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The Global Trend towards English-Medium Instruction

A literature review on EMI/CLIL in a Swedish and European Perspective

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Abstract:

This literature review explores the global trend towards implementing English as a medium of instruction in the form of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) and English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI) in countries where English is not an official language. Additionally, the essay analyses stakeholders’ perspectives on English language instruction and Extramural English (EE). This is done in a European and Swedish context to explore CLIL, EMI and EE possible effects on proficiency on English and mother tongue from a language hierarchy, second language motivational and egalitarian perspective. The results of the review indicate that further research regarding CLIL, EMI and EE is essential to improve CLIL and EMI education in a European and Swedish context.

Keywords: English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI), Englishisation, Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), native language, Extramural English (EE)
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1. Introduction

“Is it necessary to know English when flying to Sundsvall?”

This is what Professor Lars-Gunnar Andersson asked himself when he was on a direct flight from Gothenburg to Sundsvall. On the flight, it was soon made clear that none of the flight crew spoke Swedish and the emergency procedures were explained in English. Furthermore, this made Andersson think that this might be a development in the direction of English becoming a second language in Sweden instead of remaining a foreign language. Andersson pointed out that for many citizens this is feasible but for others, who are not fluent in English, it can cause confusion and problems (Andersson, 2017, p. 5). This development of English holding a dominant language role for communication in academic, business and political contexts is not unique to Sweden. On the contrary, in the richer parts of the world where computers are widely available, and the Internet is affordable, English dominates as the language of communication. This dominant role can also be referred to as linguistic imperialism, which goes hand in hand with economic and political imperialism (Olsson, 2012, p. 11). Furthermore, many countries where English is not the first language make English an official national language, which also requires implementing English as a medium of instruction in schools and universities. The motivational cause behind implementing English as a medium of instruction is the belief that if a country has a population with a high level of English proficiency their economy will grow and the younger generations’ career prospects will improve (Kioko, 2015, p. 1). Piesche, Jonkmann, Fiege and Kessler claim that globally, and in many European countries, English has not been made the official language. However, a trend towards implementing English as a medium of instruction (EMI) or in Content and Language Integrated Learning programmes (CLIL) at schools and universities has increased after the commission of the European Communities stated in 1996 that all European citizens should learn to speak at least two foreign languages in addition to his/her mother tongue. Moreover, Piesche et al. point out that recent studies in this field claim that stakeholders support the idea (2016). This phenomenon is sometimes described as Englishisation, which includes EMI as well as the English language being used in research publications at universities (Hultgren, 2014, s. 390).

The Swedish National Agency for Education claims that knowledge of the English language may increase individuals’ opportunities to be part of different social and cultural events as well as to work and study in an international environment (Skolverket, 2011, p. 32). As a result, strong English interpersonal verbal and written communication skills are highly regarded. Furthermore, often stakeholders’ believe that a good knowledge of the English language is essential to succeed in life. This has resulted in not only universities offering EMI, but also schools in Sweden, especially at the upper secondary level. There are several English medium schools in Sweden that attract parents and students with slogans such as, “If you leave Europaskolan with good grades, I think you are pretty set for life” (Nick, MYP1, Europaskolan, 2018).

The importance of English proficiency appears to increase in Swedish society as well as within the education system. As a consequence, the pressure on English teachers to ensure that all students develop their knowledge of the English language to their best ability may increase. This can be challenging from a motivational perspective. In cases where students struggle to learn the language, it may affect their motivation and attitude towards learning English. Also, students’ pre-existing knowledge of the English language can vary greatly. The
main reason for variations depends on in what form and to what extent the students are exposed to the English language outside of school, also referred to as, Extramural English (EE) (Olsson, 2012, s. 15). Even so, it is the teacher’s responsibility to take students’ pre-knowledge into account, recognise a student’s individual needs and hence meet every student at their level. Equally it is the teacher’s responsibility to ensure that all the students meet the targets set by the Swedish National Agency for Education. At EMI and CLIL schools teachers likewise have to take students’ pre-knowledge of the English language into account. This is particularly important in cases where students struggle with subject specific terminology. Teachers then have to make sure the students do not lose out on subject specific knowledge and meet them at their individual level.

1.1. Aim

The aim of this thesis is to investigate the global trend towards English-medium instruction in a context where English is not an official language, concentrating on Sweden and Europe. A secondary aim is exploring the possible effects of English language instruction on students’ native languages and their English proficiency. The following research questions have been formulated:

- What are the issues related to teaching in an EMI/CLIL program?
- What is the role of EE in EMI and CLIL?
- How does EMI/CLIL and EE affect proficiency in English?
- How does EMI/CLIL and EE affect proficiency in the mother tongue?

2. Background

The world’s language system has evolved over centuries and continues to evolve. Demographic trends, new technology and international communication shape this development, especially regarding the English language. As Graddol explains it, “in Europe, a wave of English has spread from North to South. In Sweden, Denmark, and Netherlands, nearly 80% of the population claim fluency in the language” (2004, p. 1329). Graddol also claims that in many European countries, learning English is a big business as students and employers may be assumed to speak English. Furthermore, it is often expected that students and employees speak English, and it is taught as a basic skill at primary and secondary school alongside subjects such as maths and science. Additionally, the spread of English and other major languages beyond their traditional territories has eroded the idea that “one country, one language” is the norm. In the future most people will speak more than one language and will be switching from one language to another regularly. This will change the notion regarding what it means to speak a language, or to learn and teach it. Graddol further states that “the expectation that someone should always aspire to native speaker competence when learning a foreign language is under challenge, as is the notion of “native speaker” itself” (2004, p. 1330).

