or different scenes could be considered antithetical by the teachers). The individual perception of the learners before such an open-ended task leads to a wider communication among them compared to a single-solution task.

For the same reason, a problem-solving task, which generally has a single solution, produces less interaction between students compared to a discussion or debate, in which everyone can present several propositions, as illustrated by Duff (1986). Even the open questions (Why? How?) are highly effective in creating opportunities for interactions that go beyond a mere description or a combination of description and images. This positive outcome was observed in a Science in English class through the attribution of meaning to Latin terms relating to the values in force in ancient Rome: *iustitia, virtus, equitas*, instead of their simple explanation (case study History in German in upper secondary school).

In the case studies, missed opportunities were also observed. For example, tasks limited to a mechanical performance of the exercise: combining descriptions already formulated by the teacher with images; requesting the description of an image in plenary; completing a table with information; completing a conceptual map. All these exercises could easily become tasks if the rationale that guided them was not simply concerned with naming a phenomenon or providing some information, but rather was focused on reworking the information, adding a dose of difficulty that supports the construction of both linguistic and disciplinary competences.

The group settings chosen to carry out tasks in the classrooms are a topic that cannot be fully explored here due to space but deserve a separate discussion. In general, a lot of interaction was observed in the CLIL classes, but this was mostly based on the plenary context of whole-class interaction, in which most of the linguistic production can be attributed to the teacher providing the input. Groups and pairs are organised, but almost always to carry out fairly simple and straightforward exercises, as if the teacher did not fully trust the ability of learners to manage more complex tasks autonomously in their groups. This missed opportunity links back to what has already been said about programme anxiety: the teacher is concerned with doing a lot, often jumping from one cognitive goal to another and quickly compressing tasks, instead of ensuring an in-depth understanding of the concepts covered through a slower and more detailed elaboration and discussion.

4. Nostalgia for L1

With CLIL the use of the foreign language is not a simulation, but rather it takes place in an authentic context of usage; therefore, the learning situation is close to that of acquisition and moves away from that of learning. Studies by Lasagabaster and Sierra (2009) and Coonan (2007) suggest that this authenticity is responsible for increased motivation on the part of students in CLIL classes. That said, it remains difficult to generalise about the motivation of students in the Trentino context; this has, in fact, proven to be one of

the most variable elements of the CLIL practices observed, dependent on a number of contextual factors, including: the social context, the political context of decisions, the attitude towards the specific language of study, and other causes. All of these factors play a role in determining the motivation of the CLIL learners who participated in the study.

On the issue of authenticity, the authentic use of the foreign language in the CLIL environment remains one of its strongest advantages. To see the advantage of CLIL only in terms of an increased exposure to the foreign language is too limited and misses the point: the advantage does not consist only in increased hours of instruction, but also in the quality of the contextualised use of language: the foreign language is used in a learning context that does justice to what is the natural (not forced) function of linguistic communication.

However, the L1 also plays a critical role in the CLIL lesson. In fact, it has been observed that the L1 is much more present than necessary in CLIL, particularly in the interventions desired or programmed by the subject teacher, when the subject specialist is in co-presence with the teacher of L2. Furthermore, in at least two of the cases observed, L1 is regularly used to repeat or re-articulate (and in some cases translate) what is proposed in L2.

In the CLIL literature, few studies address the use of L1 since the programme was created, as previously mentioned, in order to encourage the development of L2 skills, including subject-specific ones. According to Bonnet (2012), learning/acquisition of disciplinary concepts does not depend on the use of the L1, but on a deep understanding of concepts, regardless of the language used. However, it cannot be said that language has no weight in conceptual construction and understanding, just as it would be incorrect to underestimate the importance that L1 inevitably has in the learning process of disciplines. But how and when can L1 be used in CLIL without losing the sense of bilingual teaching, in other words, without undermining the integration between disciplinary and L2 competences? And most importantly, why do it at all? The CLIL teacher should, in the planning of a CLIL programme, start by asking these questions.

Reported below are some of the considerations that emerged in the CLIL research conducted in Trentino, which can be used to support an analysis of the role of the L1 in CLIL classes.

a) the L1 certainly plays a role of support and resource, especially affective support for learners. Starting from L1 is a way to ensure that students have fully understood and puts the learner in a safe situation that allows him/her to experiment in L2. Many scholars argue that this should happen only and exclusively in the moments in which learners are experiencing difficulty or struggling, but in CLIL this might not be the rule;
b) the assumption is that CLIL teachers have a competence in two languages which allows them to move easily from one language to another, but that students do not. As Lasagabaster (2013) states, the resource is the teacher's bilingualism, which presupposes that (i) the teacher has the confidence of his/her own competence in both languages and (ii) the teacher knows how to use it as a resource in relation to the needs of the learner;
c) the ideal and also productive passage of the code-switching is the reception in L1 (for example reading and material in L1/ production in L2/ written or/and oral activities on the acquired material): according to Mehisto (2012) this transfer action allows learners to test themselves starting from a position of safety (having understood in L1) and subsequently activate the L2 acquisition process (through production in L2);
d) L1 is an important resource especially in the early CLIL years and in contexts with low L2 competence (primary and lower secondary school); however, even in these cases, the use of L1 could be limited to the necessary moments only: when dealing with very abstract concepts; to save time; when the language level of the class must be built from scratch; to raise the motivation and avoid the frustration of learners.

Based on these findings, the use of L1 should not be prohibited in CLIL lessons, but it should be inserted in a targeted and not indiscriminate way. Linguistic research has shown that mere quantitative exposure to L2 is not, in itself, sufficient for acquiring L2 competence. To create conditions for the latter, input must make sense to the learners, be comprehensible and raise the level of their prior skills by a sustainable degree. This is the difference be-

tween the lesson in a foreign language and the CLIL lesson. The denomination of CLIL used in German-speaking contexts, namely "bilingual disciplinary lesson" (*bilingualer Fachunterricht*), is applicable more widely and illustrates the importance of assigning a role to L1 which does not totally erase it or prohibit its use.

However, the difference between an anxiogenic use and a necessary use of L1 in CLIL is equally evident. In many of the cases observed, the input offered in L1 was a sort of unnecessary help and, consequently, an opportunity for linguistic growth denied to learners. For example, explaining an experiment first in L1 and then re-explaining it in L2 makes no sense as it is an activity which, in itself, contains evidence that can help to increase the level of reasoning and reflection of the learners without the need to resort to L1. Furthermore, providing glossaries with translation is not a stimulus to bilingualism or to reflection on languages, but a subtraction of sustainable complexity through which students can learn.

Many activities carried out entirely in L2 in the same classes have shown that even middle school students are able to follow and respond in L2, if the input is understandable and the level of difficulty is appropriate. The forced return to L1, in these cases, further discredits both CLIL and learners since it does not perceive them as capable of facing more complex learning paths. The L1 can be part of CLIL, as long as it is not seen as a shortcut or a reduction of complexity, but as a support to better face the challenges of multilingual learning.