Graddol’s perspective on the spread of the English language can be linked to a joint investigation that was conducted by the National Union of Teachers in Sweden and the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise, the purpose of which was to convince more pupils to study more than one foreign language (Fjelkner & Krantz, 2011, p. 4–6). Furthermore, Fjelkner and Krantz argue that there is a clear link between language proficiency and export; therefore, Sweden, a member of the European Community, and a country that depends greatly
on exports, has much to gain from promoting good language proficiency within the education system. English is and will always be the most important language in reference to education, research, export and employment in the foreseeable future (2011, p. 4-6). However, both associations propose that pupils should be encouraged to study a third language at school. They claim that Swedish industry will continue to prosper on condition that it is made clear to the Swedish National Agency for Education what the future needs are and how to best meet them. Fjelkner and Krantz point out that the enduring problem is that many students do not complete their language studies. According to the Swedish National Agency for Education many students do not complete their language studies, as language studies always consist of a large group of students that need extra support. When the necessary support is not available, and if in addition there is a lack of qualified teachers, the students lose their motivation. Other reasons for students not completing their language studies can depend on the age of the students. At lower and upper secondary level, students may not complete their language studies as they find the workload too heavy and they rather concentrate on other subjects to achieve higher grades in those subjects (Skolverket, 2011, p. 29-31). Therefore, Fjelkner and Krantz stress the importance of exploring further whether students are selecting language studies based on interest rather than usefulness. Moreover, Fjelkner and Krantz point out that it is a joint responsibility of the Confederation of Swedish Enterprise and the National Union of Teachers in Sweden to make it clear to the students and schools what languages will be required in the future to strengthen the position of international Swedish companies in the global market (2011, p. 4-6, 18).

Hultgren (2014) claims that in relation to language hierarchy that the implementation of global university ranking systems has had a dramatic outcome on universities globally as well as in Europe. Many universities around the world have re-organised themselves into competition-driven, corporation-like, performance-based institutions. Therefore, the decision about using a particular language as medium of instruction may be decided depending on the priorities of the university. Englishisation in this case can be described as a method that is used so that universities can compete in the global knowledge economy (2014, p. 289, 406). According to the Shanghai Academic Ranking of World Universities in 2017, Sweden universities were in the top 500 (Shanghai Ranking Consultancy, 2017). In addition, from January 2nd, 2017 the basic requirements for university undergraduate courses increased. English 5 or 6 as well as required levels in maths and Swedish are now part of the basic requirements to be eligible for university studies at bachelor and master’s levels. Also, certain courses or study programs might have further English level requirements that are determined by the universities (Swedish Council for Higher Education, 2018).

Considering changes such as English language requirements at universities in Sweden and the implementation of EMI and CLIL worldwide, it is understandable that stakeholders claim that further global research regarding EMI and CLIL and its effects on English proficiency and native languages is essential. Likewise, it is important to understand the difference between the two concepts and how EE (extramural English) can have an impact on both concepts. According to Oxford University Press (2017), CLIL and EMI are both based on bilingual education, however they differ slightly. CLIL, Content and Language Integrated Learning, is based on the assumption that a foreign or a second language is used to teach non-language subjects such as geography and history. The aim is to develop proficiency in both content learning and the language of instruction simultaneously as the language of instruction is not often used outside the classroom. Similarly, EMI entails using English as a medium of instruction to teach academic subjects in countries where English regularly is not the official language. However, there is no specific focus on language learning as it is considered to
happen automatically at school and outside school (Oxford University Press, 2017). Some studies claim that EMI and CLIL do not always benefit the students from language proficiency and content-based learning perspectives (Piesche, et.al, 2016). The outcome in these cases depends on the students’ level of second language proficiency. Additionally, when students process content and language simultaneously it can put an overload on their working memory capacity and result in smaller learning gains. Moreover, from an egalitarian and motivational perspective it is mostly highly motivated students that take part in the bilingual programmes because of self-selection of applicants and schools’ selection of participants from a surplus of applicants. This demonstrates that there are many different factors that influence results of such studies (Piesche et al., 2016).

In this thesis both EMI and CLIL will be explored in a Swedish context. However, implementing CLIL or EMI at compulsory schools is not a national requirement from the Swedish National Agency for Education even though English proficiency is highly regarded as discussed earlier in this thesis (Skolverket, 2011, p. 32). Instead, it is an option that is available for schools and is offered for example by the International English Schools, a group which manages several schools around Sweden. The schools advertise themselves as being as step ahead by offering EMI from grade four in certain subjects, and then at upper secondary school teaching programs completely in English (Internationella Engelska Skolan, 2017). According to Schleicher “The Swedish Education Act states that all children shall have equal access to education and that all children shall enjoy this right regardless of gender, residence or social or economic factors” (Schleicher, 2015). A selective admission policy is therefore not allowed by law, which will be further discussed in the thesis as it differs from other EU countries concerning EMI and CLIL. EE will also be explored in a Swedish context as research shows that EE has had a great influence on Swedish students’ high proficiency in English (Olsson, 2012, s. 15).

3. Theoretical Perspectives

This literature review takes a language hierarchy perspective on EE, EMI and CLIL schools in Europe and Sweden as well as how EE, EMI and CLIL affect proficiency in English and the mother tongue. Risager (2012) defines language hierarchy as a process of selecting a language in practice and simultaneously excluding all other languages. The selection process depends on the status of languages globally and locally. In addition, Risager refers to language hierarchisation as something that “happens all the time as people chose languages for verbal interaction and writing in specific situations and contexts (2012, p. 113-114). Risager also links language hierarchy to the current trend of internationalisation policies at universities which favour an extended or exclusive use of English as a medium of instruction. These polices are implemented as a necessity for the universities to compete on the global educational market. Moreover, language hierarchy can entail a change of order of languages. An example of this is when a group of people fight for recognition of their language locally or globally. Another example can be the will to reduce the divide between English and other foreign languages in school systems (2012, p. 112, 114-115).

This literature review also takes a second language (L2) motivational perspective on the research questions. Lightbown and Spada (2011) state that there is sufficient evidence from research indicating that there exists a correlation between positive motivation and willingness when learning a second language. This is particularly the case if there is a need to speak the second language in various social situations or to fulfil professional ambitions (2011, p. 63).
Additionally, regarding L2 motivation Lightbown and Spada refer to Gardener and Lambert’s work (1972) which coined the terms, “INSTRUMENTAL MOTIVATION (language learning for more immediate or practical goals) and INTEGRATIVE MOTIVATION (language learning for personal growth and cultural enrichment)” (2010, p. 63-64, capitals in original). Motivations of these kinds are related to success in L2 learning (Lightbown and Spada, 2011, p. 64). The importance of EE and its effect on English proficiency will be analysed from an egalitarian, a language hierarchy and a L2 motivational perspective. This is to explore the global phenomenon Englishisation in Europe and its link to dominant languages.

4. Material and Method

4.1. Design

In order to explore which issues are related to teaching in an EMI/CLIL program, what the role of EE in EMI and CLIL is, and how EMI, CLIL and EE affect proficiency in English and the mother tongue in a European and Swedish context, a systematic literature review was conducted (Eriksson Barajas, Forsberg & Wengström 2013, p. 31–34).

4.2. Selection criteria/strategies

To accomplish this systematic literature review, carefully selected keywords were used to search for relevant literature and research papers in databases such as Google search, Google Scholar, Summon and Högskolan Dalarna Library Catalogue. On some occasions the keywords were combined or searched for manually when relevant literature had been recommended by a source. Furthermore, to find as current and relevant material as possible tools such as date of publication and language were used. In addition, to ensure that only research papers that have been peer-reviewed would be analysed and used in this thesis, the peer-review delimiter was used. The peer-review delimiter guarantees that the research paper has gone through the proper review process and as a result holds the acceptable quality to be published as scholarly research (Elsevier, 2018). Once the information was located and collected, the literature was systematically analysed according to guidelines (Eriksson Barajas et al, 2013, p. 31–34).

4.3. Analysis

The focus of this text is to analyse issues related to teaching in an EMI/CLIL program, the role of EE in EMI and CLIL, and their possible effect on English proficiency and the mother tongue. Henceforth, the sources that are included in this literature review explore stakeholders’ perspectives on EMI, CLIL and EE, the role of EE in EMI and CLIL in a European and Swedish context. Moreover, the sources are analysed and compared to find possible links and differences depending on stakeholders’ perspectives, and which country is in focus. In addition, primary, secondary and upper secondary schools that offer CLIL and EMI are included in this review as the approach changes depending policyholders’ perspectives in the countries included in the analysis. By analysing the literature in relation to language hierarchy and from an egalitarian and L2 motivational perspective the attitudes of the stakeholders were carefully analysed and compared to search for similar themes and differences. Some of the sources contribute to a more global perspective regarding
Englishsation, and hence provide a deeper understanding of the background and what the future might look like from a language hierarchy and L2 motivational perspective.

To more easily demonstrate these findings, they are presented and organised according to the research questions: What are the issues related to teaching in an EMI/CLIL program? What is the role of EE in EMI and CLIL? How may EMI/CLIL and EE affect proficiency in English? How may EMI/CLIL and EE affect proficiency in the mother tongue?

4.4. Presentation of analysed sources

Though the material used in this review can all be linked to CLIL, EMI and EE they differ regarding the type of study and the aims, hence an overview of the material seems necessary. This review includes three longitudinal studies. Firstly, Toth’s (2017) study that was conducted over the course of three academic years at a large urban compulsory primary school in grades four to six. It was carried out with the aim to explore how national and local education policies address EMI in a Swedish context (2017, p. 214, 220). Secondly, Yoxsimer Paulsrud’s (2014) study that equally explores EMI in a Swedish context and was conducted outside and in the upper secondary. The focus of the research outside school was to explore how the EMI option has developed since the last report on the Swedish context. Research in school focused on stakeholders’ perspectives on the EMI option regarding “average” students and schools. Therefore, two municipal upper secondary schools were chosen because they did not have high entrance requirements, were not populated with students from the area and the students had not attended EMI schools previously. The schools were given the pseudonyms Aspen and Birch (Yoxsimer Pulsrud, 2014, p. 38, 42-43). Thirdly, this review includes Olsson’s (2016) study that was carried out over three years with the aim to explore CLIL and its effects on students’ academic vocabulary use in English as well as what impact EE has on students writing proficiency regarding vocabulary use (2016, p. 16-17).