5. Lack of Interaction Between Learners

The lack of interaction between learners was observed in all case studies. However, under the stimulus of the tutors, this is perhaps the aspect that ultimately underwent the greatest change in practice. Interactive activities in the classroom saw a progressive increase, especially during laboratory activities, such as an experiment, which lends itself to an active seminar atmosphere. The CLIL teachers received some suggestions from the tutors, including the invitation to create interactive environments: for example, they re-

placed the closed plenary stimulus questions with more open ones: why? how? instead of who? what? when?

There were also many missed opportunities, such as that of an activity in a History lesson, during which the students had to write down some values reported in a text (case study: History in German in lower secondary school). The tutor suggested that this activity should be broadened by adding an autonomous contribution from students; for example, by making them choose some values that they considered essential in historical sources. Then the list of choices could have become the basis for a comparison between ideas and choices.

Obviously, this change would also have led to an increase in the cognitive and linguistic levels. CLIL forces teachers to raise the level, precisely because of its propensity to actively use the combination of language-dialogue / discipline-meanings-concepts. This is one of the most generous benefits of CLIL that also has a positive effect in the teaching of disciplines tout court. It involves two factors: the courage to demand higher-quality performances (and not to stop at the standard ones) and an ability to trust the reactions of students. Where efforts have been made, the results have been positive. The annotation of a teacher reported here verbatim, sheds light on why CLIL can contribute more than the discipline lesson in L1 to achieve a higher level: "children with a more scholastic and more rigid mentality have greater difficulty in CLIL: they struggle to reflect and they prefer to have everything ready instead of building their own knowledge."

But acquisition mainly consists in building a skill that was not there before, not in finding what has already been built.

6. An Italian Hallmark: The Co-Presence of Teachers

The co-presence of teachers and, in some cases, active co-teaching is the true defining trait of the Trentino CLIL approach and perhaps, more generally, of CLIL in the Italian national context. This phenomenon is closely connected to the lack of a CLIL training system that begins with initial teacher training and goes through various stages of professional development for in-service

teachers. Compared to other countries, teachers in Italy are trained in only one discipline for post-primary education. In this context, foreign languages are considered a discipline and not a communication tool for other types of knowledge. In the Italian system, there is no figure of a teacher trained to teach both languages and a non-linguistic discipline, except in the rare cases of people who possess two degrees and/or two teaching qualifications, of which at least one is in foreign languages. In actual fact, Italy is traditionally one of the countries whose population has had poor language skills. The latest European data from 2017 provide a fairly bleak picture of the decade from 2006-2015[3]. It is very likely that things have more recently changed for the better, and even more that they will change with the next generations accustomed to mobility thanks to international programmes of study.

Yet the current context presents the system with a difficult choice: is it easier to train teachers in L2 or to train L2 teachers in a discipline in order to run bilingual programmes? To date, the Italian education system has chosen, rightly or wrongly, the first path; this choice is based, in part, on what is happening elsewhere in Europe, despite the fact that initial teacher training takes place in a completely different way in other European countries. In Italy, the initial training of CLIL teachers was entrusted to the universities and led to a fairly limited number of teachers (enrolled on a voluntary basis and without much incentive) actually completing the training course.

To cover the massive need created by the sudden introduction of Trentino's ambitious plan for trilingualism in 2014, it was often necessary to resort to a system of co-presence, meaning the simultaneous presence in the classroom of the L2 teacher and the non-linguistic subject teacher, to guarantee CLIL in German and English. This can be seen as a generous solution from the institutional point of view, doubling the costs by having to pay two

3 The ISTAT annual report (2017), whose statistics refer to 2015, signals that over 60% of students have knowledge of at least one language other than their mother tongue. Between 2006 and 2015, the percent of those who know at least one foreign language remained the same in the age group between 6 and 24 years, but it is growing in all other age groups. This data reports a positive increase in quantity, but decidedly negative in quality: in fact the level of knowledge of foreign languages declared by participants is definitely modest: 11% of those who declare knowledge of at least one language define their level of competence as "excellent", 29% describe it as "good", while 36% declare their knowledge as "just sufficient", and 23.5% confess to having a "poor" level.

teachers for the same hour of instruction; a plan that consequently requires reorganising the school's timetable to permit the simultaneous presence of teachers cooperating in the same CLIL lesson. Among the advantages of this approach is the mutual support that the presence of two teachers offers for classroom management, especially in the most problematic contexts. Another (necessary) advantage is the common planning time allocated to teachers, which enriches the skills of both. In fact, in the case studies observed, all participating teachers explicitly signalled this advantage of CLIL.

On the other hand, some critical issues concern the duties related to the roles of the two CLIL teachers, as well as the precise definition of these roles. Where the roles were not clarified in the planning phase, some confusion was noted in class, which undoubtedly impacted students, giving the lesson a lack of clear direction. In one extreme case, although a CLIL course was formally shared by two teachers, one in effect delegated all the responsibility for the planning and management to the other, only to later claim ownership of the course in the evaluation phase. This clearly hostile attitude, perhaps due to a boycotting of CLIL, warrants a specific intervention by the school principal.

Notwithstanding this outlying case, the general result for the system of co-presence suggests a high potential for learning, provided that three conditions are met from the outset: detailed and shared planning; distinct and well-defined roles; equally shared responsibilities and duties. Without prejudice to these conditions, co-teaching or co-presence can prove to be value-added, as much as L2 is in the non-linguistic subject lesson.

The fact remains that Trentino is a special case; in other Italian regions, co-presence is a luxury that school administrators simply cannot afford. Consequently, the uncertainty over how to recruit and train teachers remains extremely relevant: whether to favour teachers' subject-specific knowledge or linguistic knowledge and competences. Linguists know very well that a foreign language certification is not enough to be able to move easily within that language; teachers who specialise in non-linguistic subjects are equally well aware that only an authentic grasp of the foundations and specific epistemologies of a discipline make someone a good teacher of that

subject. A collaboration between these two actors is, therefore, fundamental, regardless of who is named as the CLIL teacher.

The difficulty in choosing and training CLIL teachers is linked to financial and trade union reasons. Two risks need to be mentioned here: (1) the linguistic competence of the CLIL teacher must necessarily be high, otherwise a cost-benefit ratio is decidedly disadvantaged in favour of the former; (2) a precondition for CLIL is a teacher's willingness to be open to methodologies that go beyond the traditional lesson and to adopt strategies for active, laboratorial, interactive, experimental and constructive teaching/learning, especially (but not only) linked to aspects that have been analysed in the previous sections.

7. Conclusion – Are We Ready for CLIL?

Every aspect listed as a potential advantage of CLIL from a scientific perspective represents, in diametric opposition, a drawback in real terms. For example, the concentration on meaning rather than on the form of the foreign language can be misunderstood and interpreted as laxity in relation to the linguistic forms used by both teachers and students; this is especially of concern to teachers who are unsure of their L2 proficiency. Likewise, maximizing exposure in L2 can result in the simplification or dilution of subject-specific concepts, undermining the rigour of learning a non-linguistic discipline. Moreover, the insistence on classroom interaction to favour L2 development can become a mechanical application of group work, without the epistemological knowledge of cooperative learning, or a mere repetition of sentences previously written and memorised. Since CLIL is very demanding and complex, the risks of simplification on either side are always lurking.