Lastly, this study includes three other studies, Rydenvald’s (2015), Sylvén’s (2018) and Liam Falk’s (2008). Rydenvald’s (2015) study differs from the three studies mentioned above as it focuses on elite bilingualism and Third Culture Kids (TCK) with a Swedish background. TCK in this study attend European and International schools outside Sweden. TCK often enjoy a privileged international lifestyle and they are often using different languages daily. The aim of the study was to explore if there are any issues with language attitudes and language use from a TCK perspective as research does not tend to focus on voluntary migration (2015, p. 213-214). Sylvén’s (2018) study differs as well from the other studies in this thesis. It is an international comparison of English language teaching in the form of CLIL between five European countries: Finland, Holland, Germany, Spain and Sweden at primary, secondary, and upper secondary school. It is a broad report that covers not only different countries and regions, but also various school systems. This report was conducted by Sylvén, on behalf of the Swedish National Agency for Education to examine the conditions and approach concerning CLIL in the five countries, and if possible, to investigate how they differ from the Swedish context. The aim was to find a solution that would lead to a more effective use of CLIL in the Swedish context. In addition, a solution that could offer a positive outcome regarding English fluency at the same time as the native language and factual knowledge is not negatively affected (2018, p. 5). Lim Falk’s (2008) study focuses on upper secondary students’ mother tongue and how the language is affected by CLIL. Studies were carried out on classroom practice, student texts, and teacher and student experiences of CLIL to explore if the CLIL environment is contributing to learning (2008, p. 5).
4.4. Ethical aspects

Good ethics are an important aspect in all research. Firstly, the interest of collecting data should always be weighed against protecting the informants included in the research. Secondly, only sources that have received permission to include the informants in the study whilst taking into consideration ethical aspects should be included. Thirdly, cheating and fraudulence is not acceptable (Eriksson Barajas et. al., 2013, p. 69-70, 141). For example, Rydenvald’s (2017) data was collected according to the Swedish Research Council’s guidelines for research and ethics (2017, p. 221). Moreover, Yoxsimer Pulsrud (2014) gave pseudonyms for the two schools participating in the study and considered to what extents the informants were comfortable with the interviews and observations at different stages from an ethical perspective (2014, p. 43, 46).

5. Results

This section will explore, according to the order of the research questions: what the issues related to teaching in an EMI/CLIL program are; the role of EE in EMI and CLIL; EMI/CLIL and EE effect on proficiency in English and EMI/CLIL and EE effect on proficiency in the mother tongue? The investigation will be conducted from a language hierarchy, L2 motivational and an egalitarian perspective.

5.1. What are the issues related to teaching in an EMI/CLIL program?

According to Sylvén (2018), research in Finland has shown that teachers find native English-speaking teachers at schools where CLIL is offered as a great resource for both students as well as for non-native English-speaking teachers (2018, p. 9). Moreover, research has shown that when CLIL classrooms have been compared to mainstream classrooms where English is taught as a foreign language, that students and teachers from a hierarchy perspective get closer to each other in the CLIL classroom. Sylvén explains that this could be a result of the students being more motivated in a CLIL classroom. Equally, Sylvén’s study demonstrated that in Finland the teachers in the English classroom considered the students language learners, as compared to the CLIL classroom where the students were regarded as language users (2018, p. 10). Moreover, based on conversations with Finish native speaker teachers in CLIL programs regarding their perspective on CLIL, the following success factors have been identified: motivated teachers, parents and students; a selective admission policy; flexibility regarding implementation of CLIL depending on local needs; school and municipality support; a good understanding of CLIL and its high status as well as an excessive focus on the importance of the influence of EE in the CLIL classroom (2018, p. 9-11). In Spain, Sylvén explains that successful collaboration amongst teachers regarding lesson planning and scheduling, as well as a good understanding of the relationship between English as a medium of instruction and subject specific content learning lead to good results. Even so, some research shows that native language teachers’ approach towards CLIL altered with time. From some informants’ points of view, CLIL competed with the students’ learning in their native language (Sylvén, 2018, p. 20). Similarly, in a Swedish context, teacher’ attitudes towards CLIL and EMI differ. Toth’s study describes one teacher’s perspective regarding the recruitment policy, in terms of the native English-speaking teacher’s role:
she [an English teacher] is American so that’s like her role. To be a native speaker [laughter]. And then we always have English-speaking physical education teachers /…/ And then it’s a little mixed when it comes to the other aesthetics teachers. [The head of school] wants there to be as many native speakers as possible> (Toth, 2017, p. 223).

Moreover, Toth explains that the school’s local policy documents state that English language and culture is to permeate the school, English-speaking teachers should provide an environment conducive to students mastering English and that staff and students alike should use English, when English-speaking staff were present. The policy also stipulates that more Swedish is to be used when students are not entirely receptive to EMI (Toth, 2017, p. 223). The use of multilingual students’ mother tongue was not mentioned in the policy. However, a teacher pointed out that speaking these other languages was not allowed:

<We also have a rule in school that the students have signed a contract on, when they start. You don’t speak your language that you speak at home, if it’s not Swedish or English. You may not speak Arabic, or German, or Spanish, or French, or whatever you speak, in the corridors> (Toth, 2017, p. 224).

Toth claims that as a result, languages were normally separated in the school depending on space or by the involved. As a compromise, a new native English-speaking teacher at the school managed with translation help from bilingual colleagues to provide students with keyword lists and test questions in Swedish as well as in English (Toth, 2017, p. 228). This can be linked to teachers’ opinions in Yoxsimer Paulsrud’s study, who expressed that schools’ heads and teachers need to be aware that offering EMI leads to an added workload. Furthermore, if the EMI teachers have limited language competence, the use of EMI seems to some extent restrict the teachers with improvisation in the classroom (2014, p. 107). Olsson similarly, expressed the possible restriction on language use in the classroom because of CLIL teachers’ limited language competence. This can be linked to Lim Falk’s (2008) study where a teacher claims that if teachers’ language proficiency is not at a higher level than the student’s, that the students will not respect the teachers. The informant adds that mutual respect between teachers and students is fundamental for learning and teaching to occur (2008, p. 252).

Yoxsimer Paulsrud explains that two out of the eleven teachers in her study were native English speakers, two had teaching degrees in English and the remaining seven had no specific qualifications in English although they were qualified to teach their subject. In addition, the level of experience teaching at EMI schools varied greatly. Several teachers regard EE as means to improve and maintain English proficiency for teachers as well as students. Thus, the teachers emphasise that EE at a “hobby level” is not enough to improve the proficiency in English. One teacher claimed that students’ proficiency improves dramatically over three years at the EMI school, thus they surpass the teachers in competence. Furthermore, one teacher voiced that there is a risk if most of the EMI teachers “are also native Swedish speakers just like their students, then the language can take on a life of its own and develop into a strange English- or Swenglish-in the end” (Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014, p.120, 122-123). Another teacher points out the importance of having native speakers teaching content:

I honestly really, really believe it is really important (with a native speaker)….incredibly important. The students are so good in English that they expect their teachers to be really good, if not much better, and that is not necessarily always the case. (Yoxsimer, 2014, p. 123).
However, one teacher felt that being a native Swedish speaker is an advantage when teaching difficult subjects in English. By using Swedish in these cases, he can assist the students in content comprehension. Similarly, some of the teachers felt that they could manage teaching in English because of their own private and professional interests and exposure to English outside school. Yoxsimer Paulsrud points out that at one of the schools in the study, a teacher claims that the number of subjects taught in English has decreased as there is a lack of qualified teachers to teach EMI. The teacher explains that this is a disadvantage, and if teachers are not supported the school cannot run an effective EMI program (2014, p. 121, 129).

In conclusion, the discussion in this section demonstrates that teachers’ perspective on EMI, CLIL and EE differ depending on country and schools.

5.2. What is the role of EE in EMI and CLIL?

Sylvén describes the education system in Finland as comparable to the Swedish education system even through the attitudes towards CLIL diverge. Initially, CLIL was implemented in Finland to motivate students to learn foreign languages. Lately the goals have altered to some extent, and are now more focused on supporting internationalisation, developing intercultural communication skills, as well as preparing students for further education and employment. CLIL can be implemented as early as pre-school and entrance exams or a ballot system are regularly part of the admission process as the demand is higher than places available. CLIL teachers’ qualifications are regulated and highly-ranked in Finland, which is not the case in Sweden (Sylvén, 2018, p. 7-9, 11, 32).

Similarly, in Holland CLIL schools are regulated and very much based on internationalisation. A national network has been formed to regulate bilingual education such as CLIL within the framework of the European Platform for Dutch Education. In addition, CLIL in Holland is built on a lengthy and extensive experience. Based on these experiences a well-developed and detailed approach for schools that want to introduce a second language as medium of instruction has been implemented. This has resulted in schools being inspected and certified on regular basis to assure that they meet the CLIL-standards set by the European platform in 2012. Once certified the schools must be recertified every five years (Sylvén, 2018, p. 12-13).

The background to CLIL in Germany differs from many other European countries. Firstly, it was introduced in 1969 as a Treaty of Friendship after the Second World War, and French was then the medium of instruction. Secondly, it was based on an intercultural understanding and not on internationalisation. Thirdly, English has now surpassed French and is now the dominant medium of instruction, but other languages are offered as well (Sylvén, 2018, p. 16).

Sylvén (2018) explains further that in Spain, CLIL was introduced on a large scale when international comparison of students’ English proficiency showed that Spanish students performed poorly. However, in reference to Coyle’s (2010) work Spain is one of the European leaders in CLIL practice. In addition, Sylvén maintains that Spain is interesting to analyse because of different reasons such as, Spain is divided into 17 autonomous regions that are self-regulated regarding education, it strives to keep and develop the official minority languages of the different regions, and simultaneously incorporate the implementation of CLIL-programmes. The speed of implementation and the fact that CLIL is intended for
ordinary children in state schools and not restricted to privileged elites is according to Sylvén commendable. For this reason, no entrance exams are required (Sylvén, 2018, p. 18, 27).

Sweden differs from other European countries regarding implementation and regulations of CLIL. Neither the teachers nor the CLIL schools are regulated. There is no special teacher training available for CLIL teachers. Furthermore, as a structured national framework is non-existent, schools can follow individual plans which also means that it is difficult to conduct an extensive research (Sylvén, 2018, p. 31). Moreover, Yoxsimer Paulsrud explains that even though in 2000 the Swedish National Agency for Education called for greater documentation by EMI and CLIL schools “to monitor progress made by students as well as the methods used in teaching and learning through evaluation, yet neither has transpired” (2014, p. 56). Toth (2017) points out that according to Swedish National Agency for Education (2010), EMI schools has become an increasingly common option available in compulsory and in upper secondary schools. Consequently, there is an issue regarding the lack of clear national guidelines, teacher’s language proficiency and professional training. Additionally, a growing number of Swedish researchers have raised concerns regarding EMI and the possibility of the Swedish language losing its domain to the English language (Toth, 2017, p. 214-215). In Lim Falk’s (2008) study a student expresses his concerns regarding the lack of opportunities to use Swedish in formal situations at school. The informants feels that it is equally important to be able to express yourself formally in both English and Swedish (2008, p. 258).