In addition to the purely didactic recommendations and to the scientific reflections that accompanied the analysis of the five cases in the Trentino study, the research findings highlight several institutional concerns which offer further food for thought on ways to improve the implementation of CLIL in the province's schools; these points, by extension, are of relevance to *any* context offering a CLIL curriculum, including higher education.

a) Alone or in co-presence, the CLIL teacher works more and more deeply. S/he is not satisfied with a nomenclature-based form of planning, reliance on a textbook, or the transmission and return of information in a closed cycle. The extra effort required by CLIL teachers means that they should be recognised for the greater quantity and quality of their workload. The terms of such recognition cannot be explored here due to lack of space; it is certain, however, that such compensation and recognition must be recognised and implemented if the intention is to offer CLIL in schools.
b) CLIL teachers must come from a homogeneous training system with collective input from key local institutions: universities, training institutes and individual schools must work in synergy and not entrust training to independently selected experts without a prior sharing of the CLIL guidelines.
c) A CLIL teacher *is* a discipline teacher with a high competence in L2 (certified) but often experiences insecurity regarding maintaining such competence over time. It would, therefore, be appropriate to provide for regular periods abroad with specific CLIL training courses and/or advanced-level language courses.
d) Any educational institution wishing to implement CLIL courses is required to comply with this decision once it has been taken. Boycotting the programme, in one way or another, belittling it, openly criticising CLIL should not be tolerated if information, training and consultations have been carried out before the decision is taken. Collegiality is key to the success of any curricular innovation. Trade union or other non-didactic disputes must be supported through the appropriate channels, but not at the expense of work during the CLIL course. This is the minimum respect that trade unions owe to users and colleagues engaged in CLIL with professional seriousness and institutional competence.
e) Finally, connected to this last point and not by chance appearing last, is the policy framework that makes CLIL obligatory in the Trentino Trilingual plan. All those who participated in the present research project share the opinion that making CLIL mandatory may not be the best way to build a consensus for it in pedagogical or didactic terms. However, researchers also concur that without a strong policy mandating CLIL in

schools, the programme would inevitably have disappeared from the educational landscape: the various aspects of CLIL programming are too complex, the investment too high, and its implementation too difficult to manage on many levels.

The national policy which makes the introduction of CLIL in the last year of upper secondary school mandatory, according to the High School Reform, is clearly unrealistic and insignificant. By contrast, the Trentino Trilingual plan's approach to introduce CLIL gradually from primary school onwards, without excluding any class or student, is scientifically valid in two ways: first, it offers all Trentino students the same opportunity; second, it slowly accustoms the school to a complex and significant curricular innovation. It was a courageous policy that could have been a model for the whole Italian national school system. However, the hypothetical tense here signals a potential that is, to date, not fully realised given the political regime change in October 2018. According to the new recommendation, the Trentino plan has, in fact, been erased by the new government, which has merely declared the importance of foreign languages for all learners, without planning an increase in hours for foreign language learning and excluding CLIL as a mandatory part of the curriculum.

The 2014 Trentino plan illustrated in this chapter through a qualitative analysis of several case studies indicates possible ways forward for CLIL and the internationalisation of Italian school curricula. CLIL, as we have seen, needs time, favourable conditions, training and collegial cooperation in order to produce benefits. As CLIL is unfolded more widely, it becomes necessary to train more and more teachers (which requires clear guidelines and a standardised programme) and to guarantee their career progression, thus raising another thorny issue, the unequal legal status of teachers which characterises the teaching profession in Italy. It is up to those responsible for education policy and employment to grasp the ideas offered by research on CLIL and to create the conditions for it to succeed.

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Collaborating Across Continents – The Challenges of Intercontinental Academic Partnerships

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Abstract

Amidst the current climate of concern about the flow of immigrants towards Europe, and the concomitant need for Africans to develop their many resources and talents, E4Impact, a spin-off foundation of the graduate business school in Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore is developing innovative forms of transnational education on social entrepreneurship in Africa.

Transnational education (TNE) has been defined as "All types and modes of delivery of higher education study programmes, or sets of courses of study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based" (Council of Europe, 2001). One of the critiques of TNE is that it may be conducted as cultural imperialism, pursuing profit at the expense of traditional educational values, as a means of enabling Western universities to raise revenue needed at home (Ziguras & McBurnie, 2008). The exclusive focus on social impact entrepreneurship within the tertiary education programmes developed by E4Impact, and the academic partnerships that deliver the programmes, are two reasons why the form of TNE discussed in this chapter can survive such critiques.

The programmes offer either an MBA or a Certificate and are currently delivered in English, French or Portuguese in countries from all over the African continent, from the Middle Eastern and Northern African countries to sub-Saharan Africa. Conceived as a partnership between the Italian university and a tertiary education institution in Africa, whose faculty work together with the Italian professors towards national accreditation and marketing, the model has had to adapt to diverse contexts, with different universities requiring different models. Although the Italian university behind E4Impact remains the original source of the idea and expertise, it is not exporting a monolithic

model, but is offering a collaborative educational proposal, which adapts to the context where it takes place.

The Chapter takes a two-pronged approach to the topic of collaborating across continents, firstly by describing the model of TNE of E4Impact, and secondly by presenting in-depth interviews with two female students associated with the programme in different countries. Accordingly, Section 1 situates the MBA programme in the context of transnational education, and recounts how it started as a programme in Italy for Africans. Section 2 narrates the development of the programme, from a rather uncomfortable model of international academic franchising to academic social franchising, which is closer to its current format. Sections 3 and 4 present the interviews with a Kenyan graduate and an Ethiopian student[1], while Section 5 discusses key points which emerge from the interviews. Section 6 looks beyond the specific cases recounted and considers the philosophy, methodology and future of this form of transnational education.

1. Transnational Education – From Africa to Italy and Back

According to the definition provided by UNESCO/Council of Europe Code of Good Practice in the Provision of Transnational Education (Riga, 6 June 2001), Transnational Education (TNE) includes "all types of higher education study programmes, or sets of courses of study, or educational services (including those of distance education) in which the learners are located in a country different from the one where the awarding institution is based". Transnational education is sometimes seen (and enacted) as a cash cow, enabling Western universities to raise revenue that is lacking at home; the model developed by E4Impact[2] continues to modulate in its efforts to succeed in providing education in an inclusive perspective, conforming the cost of the education provided to local standards. This paper discusses and problematizes the philosophy and

1 Both interviewees signed consent forms and their names and the names of their companies are real.

2 The foundation E4Impact (https://e4impact.org/) is a spin-off of ALTIS (https://altis.unicatt.it/), one of the eight graduate schools at Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Milan campus. The President and vice-President of E4Impact are Letizia Moratti and Franco Anelli, Rector of Università Cattolica, its CEO is Prof. Mario Molteni, founder of ALTIS.

methodology of introducing such programmes transnationally where financial gain is not the primary goal, but a sustainable model needs to be created.