Yoxsimer Paulsrud (2014) likewise implies that a demand for more research is necessary to understand the role of the English language in Sweden, and the goal and expectations of EMI from the stakeholders’ perspectives. This is particularly the case as research has shown that EMI schools in Sweden lack well-defined goals beyond the objectives of the curriculum and regular syllabus goals. It is not clear if EMI schools should have different goals and how the practice should unfold regarding content and language learning compared to schools that teach English as a second language and use Swedish as a medium of instruction. According to Yoxsimer Paulsrud, her research shows that because of the lack of policies in Sweden governing the practice of EMI, there was a need for the two schools included in her study and individual teachers to create their own micro polices on language use, language alternation as well as how content could be integrated with the language in each lesson. Another effect on the differences between the schools depended on the non-consistent support from the administrators. For example, the Birch school has struggled with teacher recruitment, staff stability and student recruitment. On the other hand, at the Aspen school which to begin with received moral support, support with English language lessons and reduced teaching hours during the implementation of EMI, these struggles were not a big concern. Thus, the two schools have developed their own EMI culture with different attitudes towards and different practices for language choice (2014, p. 2-3, 180, 181, 197).

Rydenvald (2015) explores Elite bilingualism and TCK, children of expatriates that belong to an international lifestyle. As such they often attend English or international schools. The language of instruction is related to the education program, hence the choice of school determents the informant’s language use. English is the predominant language of instruction, and as such can ease students’ transition between schools. Besides, it is perceived that students that attend international ELI schools have an advantage accessing the global job market (2015, p. 214, 223-225).

Similar to TCK, Yoxsimer Paulsrud (2014) describes students that chose to attend schools that offer CLIL or EMI in Sweden as academically motivated, already having a high
proficiency in English and believing EMI will lead to advanced English proficiency, which itself will lead to more opportunities in the future. The students perceive themselves as belonging to a group of adolescents that are considered being smart and even nerdy. Even so, the most important reason for students choosing EMI is that they enjoy and are interested in English (2014, p. 92-93, 98).

Regarding the parents’ perspective, Yoxsimer Paulsrud maintains that some parents were anxious that they would not be capable of supporting their children if they were not familiar themselves with the English subject terminology. In addition, some parents resent the fact that all the teachers are not native speakers of English, which they regard as a requirement for long-term success. Likewise, concerns were raised regarding teachers’ ability to explain the subject terminology when they do not speak Swedish if the students struggle with specific subject terminology in English. Overall, parents felt that exposure to English through EMI would make the students more open to the world in general as well as making it easier for them to move abroad and find a place in a different society. Parents’ concern about EMI’s long-term success and preparing their children for an international future can be linked to Yoxsimer Paulsrud’s argument that if English is here to stay in Sweden, how can we best prepare ourselves for it? There is a need for further research to move away from non-functioning local policies and implement standard guidelines which should include for example EMI teacher training, teacher and student requirements as well as teacher qualifications (2014, p. 101-102, 105, 221).

5.3. How may EMI/CLIL and EE affect proficiency in English?

Sylvén (2018), explains that to attain and guarantee a high-quality education at CLIL schools in Holland, non-native English teachers’ proficiency is regulated, in addition to the stipulation that native English-speaking teachers should be employed by CLIL schools (2018, p. 15). Even so, Olsson (2016) claims that it is difficult to determine if CLIL has a positive effect on English proficiency levels when compared to non CLIL students. A reason for this is that CLIL students’ level of English proficiency was initially at a higher level, as well as the students were already high achievers and highly motivated when they started their CLIL education (Olsson, 2016, p. 48). In Germany research shows that CLIL students that choose to attend a CLIL school are highly motivated and already have a higher level of English proficiency than students that choose a non CLIL school. Besides, CLIL schools are not available for everyone, and students are selected depending on their academic achievements (Sylvén, 2018, p. 16-17). On the other hand, in Spain, EE has generally been very restricted, and this can be one of the reasons why Spanish students scored poorly in international in English proficiency tests. To alter this trend, CLIL can be implemented from year one. The well planned and large-scale implementation of CLIL in Spain has had a positive effect on students’ proficiency in English. Another explanation for the positive CLIL outcomes can be the lack of EE in Spanish daily life (Sylvén, 2018, p. 18-19, 27). Olsson supports this theory and claims that Ruiz de Zarobe’s study (2010) shows that in Spain, CLIL students outperformed non-CLIL students with regards to vocabulary, speech and in writing (Olsson, 2016, p. 47).

In Sweden on the other hand, research shows that CLIL has not improved students’ English proficiency to a great deal when compared to students at non-CLIL schools. Sylvén (2018) claims that as CLIL is often not implemented until upper secondary school; which is uncommon internationally, it could possibly be a little too late at this stage. Moreover, a
combination of English being introduced as a foreign language at an early age at all schools, and Swedish students being frequently immersed in English outside school has resulted in students achieving a good knowledge of English at an early age (2018, p. 31). Yoxsimer Paulsrud refers to Sundqvist (2009:10) study regarding EE and its effects on English proficiency. The study claims that in Swedish context, students often claim that they are learning much of their English outside of the classroom. Popular culture seems to play a large role in this development. In addition, many students at the EMI schools in Yoxsimer Paulsrud’s study pointed out that their proficiency in English was at a higher level than the teachers. Hence, they believed they would benefit from more native English-speaking teachers or teachers with more English language training (2014, p. 24, 115):

Sally: I am super unhappy with this program! I thought all the teachers would be much better in English. Most of them are Swedish! (Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014, p. 112).

From an EE gender perspective Olsson refers to Sylvén and Sundqvist’s (2012a) study which claims that boys often have a larger vocabulary in English as they play videogames more often than girls. However, Olsson claims that neither the present or earlier studies can show where, when or how the actual acquisition of vocabulary occurs in EE. The studies only show that there is a correlation between regularly use of EE and a greater vocabulary. However, as both CLIL and EE appear to have a positive effect on English proficiency more research is needed in the Swedish context to determine to what extent (Olsson, 2016, p. 53, 54, 92, 94).

5.4. How may EMI/CLIL and EE affect proficiency in the mother tongue?

Sylvén (2018) points out that even though academics were part of the CLIL development in Finland only a limited amount of research has been conducted regarding CLIL and its effects on the native language. Sylvén adds that Merisuo-Storm’s (2002) study concluded that if the native language receives the same amount of attention as English, CLIL will not have a negative effect on the native language. Furthermore, Sylvén refers to Järvinen’s (2010) study which claims that:

To achieve true integration of language and content in the content classroom necessitates more than double focus on language and content. What is needed is an emphasis on language in the content classroom with a functional focus on the meanings created by the language in order to develop the content, thus enabling an amalgamated view on language and content and a simultaneous focus on form and meaning (Järvinen, 2010, p. 146).

Holland has an approach similar to Finland’s as it is recommended that 50 % of the teaching should occur in English, i.e. English should hold an equal position to Dutch. Moreover, to ensure that CLIL does not have a negative effect on the native language, CLIL students’ grades in Dutch cannot be below the national average grades, nor should their content learning be negatively affected (Sylvén, 2018, p. 12-13). In Spain CLIL, even though it can be implemented at year one, becomes more restricted at upper secondary school when students prepare themselves for entrance exams. This to ensure that the content learning does not suffer because of the medium of instruction (Sylvén, 2018, p. 19). However, in Sweden Toth (2017) stresses that national policies and the hierarchical linguistic ideology that exist privilege English (apart from Swedish) rather than other languages. Consequently, EMI is allowed at all levels of education, with few restrictions placed upon these programs, which differ from other programs of bilingual instruction in Europe. Hence, Toth’s study revealed
that, “while measures intended to safeguard the role of Swedish as a language of learning exist, a lack of guidelines for organization and implementation of EMI programs leaves room for varied interpretations and implications for bilingual outcomes” (2017, p. 229). Moreover, Toth argues that National policies could provide explicit guidelines for programs such as CLIL and EMI, which could be organised from a multilingual perspective. This would encourage the use of multilingual instructions in the classroom as complementary resource rather than competing. Professional development and teacher training can address the issue. Nevertheless, to be able to overcome linguistic hierarchies such as those found in Toth’s study, policies must be addressed at all levels (2017, p. 232, 233).

Likewise, Yoxsimer Paulsrud (2014) stresses that no other language has received such a high status as English in the Swedish society, including in the classroom. Furthermore, according to the official Language Council of Sweden, the 2002 language act developed regarding to the increasing influential role of English in the Swedish society, particularly within domains such as education and research, and because the number of Swedish citizen with other mother tongues than Swedish was increasing rapidly. The act promotes Swedish as the principal language as well as multilingualism to avoid a non-development of the Swedish language in these areas and a loss of more advanced academic Swedish (Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014, p.19-21, 27).

From an international perspective, TCK are often part of trans migrant families and hence, they often attend international schools. At these schools, Swedish is either taught as a subject or used as a language of instruction. For example, at European schools they “are committed to a philosophy of first language maintenance and the promotion of academic multilingualism in at least two languages for all students during their school career” (Rydenvald, 2015, p. 215). As a result, referring to Baker and Prys Jones (1998) work it has previously been assumed that TCK would not encounter any language difficulties if they return to monolingual circumstances. Rydenvald’s study shows that several TCK with a Swedish background have expressed issues with language attitudes and language use. Hence, earlier claims that TCK could easily return to their country of origin and complete their education in a different language if they should encounter problems with English, is outdated. Thus, Rydenvald argues that TCK and elite bilingualism does not necessary result in a less complicated multilingualism than for other multilingual teenage groups. Therefore, it is important to add a linguistic perspective to the existing research field. However, the results of Rydenvald’s study show that a multilingual, international future lies in store for a majority of the informants (2015, p. 225-226).

Yoxsimer Paulsrud ’s (2014) study from a language hierarchy perspective demonstrates that the informants see English as a functional tool for education as well as for jobs and other future endeavours, e.g. an “international life” (2014, p.104). Additionally, Yoxsimer Paulsrud highlights that some students perceive using English as the language for learning as natural, some even minimises the need to learn Swedish at an academic level:

**Ella**: Why, not? The world is getting smaller, as we say all the time. I think I don’t place a lot of importance on Swedish. Why do you need to be good in Swedish? If you want to get out in the world, you need English, Spanish or French or German”

**Selma**: Swedish feels more like something you need for oral communication and in everyday life. That is, if you don’t want a career that requires you to know correct Swedish”
**Tindra:** If you chose the English-language program, I think you have a bigger, like a wider program. I mean life gets easier. (Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014, p. 104).