The internationalisation of a university's educational proposal can take various canonical forms. In the university under discussion, Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, the largest non-public Catholic University in Europe, the most visible forms of an internationalised education start from the international office. Many forms of student and teacher mobility and study abroad (short and long) are on offer, including a few faculty-led programmes abroad. Some projects involving internationalisation of the classroom take place, as part of partnerships with other universities: small groups of students meet online for a limited number of weeks and a section of the curriculum, particularly in the Faculty of Languages. There is an increasing trend to provide English-taught BA and MA degrees on all the five campuses of the university, with Medicine and Surgery in Rome, Economics, Management, Political Science and Psychology in Milan, Food Science in Piacenza, and an international doctorate in Maths and Physics, offered in conjunction with three other universities around the world from the Brescia campus. It could be said that all such strategies focus on an inward-facing internationalisation of the institution.

Perhaps the most original and outward-facing enactments of internationalisation, which challenge the very philosophy and direction of internationalisation, are the projects centring around Social or Impact Entrepreneurship, delivered entirely on the African continent for African students. As of 2020, this is currently running in 18 countries, taught in English, French or Portuguese in Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, Burundi in the East, DR Congo, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and South Africa in the South, Gabon, Cameroon, Nigeria, Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone and Senegal in West Africa, and in the Middle Eastern North African countries of Tunisia and Egypt.

The first initiative of tertiary education for African students in Università Cattolica started by invitation of the Vatican Dicastery, Propaganda Fide, who decided to invest in African students whose background showed leadership skills and a high level of education by organising a Master's for Future Managers in African society. The Dicastery set aside the necessary funds for the project, and provided links in various African countries, and asked the

then Rector of Università Cattolica del Sacro Cuore, Prof. Lorenzo Ornaghi, to take on the challenge. He proposed it to the newly founded graduate school ALTIS, Alta Scuola Impresa e Società' (Graduate School for Business and Society), whose director, Prof. Mario Molteni, willingly accepted, since the ethos of the school centred on promoting social and environmental issues and its vocation was to concentrate on the Global South. The first Master's programme was held in Rome in 2008 and the students, all male, were chosen on the basis of their curriculum, leadership skills and motivation. As Molteni says[3], the Master's represented on the one hand an opportunity for the students, giving them knowledge, skills and a network of relationships that could help them throughout their future life; on the other, it demanded considerable sacrifice, requiring them to leave their country and families and spend a year in Italy.

The first edition of the Master's was deemed a success, and many of the students who took it have remained in contact with ALTIS. However, the leadership of Propaganda Fide changed in 2007 and the new leaders decided to invest elsewhere, withdrawing the financial support which had enabled the project to exist. This unexpected turn of events forced the researchers and professors at ALTIS, who had gained considerable experience through the first edition, which had been conceived as a kind of laboratory in which the lesson contents and delivery style were honed to the students' needs, to evaluate the value of their endeavours and the whole enterprise. They were loath to abandon the project, and found an intermediate solution which moved the Master's to Milan and opened it up to other emerging countries (particularly India and various Latin American countries). The necessary funds were sought through scholarships provided by the network of companies and institutions around the world that ALTIS had created since its foundation. The 2008 financial crisis, however, thwarted plans for the second formula, because scholarships were impossible to find; also, it became clear that the students who managed to gain a place on the Master's wanted to remain in Europe, rather than take their newly gained management skills back home. Thus ALTIS found itself

3 The author wishes to thank Prof. Mario Molteni and David Cheboryot for granting several interviews and for providing access to as yet unpublished documents recounting the history of the programmes.

caught up in the brain drain of the African continent, obtaining the opposite effect of its original intentions.

One element of the first edition was a key to finding the right path: the final task within the Master's required students to develop a project, and two students from the first edition had conceived social business ideas to implement back home. They took part in the Global Social Venture Competition, an international competition for social business promoted by the University of Berkeley, USA, which ALTIS had brought to Italy in the meantime. They were awarded by the Jury for their entrepreneurial projects, which gave rise to the idea of focusing entirely on social entrepreneurship. Accordingly, in 2010, the school turned the previous formula upside down: instead of Africans coming to Italy, Italians would go to Africa, and the focus would not be management, but on entrepreneurship that could create jobs and have a positive impact on society.

2. From International Academic Franchising to Academic Social Franchising

TNE often comes under the model of an international academic franchise, involving a franchisor, usually a university with a strong reputation in a developed country, which exports its academic programmes to another, typically developing, country where franchisees buy into the academic formulae proposed. In many cases, this creates revenue for the home university, as well as increasing its international reputation. This kind of model is inevitably hierarchical, with the balance of power lying with the franchisor. While initially the MBA in social entrepreneurship did indeed bear the title of the Italian university in question, as time passes, the balance is gradually reset, and in current agreements between E4Impact and an African university, there is typically a number of years established within which the programme must become a joint or dual degree, awarded by both the Italian and the local African university.

From the outset, the formula of international academic franchising (IAF) was not a perfect fit for the MBA, for a number of reasons. First and

foremost, it was clear to the Italian academics that if the programme contents were to be truly relevant, they had to be developed together with faculty who could understand the characteristics and needs of local students; the nature of the agreement needed to be more of a partnership than is usual in IAF.

The choice of a partnering university is a crucial decision when setting up TNE, particularly if it is mission-driven, rather than revenue-driven. Università Cattolica is a non-public university, and the current 18 partners in Africa tend to be the same, although they are not predominantly of Catholic or religious denominations. The first edition in Africa of the MBA in entrepreneurship and management was launched in 2011 in Kenya at the Catholic University of East Africa, specifically Tangaza College, where the Institute of Social Ministry[4] had a slogan that was aligned with the MBA's outlook: we are not job seekers, but job creators! The interests of the Institute of Social Ministry revolved around the concepts of enterprise, underlining the African spirit of initiative, creativity and access to all types of resources and on the social, paying close attention to the needs of the majority of the population still under the poverty line. This approach matched the ALTIS philosophy: there was no intention to provide some kind of charitable aid to the poorest of the poor through the MBA, or only attract the affluent class in Kenya. The aim was to attract and train the young and growing middle class who had the energy to develop a new business idea, and build up their own company which could have impact on their local situation. Indeed, over time, the MBA became specifically associated with Impact Entrepreneurship (hence the name E4Impact).

Another significant factor in the formula is the cost of the MBA, which is aligned with the costs of higher education in the local country, rather than with European standards. This precluded any significant economic gain from the Italian university, although it obviously brought rewards in terms of reputation and networking. According to the E4Impact model, the revenue from tuition on the MBA remains with the partner university; from the third year only, the partner university shares 1/3 of the revenue with E4Impact[5].

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4 The author wishes to thank Fr. Pierli and Brother Jonas for in-depth interviews about the foundation and history of the Institute of Social Ministry at Tangaza College.

5 The transformation of what was a programme called E4Impact into a Foundation with a high-profile non-university president was designed to attract European companies looking to invest in African entrepreneurs, who could build up mutually rewarding partnerships.

The first Kenyan edition drew participants from 18 African countries, showing the relevance and attraction of a degree from a European university, which is perceived to increase employability and enhance job prospects. Such a mix of nationalities showed the intrinsic international vocation of the MBA, which was also reflected in the faculty, who came from the ALTIS network in the United States and in India, as well as from Italy. On the other hand, the international classroom limited the extent to which the programme was rooted to the local society. It was a residential course of several months, requiring both students and faculty to leave their countries and their businesses, causing considerable sacrifice to many families.

Many aspects of the original MBA evolved over the years. It became evident that the ideal student was one with business experience; the 'executive' formula, with a combination of long and short weekends and few residential weeks amounting to 37 days of training, spread over more than 12 months, was thus found to be the best way to enable students to carry on working. Another significant development was the introduction of a business idea competition as a way of assessing the potential for entrepreneurial innovation of candidates wishing to attend the MBA. The participants on the MBA became those who were successful in the competition, rather than candidates who were assessed merely on their curricula. A third key factor is the efforts required of the partnering university: the African university not only provides faculty to work on the contents of the modules, tailoring the proposal to the context, but leads marketing and the applications for national accreditation. Over time, other developments include the engagement of a successful local entrepreneur to provide a point of reference for students, and the involvement of graduate Italian students, who undertake a period of tutoring in the African university, mentoring students for certain exams or projects. The benefits of taking part in an international programme abroad thus do not remain only with faculty members, who update and internationalise their profile, but are now increasingly shared with students, enriching their employability skills with knowledge and experience.

Among the interesting developments over the years is the evolution of the MBA model, and this is in line with 'social' franchising, where the objective is to maximise social impact. Some African universities are copying rigid Eu-

ropean academic rules, and beginning to demand, for example, that an MBA lasts two years. This might appear to jar with the initial choice of an MBA as a practical type of qualification, since the aim of E4Impact is to prepare young entrepreneurs to enter the business world more effectively. Many young entrepreneurs do not need to spend two years in education, and it may actually slow down the impact of their training. This has led to the development of an E4Impact certificate, provided by Università Cattolica, which is not recognised as a fully-fledged MBA. This solution provides students who do not need an MBA with the core features of the programme, enabling them to be entrepreneurs with impact, regardless of their academic qualifications. On the other hand, in some universities which have delivered the MBA for several years, the role of E4impact can evolve from being front-line delivery into being a guarantee of the quality of the MBA.

3. Interview With Sally Sawaya, Meru Herbs, Nairobi, MBA graduate 2015/16

During the summer of 2018, the author spent 10 days visiting two partner universities delivering the MBA, Tangaza College at the Catholic University of East Africa in Nairobi, Kenya, and St Mary's University in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Interviews were conducted with both faculty and students, and followed the same semi-structured format: the questions were intended to provide a profile of each interviewee and their business, probing the motivations for enrolling on the MBA, and asking about features of the programme such as the language of delivery, the attention to the local context and culture, the degree of localisation of the contents of the programme.

In Kenya, where the programme had been running for 8 years, the interviewees were all considered to be champions, who had made a success of their MBA business ideas. In Ethiopia, where the edition was only in its second year, all the students on the programme were asked if they wanted to be interviewed. The two interviewees presented here are women with interesting profiles (35% of the MBA attendees overall are women). The interviews have

been subjected to minimal editing, with some questions, features of spoken English and repetitions removed for ease of reading.

Sally Sawaya, Meru Herbs Kenya 2015/16

Q: Could you start by telling me a little about you and your job?
S: So my name is Sally Kimoto Sawaya, I was born on 8th February 1975 and I went to school in Embu. Embu is like 200 km from the capital city Nairobi, I went to Sacred Heart College, and then for my undergraduate I went to Catholic University of East Africa. After that, while doing my degree, my undergraduate degree at the University – at the Catholic University I had a chance to do internship for Meru Herbs Kenya. So during the holidays I would join them and do my internship here. I graduated in 1997, I now joined Meru Herbs as a full time employee and then I joined Meru Herbs in marketing, and then I moved on to be the logistic manager, and then assistant general manager.

Let me tell you a little background about Meru Herbs. We started in 1989, as a water project and the primary aim of the water project was to provide water to close[6] 440 families who are living in a semi-arid area about 250 km from the capital city Nairobi. The idea was to give them piped water into their homes, because the other alternative was to pick water from the well and carry it on their backs or on the animals to their homes for domestic use and for other purposes in the house, watering the animals and all. So once the project was in place, it was a project in collaboration with the Italian government and the Catholic Church, then there was a need to come up with a commercial venture, one to meet the operational maintenance costs of the water project and then also to provide a source of income for this community, to improve the quality of their living.

So then the project coordinator founded the Meru Herbs and using the Italian connections that we already had while implementing the water project, we realized that there was a market niche for herbal teas. Kenya was already exporting tea and coffee but there was a small market for herbal teas. It was a very new concept in Kenya then, but in the international market there was

6 Features of the variety of English spoken by the interviewees have been left in.

really a small demand for Herbal teas and that's what we went into. So, we started growing hibiscus, chamomile and lemon grass and initially we just sent it out as bulk because we didn't have any form of machinery and all that. So we just grew it, ground it and then packed it. With time we started adding value, value addition, and we invested in a tea bag machine, we started making tea bags and then we started now blending the teas as well. And then, at that time we were working with a group of mango tree farmers. And we realized that these farmers also had loads of fruits, tropical fruits, that were going to waste when it was the mango season, you'd have too many mangoes and then there's only a little bit that you can consume, that you can sell, but you also can't sell to your neighbours because they also have mangoes. So there's a lot of fruit wasted. Then we realized what can we do with all these fruits, and we decided to get an expert from Italy who came here and taught us how to make jam. And so in 1995 we started making tropical fruits jam. And so now the farmers were benefitting from the herbs and also from the fruits that we are buying and transforming into jams. Then, as a kind of strategy, marketing strategy, we decided to also go organic. Already the community was not using pesticides and chemicals, so we were actually growing organic, but we thought "why don't we just get a proper certificate to prove that we are actually growing organic?" And it was also an added advantage to the international market. By 2000 we had our certification for the farmers. So from then on we progressively added more farmers - at this point we have 285. We are looking to add more and encouraging farmers to grow organic and all that.

The main success about Meru Herbs is it employs women, a great number of women because they are the ones who prepare the herbs, they are the ones who prepare the fruits and all that, and gives them a source of income and then also it employs the rural youth who would now have no other option but maybe come to Nairobi and look for work. And already there is a high rate of unemployment here. So it provides a source of income for the community and then secondly we try and encourage the community to not only grow the herbs organically but also their own food. And then we decide to put a solar project into the whole factory, so now we are producing using solar energy as opposed to using electricity.

Q: And at what point did you decide you needed to do an MBA?
S: The opportunity came in 2015, I had been looking into doing an MBA from the local university, but the problem was the flexibility in terms of hours. It required that I dedicate a whole three hours in the evening every day to do the MBA and so it was not suiting my work programme. And the family programme as well. But when I got the opportunity now to do the MBA in Tangaza with flexible hours and the content and the structure of the MBA, I took it up immediately.

Q: So was it the structure of the MBA that attracted you? Or that it had an international element?
S: I already had some Italian contacts

Q: Was that a factor of attraction?
S: Actually that was a main factor. Even the structure, and the content of the MBA and the fact that it was also on entrepreneurship was also a big factor.