Even so, Yoxsimer Paulsrud (2014) adds that some students in the study expressed difficulties with adjusting to writing longer assignments in various subjects in English as well as with the amount of and level of reading they were expected to master in English. For example, there were concerns that the grades might suffer because of the content being taught in English, and that the informants might do better if they could express themselves in Swedish instead of English. This conflicting discourse regarding the students’ initial experiences in EMI also reflected their view on the program as being both more demanding or easier than they expected. Even so, most of the students made the switch to English with ease and the initial reservations died out eventually (2014, p. 109-114).

**6. Discussion**

This literature review explores the global phenomenon Englishisation in a European and Swedish context. Furthermore, from a language hierarchy perspective this essay demonstrates that English is frequently used as a medium of instruction within education in Europe which equally follows the global trend. Sylvén’s (2018) study recognises that even though the initial reason for implementing CLIL in Finland, Holland, Germany, Spain and Sweden varied, the current main reason for implementation is to promote internationalisation (Sylvén, 2018). However, attempts to encourage students to learn other foreign languages than English have not been successful (Fjelkner & Krantz, 2011). In Sweden for example, the National Union of Teachers together with the Confederation of Swedish Enterprises have tried to convince students and schools that other foreign languages than English are necessary to strengthen the position of Swedish companies in the global market. This can be linked to language hierarchy and a change of order of languages by reducing the divide between English and other languages. Nonetheless, Fjelkner and Krantz claim that the efforts had no significant effect.

Consequently, Swedish and other European education systems offer English as a medium of instruction in the form of both CLIL and EMI. Even though the main purpose of implementation is to improve students’ proficiency in English, and to increase their individual opportunities; it equally includes strengthening nations’ positions globally as well as to compete in the global knowledge economy (Fjelkner & Krantz, 2011; also, Shanghai Ranking Consultancy, 2017).

Regarding stakeholders’ attitude towards CLIL and EMI, the effects on English proficiency and the native language differ depending on the country as well as on the stakeholders. Sylvén’s study clearly shows that Sweden out of the five countries included in the study, has no clear national guidelines, no requirements on EMI and CLIL teachers’ English proficiency, promotes no CLIL or EMI teacher training, as well as no policies are set in place to avoid negative effects on students’ native language. Additionally, there is no extensive research regarding the topic, hence it is difficult to analyse the effects (Sylvén, 2018, p. 32). The argument about the lack of research regarding the implementation of CLIL and EMI, its effects on English proficiency and native languages was likewise raised by Olsson (2016), Toth (2017) and Yoxsimer Paulsrud (2014). There seems to be a common belief that research is not keeping up with the spread of Englishisation, particularly within the Swedish society and education. From an egalitarian and L2 motivational perspective it is therefore imperative to explore why, what, how, by whom and for whom English as a medium of instruction should be implemented (Olsson, 2018, p. 32).
However, Swedish teenagers’ level of English proficiency is high when compared to other nations included in this review as well as when compared from a global perspective (Olsson 2016). This is when EE becomes interesting and why it is included in this review. Swedish students and other stakeholders often claim that students improve their English proficiency more outside school than inside school (Olsson 2016, Sylvén, 2018, Toth 2017 & Yoxsimer Paulsrud 2014). Furthermore, the students have high demands on CLIL and EMI teachers’ English proficiency. Mainly, if they reckon that their level of English proficiency is at a higher level than the non-native English-speaking teachers. The students consider this as a non-motivational factor (Yoxsimer Paulsrud, 2014). Also, from a motivational perspective, boys tend to improve their English proficiency more than girls from leisure activities such as video gaming. Dutch students likewise, have scored high in English proficiency and EE plays an important role in the society. Nevertheless, CLIL has been more successful in Holland than in Sweden. Explanations for this could be the high-quality requirements on schools and teachers, and the regular inspections of CLIL schools (Sylvén, 2018, p. 14). Moreover, in countries such as Spain where EE is limited outside school, CLIL has had a great effect on students’ English proficiency (Sylvén, 2018).

In addition, from a L2 motivational and hierarchy perspective there appears to be a link between TCK in Rydenvald’s (2015) study and the informants in Yoxsimer Paulsrud’s (2014) work. The majority of the informants in both studies claim that they have opted for schools that offer English as a medium of instruction to increase their opportunities to be part of an “international lifestyle”. This goes hand in hand with The Swedish National Agency for Education’s claim that high proficiency in English will increase individuals’ opportunities to be part of a different social and cultural events as well as to work and study abroad (Skolverket, 2011, p. 32).

7. Conclusion

The aim of this essay was to explore stakeholder’s attitudes towards EMI, CLIL and EE, as well as the possible effects of EMI, CLIL and EE on students’ English proficiency and the native language in a European and Swedish context. In conclusion, this literature review clearly shows that further research regarding CLIL, EMI and EE is necessary within Europe and especially in Sweden to improve the quality of CLIL and EMI education. From a language hierarchy perspective there is no doubt that English has an important role in the Swedish society today, and therefore we need to prepare for the possibility that we might “need English when we fly to Sundsvall”.

Subsequently, from a motivational perspective this review did not come across many negative attitudes from the students regarding EMI and CLIL, except initial concerns about subject specific content learning. Therefore, it can be suggested that students are ready to embrace Englishisation. However, from an egalitarian perspective more research is needed to explore if CLIL and EMI is for all students. Consequently, the responsibility of the society and educational policy makers is to guarantee that CLIL and EMI are implemented properly to maximise the positive effect on English proficiency as well as limit the negative effect on the native language. Future research should also explore more in detail the business side of Englishisation and its link to globalisation. This should be conducted from an egalitarian perspective, to explore what the possible long-term effects on native languages and students who find language learning challenging would be.
References