Q: Which languages do you speak?
S: I speak English, Swahili and Kiembu, my local vernacular. At work we speak English.

Q: But if you are interacting with the farmers?
S: Oh we speak local languages as well

Q: So what do you think the added value of the international element is in the MBA?
S: The added value is fast, you don't have to travel all the way to Italy to get a degree. So you have the same quality of degree but you are having it locally. So it cuts down a lot of expenses, because imagine if you have to travel to Italy and then get accommodation, then again it takes away from your work, as opposed to get the same degree locally given and whatever it is that you are learning in the classrooms, in the lecture rooms, you come back and implement it. So that is one of the most attractive thing about this MBA, that all the

knowledge that is imparted, you are actually able to go back and practically look at your business and see strategic partnerships.
And you are able to go back and look: we are not been having partnership with our farmers, who are a big component of the whole value chain system. Then you come back and look at your suppliers, I'm just giving an example of the content that you get from the MBA, and then come back and actually, practically implement it as opposed to- because in Italy I'd be putting notes "ok so when I go back I need to do this, I need to do this, I need to do that…" So that is one of the most attractive things: the practicability of the MBA programme.

Q: Is it important for you to be present online? Does your company have a webpage or a Facebook page?
S: Yes, the company has a webpage, a Facebook page, though the webpage is under maintenance. We are moving a few things around and then we have a Facebook page. We have an Instagram page.

Q: Do you have a manager for that?
S: Yes, social marketing is very important

Q: And is there anywhere mention of the fact that you did the MBA which is Tangaza-Cattolica or not? Does it come out in your profile that you have an international degree or something like that?
S: On the website?

Q: Under your name, does it matter to you that you have this international certificate?
S: Yes, yes it matters so much to me

Q: The Master's is delivered in English, because English is the language of instruction in Kenya. Were there people from other countries in your class?
S: Yes, there were
Q: And was everybody talking in English or did you talk in other languages in the classroom?

S: Everybody was talking English, though maybe during lunch it was not odd to find Swahili being spoken. I mean people would also interact in Swahili, but mainly we spoke English, definitely

Q: Do you think there is a space to have something in Swahili, for example, in the master's? Or do you think that it is already international, and you don't need anything else?
S: You are gonna use it in the business, I don't see the need to, personally, I don't see the need to. I think it's ok as is in English.

Q: And did you ever have any problematic issues around English, for example, either there were people from another country who maybe didn't speak it as well as you did, or the lecturers who were not speaking in their own language found it hard to talk in English to an international classroom? Did you ever find that there was a barrier in anyway?
S: No, it wasn't. Not in my track, not in track 5, no. I didn't notice any problems at all

Q: And what about the content? Because the MBA was first designed in Italy, and then designed together with the Tangaza people or the international faculty. Is the curriculum localized? Did you ever feel that you were getting western content that wasn't relevant? Or did you feel that it had been Africanized?
S: The content was actually Africanized. The only thing I remember we all kind of struggling with was the project management. We found it a little bit complicated, trying to like put the model into our own models. But we managed eventually, but everything else was very very localized.

Q: Was the lecturer African?
S: The lecturer was then Kenyan, but a few of us found the project management a bit difficult to interpret and then implement. But we managed.

Q: You managed, and you felt that the content was localized?
S: It was trying to be localized, yes, but there was a little bit of struggle. I would say that the content of this MBA has really helped us, at Meru Herbs.

If it was marketing, it was broken into different bits of marketing, if it's research, if it's marketing analysis and all that, it was broken up and given in small pieces and it was- it's something you could actually take back to your organization and see how to implement it: Are we at the introduction stage? Are we at the maturity stage? And all that. It was easy.

Q: And as a person, how did you feel that the MBA helped you grow or develop yourself? Did it open your mind, how did that happen?
S: Oh yes, it did. The- what is it called- business model canvas, that opened my mind completely in terms of looking at Meru Herbs. It actually opened my mind because all along I have been thinking Meru Herbs in that different kind of setting, but now looking at it in terms of all these components, the strategic partners, looking at what value are we giving our customers, it made us now get back as a team and look keenly at Meru Herbs, and now like decide, make strategic decisions depending on different components of that canvas.

Q: Did the Master's give you new contacts? Did your international profile take off more, thanks to the MBA or during the MBA? I mean, did you make contacts that you then took forward?
S: We discovered the Canadian market.

Q: And did you remain in contact with people from the MBA who are from other countries?
S: Definitely, yes. We have like social groups, we have WhatsApp groups, we formed a social entrepreneur group - we interact on a daily basis.

Q: Even now?
S: Even now.

Q: 3 years later?
S: Yes, and actually what the aim is anybody who is going through the MBA becomes a member and so we continue adding the group. We interact, if there is anybody going through a successful moment they post so we share, if you

are going through a difficulty, if you are looking for a contact, so the MBA, especially track 5, we really have become really close knit.

Q: So, another of the claims that Tangaza came up with is that the master's doesn't create job seekers but job creators. Have you created jobs, do you think?
S: Hm, I think-Meru Herbs has already created jobs, so it was a question of managing those relationships now in a better way.

Q: Would you like to add anything else?
S: One of the most attractive things about it is the flexibility in hours, so you find that the boot camps, the long weekends, the virtual learning - I mean it allows you flexibility, time for organizing yourself. So you are able to work, you don't get to lose your job. So you are able to work and still come back to implement activities that you read into the business itself.

Then, secondly we are only in the same MBA class, but we are all doing the MBA for our unique businesses. Whether it's a start-up or ongoing, we are not copying what another person is doing, so you have a chance to excel in what you know best. So you are not in competition with anyone. As opposed to other MBAs where you go, it's contents and it's who is getting the A, who's getting B and who's getting the C. But it's not about that. This allows you to learn for your business or for your start up, that is one of the most attractive things about this MBA.

And then another thing, having business coaches is excellent. Because you have a business coach and you must meet your business coach and you have to discuss everything, your financial plan, everything. They came here and you had to have appointments with them and see them and go through your models and you listen to them and they tell you the mistakes you have or something. Then you also tell them whatever challenges you are going through, because all of us was struggling with- cause most of us didn't have-didn't come from financial background. All struggling with our financial models, but eventually they made it look so simple. And the idea was, even if you are not going to be the financial person in the organization you need to interpret simple financial models as well. So the business coaching, that was

excellent and then it also allowed for feedback. That was very important. After every lecture, we would give feedback. The students were allowed to give feedback about each and every lecturer, what we liked, what we didn't like. So if we struggled, it came out clearly and anonymously, cause you don't have to put your name and all that, you just need to give feedback.

Q: Did you stay in contact with any of your coaches?
S: I think I did, I think I have quite a number of them on WhatsApp. But also what I liked is that they don't know you from class, so are not already putting you in a category. They'll coach you with a very open mind, so that was very excellent. This is one degree I totally enjoyed. I totally enjoyed it right from the beginning.

4. Interview with Betaly, Addis Ababa, MBA 2017/18

B: My name is Betaly (Bethlehem), I graduated from Barhir Dar University, it's in another city, in industrial engineering and I was born in June 25th 1991 in European calendar. Immediately after I graduated, I started my master's degree, so I have two other Master's degrees: industrial engineering and general MBA.

Q: And why did you particularly choose this one?
B: Well, I heard that it's more practical, so, for instance, like I said, I graduated in industrial engineering and the idea was to give us skill in order to improve the performance of an organization after we graduate, but it was focused on giving us only theoretical perspective on the field. So, when I hear that it is, yeah, this programme is more practical I was impressed and then joined.

Q: Which languages do you speak?
B: My native language is Amharic. I can speak English, I can speak a little bit of Spanish, Korean, Chinese and a little bit of Italian.

Q: When you chose the MBA, in conjunction with an Italian university, did that make any difference or was it purely the practical side that you were interested in?
B: Of course it did, because I have been in three different institutes while doing both my Bachelor's degree and my Master's degree, so I was looking for a different approach to get an education, that is linked to the actual world.

Q: Do you think that, that the product is sufficiently joint? Are you getting a perspective that is both European-Italian and specifically Ethiopian?
B: I can feel the combination, I can feel the integration because, for instance, the schedule, I mean, we get the schedule before it even started, so we have a general perspective of what the programme will looks like, will look like, so if I wanted to do something I can check on my calendar. That's our business culture telling us before even the programme started, so in Ethiopia we do things randomly. For instance, if a teacher wants to give us a class in the evening, he might call us before 30 minutes and he will just ask us to come to the class.
And the other thing is the virtual education. That is very helpful. Because foreign professors are giving us lectures on different subjects. Even the distance education right here from Addis in St Mary's University, for E4Impact we have a distance programme material, which is very helpful and the videos are descriptive and it's so easy for, for instance, for myself, to understand what they are talking about.

Q: What about the way they present the topics? Do you feel a difference between the way the Europeans present whatever topic they are doing and the Ethiopians?
B: It's, it's jointly, every programme was given jointly, but, for instance, on the slides, we see instructions to the local lecturer, so the local professors, to give local examples. For instance in the slide there are different international examples that us Ethiopians may not be familiar with. So right there I see an instruction for the instructor to give us, the Ethiopians, a local example, so that we can get a better insight of the topic.

Q: Do you feel that while you're doing these subjects, you are forced to open your outlook to something more international or you are naturally like that anyway?
B: I believe that I'm naturally international, because I like to expose myself to different things, personally, I'm that kind of person, but this programme motivates, not only me but almost everyone in the class, because it's engaging, even our classroom arrangement is completely different from any other university, or any other teaching learning method in all over the country.

Q: Can you explain? Why do you say your classroom arrangement?
B: Our classroom arrangement, as you can see right now, it's a U shape, which is easy for all of us to see each other, and if it's necessary, for instance, if we have a group assignment, the tables will, can be disassembled, and we can rearrange them in different shapes or in different layouts in order to discuss. But, from my experience, that never happened in Ethiopia. So, I mean it's really engaging, it doesn't even seem like we are in the classroom.

Q: Now, what about the language? I mean in some of the MBAs there are people from other countries, so if you are in the Kenya classroom, I was in Kenya last week, there were people from Sudan and from Africa, from Uganda. Here you are all Ethiopians - do you feel that there are cultural differences among you? I mean, are there people coming from outside Addis or is it fairly homogeneous in the classroom?
B: For now I believe it's homogeneous, but for the older people, I mean, I was raised in Addis which is the capital city of Ethiopia so I'm exposed to technology and speaking different language, so I find the language of teaching method is English, it's not a problem for me, but I can see difficulty in the older students.

Q: You say it's not a problem for you and English is the medium of instruction in Ethiopia, but I noticed, yesterday for example, when we were doing the feedback on the finance module, somebody started talking in Amharic when they were talking to the teacher and therefore he switched, and from then on

all the conversation was in Amharic. Do you think that there should be some kind of official section of the course which is in the local language?
B: Yeah. Actually the idea, the policy is to teach local students, the general policy is to teach local students by using the English language, if it's in higher education level, but the practice is that both the instructors and the students use both the English language and the Amharic language.

Q: And how do you distinguish between the two? What do you do in one language and what do you do in the other?
B: Usually when some topic is up for discussion we start with English and we continue with Amharic.

Q: Because I noticed yesterday in the law lesson, that all, whenever he said "go to your pairs" everybody then talked in Amharic, right? So, would it be unnatural for you to talk in English to one of your peers?
B: We don't speak in English at all. We speak Amharic. Amharic is the national working language. So, if you go outside there are, I think, around 80 different languages, but everywhere you go they use Amharic. I was even responding to you in Amharic right here.

Q: Yes, that's right. I was wondering if there was a reason, like if you have a resistance to speaking English.
B: No.

Q: Lastly, can you tell what your business idea is?
B: The plan is for me to do a feasibility study for a textile company. The idea is to study the market and give them a better insight on how to start a business in Ethiopia.

Q: Another question. Do you have on online profile? Are you present on LinkedIn or Facebook, or anything like that?
B: I use both, I mean, most of us have an account but we don't update it on a regular basis.

Q: Right, so it doesn't say, for example, that you are in the process of doing an international MBA?
B: No, it does not.

Q: Do you think you will put that on or not?
B: Actually, I'm a private person. Even my Facebook profile is private, but I use social media intensively. For instance, I use Instagram, I love Instagram. And, most of the people I follow are influencers, musicians, bloggers. So, I like to know what's going on in the world. How the world it is running its business. For instance, nowadays, I can understand that bloggers, social media influencers have a huge impact on almost any business.
Q. I'm interested in knowing is when you finish this MBA, for example, will you consider it a plus in your profile to have an Italian university giving you your MBA?
B: Of course. I actually have a plan to do something with my master's degree and that involves acknowledging the university. Actually, I run the social media page of St Mary's University.

Q: OK, great. Thanks a lot.

5. Discussion of the Interviews With Students

This section will discuss some of the themes that emerge from the two interviews in Sections 3 and 4, and relate them to the overall model of the MBA delivered by E4Impact-Università Cattolica and its partner universities.

Firstly, the weight of the international connection in the MBA is clearly important to both women. While Sally already had connections in Italy due to the project linked to the company Meru Herbs, she declares that the main attraction of the MBA, distinguishing it from others, was the fact that the MBA was being delivered by an Italian university. Later in the interview, she appreciates the flexible organisation in terms of time which allowed her to attend the programme, and the practical nature of the topics, which spurred her to go back into her company and take a critical and creative look at the way in

which it was being run. The close connection with her work is clearly a strong attraction point of the programme.

Betany agrees that the international nature of the programme made a difference to her choice of MBA; she is proud of her many languages, and feels she has an international outlook, but it was above all the reputation for being a practical MBA which made her enrol. She declares that when she has got her international qualification, she has plans that directly stem from it. Perhaps the fact that she is still enrolled in the programme make her appreciation of the international element harder to gauge.

Among the strong points of the programme, Betaly appreciates the fact that the examples given in class by local staff are directly applicable to the Ethiopian context, and she can sense the joint nature of the academic contents, created by both Italian and Ethiopian staff. Sally also notes that the contents are localised. Both speak highly appreciatively of the teaching style: in the case of Kenya, the fact that all the subjects are broken down into manageable bits is a positive point, as well as the personal approach taken by the business coach, who became a friend. The fact that the class remained a group on Whatsapp and continue to speak to each other after 3 years would seem to indicate that it was a very cohesive class; Betaly indicates the same kind of engaging approach by pointing out the stark difference in classroom layout (the U-shape of the desks) compared to a typical class in Ethiopia and by the comment that it does not seem that they are in a classroom situation. She also notes the quality of the distance education materials that are used.

Questions were asked to both interviewees about the role of languages in the classroom: there were many different mothertongues in the class in Kenya, but Swahili could be heard during breaks. Nevertheless, Sally did not perceive any problems at all as regards use of English, either among staff or students. Betaly, on the other hand, noted that the most natural language for all was Amharic, the official governmental language, and pointed out that some older students had difficulties using English; the natural language of discussion in her class where there are only Ethiopians, is Amharic. Indeed, English is the national medium of instruction in tertiary education in Ethiopia, but can represent a barrier for many students (Murphy and Solomon 2020).

6. From a TNE Programme to a Pan-African Alliance

From the detailed description of the development of the programmes and the transcription of the interviews with students, it is clear that the formula of the MBA in Impact Entrepreneurship meets with considerable success. The entrepreneurial spirit which drives the E4Impact foundation can be seen in the ways in which the programme continues to modulate according to the local contexts. If one allows for the inevitable politeness of Africans being interviewed by a representative of the university behind the programme, the enthusiasm among the students is nevertheless notable, and their lack of any hint of 'cultural imperialism' highly appreciable. The efforts made by the Italian faculty to create materials that are Africanised, thanks to the partnership with local professors, as well as a classroom atmosphere that is engaging and open is surely to be lauded. Perhaps the only element that emerges from the interviews as being underdeveloped is the awareness of the extent of the partnership between the two universities in both cases. There seems to be a certain vague appreciation of the value of an international degree, but no sense of added value due to the dual or joint nature of the MBA.

This Chapter could have dwelt on many other aspects of the programme, because the model is extremely dynamic and is hard to pin down. After the institution of the Certificate, a shorter, less academic version of the MBA, an interesting current development which has been requested by some partner universities is a plan for an international Doctorate in Entrepreneurship. This would appear to return towards the idea of educating academics, rather than training Impact Entrepreneurs. Another notable development is the expansion of the programme in the MENA area, in countries such as Tunisia and Egypt. The cultures of these countries are considerably different from those of sub-saharan Africa and the Pan-African alliance of universities partnering with E4Impact-Università Cattolica is becoming ever more variegated.

According to the E4Impact website[7], more than 1,112 entrepreneurs have been through the MBA programmes since 2010, creating more than 10,000 new jobs: from the point of view of internationalisation of education,

7 https://e4Impact.org

that is a considerable number of graduates who have received a diploma from one Italian university, without necessarily having set foot in Italy. One question that arises is the extent to which the home institution is aware of this patrimony; without a doubt, the 60 students who have so far undertaken internships or periods of study for their thesis within the MBA programmes in Africa will be one effective way in which the Italian institution realises its own reach. While the pan-African alliance is steadily growing, it would perhaps be worth studying ways in which more students from the Italian side could benefit from such experiences of transnational education, even through virtual visits, or virtual exchange, in these COVID-ridden times.

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Conclusion

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The idea for this volume began with a panel organised by the editors for the European Educational Research Association (EERA)'s European Conference on Educational Research (ECER) at the Free University of Bolzano in September 2018, where several of the current contributors came together to present research on the theme "EMI and Beyond: Planning international curricula in higher education for multilingual and multicultural contexts". The contributions to this collected volume present the state of the art on EMI/ICL in Italian higher education, drawing attention to different critical aspects of the teaching/learning experience and highlighting the perspectives of various educational stakeholders regarding the effectiveness of tertiary study in a second/additional/foreign language.

The chapters draw on a range of methodologies, from multimodal participant observation, to action research, to video-stimulated recall (VSR), to questionnaires and interviews, in presenting studies which examine language policies and practices across various educational settings in Italy and with Italian partner institutions abroad. Overall, the volume suggests that internationalisation of the curriculum – whether in tertiary studies or in school contexts – succeeds best when the *form* of lessons (the language which acts as a medium of instruction) and the *content* of lessons (the non-linguistic discipline-specific concepts) are aligned through a counter-balanced approach (Lyster, 2007) to curriculum planning and delivery. Such an integration of content and language (ICL) in planning learning aims and outcomes and in classroom practices requires the strategic support of lecturers through training and monitoring to guarantee the quality of learning in multilingual educational settings.

One-size-fits-all language policies are pedagogically limited and limiting for the creation of scientific knowledge, as revealed by many of the chapters here, as well as the scholarly works they refer to. Indeed, contributors to this volume raise questions about the predominant role of English in EMI/ICL/CLIL and as a lingua franca in European education. Internationalising curricula in higher education must reflect the diversity of learners and mobility of knowers and of knowledge in the twenty-first century (Smit & Dafouz, 2012) in order to assist the development of intercultural competence. The central role language(s) and culture(s) play in the process of generating and disseminating scientific knowledge, the core mission of universities, highlights the need for greater research into the ways form and content should be integrated for effective learning.

Changing the medium of instruction to include more than national or local languages in education has been one of the most significant aspects of internationalisation, a change process initiated with the Bologna declaration (1999) that has been unfolding over the past 20 years; the destabilisation it has created in the higher education sector and the innovative practices that have emerged can no longer be considered new. This process has, in many ways, been a positive disruption, one which has forced educators to reconsider how they teach; an opportunity to re-think and re-imagine ways of designing and delivering curricula (Wilkinson, 2016; Valcke & Wilkinson, 2017). Using other languages as a medium of instruction is not deterministic *per se*: educators still need to decide *how* to teach and, specifically, how to use language(s) in non-linguistic subject teaching. It is clear that university administration needs to support educators in creating the conditions for the optimal integration of content and language (ICL) in learning in order to guarantee quality.

As the papers in this volume demonstrate, language is inextricably entwined in the construction of disciplinary knowledge: sharing insights and research across disciplinary boundaries, cooperating across subject specialisms, communicating in different languages for distinct discourse communities, and collaborating across institutions in transnational educational contexts is how new knowledge is produced. The disruption to educational systems caused by learning in and through foreign languages is both necessary and

beneficial to the intellectual and cultural growth of all those involved in education.

As this volume goes to press in December 2020, we are struggling to make sense of the widescale disruption to education caused by the Covid-19 global pandemic and its multifaceted implications. Being forced outside our comfort zone as educators is a disruptive process that reveals fragilities (individual, institutional, social) but also resilience and creativity. All knowledge involves a rupture with the past, and change has always been a defining feature of universities, which must continually re-invent their role and re-assert their relevance in ever-changing glocal contexts. This process of change is simultaneously disorienting and re-orienting: being unmoored from normative educational practices is an opportunity to chart new pathways in teaching and learning. *Disruption* is perhaps the new lingua franca of this era; we must all learn its nuances and harness its power for positive transformation.

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