



Attitudes towards English-medium instruction in higher education:

Perspectives from Belgian and Norwegian universities

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Summary

English-medium instruction (henceforth called EMI) refers to the use of English as a language of instruction in settings in which English is not an official language. This phenomenon has started to attract attention from policy makers and researchers as English becomes increasingly used as a language of instruction in tertiary education. This study therefore focuses on students' attitudes toward EMI in Norway and French-speaking Belgium through a mixed-methods approach, i.e. a questionnaire survey followed by semi-structured interviews. Attitudes are conceptualised as a form of habitus related to the perceived chance of linguistic profit, in the sense of Bourdieu (1977), conditioning students' choices and behaviour towards EMI. These attitudes are tested against socio-affective variables related to second language acquisition to verify how both sets of variables correlate, as feelings of unease using a foreign language might impact on the attitudes to EMI and act as a barrier as regards the enrolment or the participation in EMI programmes. Furthermore, I study the potential influence of students' socioeconomic status on their participation in and attitudes towards EMI, as such a type of instruction may be addressed to an elite due to the language requirements to access it. The results of this study show that, even though Bourdieu's theories are not completely successful to define their attitudes, students are neutral to positive towards EMI in both Norway and French-speaking Belgium. The legitimacy of EMI seems primarily based on its role as a preparation for English-speaking workplaces and on the class composition, as the presence of international students and teachers make English the necessary lingua franca. EMI is therefore described as being useful to students in the case of the former, and necessary in a globalised world in the case of the latter. Although students tend to consider themselves as second language users rather than learners, attitudes correlate moderately with the socio-affective variables involved in second language acquisition, showing that these aspects should be taken into account in education planning. As regards students' socioeconomic status, there is no correlation with students' attitudes. However, the study shows that, surprisingly, participation in EMI is associated with lower socioeconomic backgrounds, showing that EMI is far from being a discriminatory practice.

Keywords: English-medium instruction, EMI, higher education, second language acquisition, multilingualism, socio-affective variables, mixed-methods approach

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1 Introduction

This dissertation focusses on students' perceptions of and beliefs about the use of English in higher education. EMI is defined as “the use of the English language to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions where the first language of the majority of the population is not English” (Macaro et al. 2018: 37)¹. As universities increasingly offer courses in English due to the internationalization of higher education, and as English is used as a lingua franca in academic publications in numerous fields, researchers point to potential detrimental effects of an overwhelmingly English-speaking academia. EMI research usually focusses on ethical issues related to the use of English as a requirement to access knowledge (i.e. academic resources or university programmes). Students are directly affected by these issues, albeit not always aware of them. Accounts generally concentrate on the attitudes of students who are enrolled in EMI programmes and neglect to analyse the profiles of students who are not enrolled in EMI. This study aims at reporting attitudes towards EMI in tertiary education, including both EMI and non-EMI students.

In this paper, I adapt Bourdieu's (1977) theories in an attempt to define attitude as a form of habitus, i.e. a mindset leading to predispositions to behave in specific ways. The habitus is oriented by the chance of linguistic profit, i.e. the legitimacy given to English as a medium of instruction, the perception of its use in the academic field, and the perceived chance of success in EMI (Bourdieu 1977: 24). The increasing use of English in academia seems to indicate that English has become the legitimate language of this field. For this reason, it is interesting to investigate the prestige associated with EMI compared to programmes taught in national languages. Moreover, the mastery of English may be seen as a profit of distinction, i.e. a feature distinguishing an elite. It is thus important to examine if the skills enabling students to access EMI are related to socio-economic status or if academic English proficiency is developed at university as a shared characteristic of this social elite.

Researchers tend to overlook the fact that English and the norms of English for academic purposes (EAP) are still being acquired by university students and that attitudes toward EMI might thus be closely related to L2 motivation and L2 self-confidence. In this study, EMI is considered as a context of language acquisition in countries in which English is a foreign

¹ EMI is taken as an umbrella term for the three teaching approaches distinguished by Brown & Bradford (2017): EMI, content-based instruction (CBI), and content and language integrated learning (CLIL). These approaches are characterised by various degrees of focus on content and language. As the study does not focus on one specific class, students who participated might be enrolled in different types of programmes.

language, but may arguably act as a marker of social identity. Students have to be able to claim the right to speak and gain legitimacy as users of English as members of various communities. For this reason, social and psychological notions investigated by second language acquisition researchers are applicable to EMI. Hence, the purpose of this study is to account for potential associations between attitudes to EMI and socio-affective variables involved in language learning. A thorough approach to EMI will draw on both literature on attitudes to EMI and literature on socio-affective variables in second language acquisition. This paper aims at associating the two fields to prove that attitudes to EMI and socio-affective variables playing a role in second language acquisition might be intertwined and should be considered as a whole in education planning.

The investigated contexts, Norway and Belgium, are countries belonging to the Expanding Circle, i.e. countries using English as an international language (Kachru 1985: 13)². These countries have been chosen based on their contextual differences. There has been debate on the use of EMI in Norwegian universities and institutions have tried to implement policies to regulate the use of English in academia, whereas Belgian institutions are only beginning to address this issue. Similarly, Norwegian scholars, and more broadly Nordic researchers, have already investigated EMI and attitudes toward EMI as a field of research, whilst there is a gap as regards the Belgian context. These differences might reflect different situations in the two countries. Finally, the two contexts differ from each other in terms of the international weight of their official language, i.e. Norwegian in Norway and French in French-speaking Belgium. These three factors might be reflected in different attitudes toward EMI, highlighting the fact that the two countries are at different stages as regards the endangerment of their official language on the academic linguistic market.

In what follows, chapter 2 gives an overview of the previous literature. Next, chapter 3 describes the two contexts this dissertation investigates, namely Norway and Belgium. Chapter 4 describes the research questions and hypotheses. Finally, the method will be presented in detail in chapter 5. Chapters 6 to 8 are dedicated to the analysis of the collected data.

² The Norwegian and Belgian contexts are however rather different. Albeit not being an official language in Norway, English proficiency seems to be more widespread in Norway than in Belgium. Kachru (1985:14) notes that countries can move from one circle to another, and that English can thus become a second language in countries where it was a foreign language; this might be the case in Norway.

2 State-of-the-art

As mentioned in the previous chapter, one of the aims of this study is to describe attitudes to EMI in the light of Bourdieusian theories, but also to uncover the associations between variables involved in second language acquisition and attitudes to EMI. Therefore, the first subsection will be dedicated to research on EMI, the second to Bourdieusian theories that may provide new insights into attitudinal research, and the third to research on socio-affective variables in the field of second language acquisition.

2.1 English-medium instruction

Crystal (2012) defines English as a world language and explains its emergence as due to factors from different domains: politics, economics, press, advertising, broadcasting, motion pictures, popular music, international travel and safety, education and communication. He further notes that “English is the medium of a great deal of the world’s knowledge, especially in such areas as science and technology, and access to knowledge is the business of education” (Crystal 2012: 162), which highlights the importance of mastering English in today’s world. English can therefore be defined as a “lingua academia” (Phillipson 2007:130). Researchers have described the spread of English-medium instruction in higher education and have often taken a critical stance toward this phenomenon, because the use of English in higher education might indicate that local languages are undergoing a process of domain loss, and because EMI could lead to the creation of an English-speaking elite. Therefore, they address these questions from a language policy perspective, sometimes taking attitudes towards the policy into account. Two extensive state-of-the-art articles have been published on EMI: Coleman (2006) describes the evolution of English as a medium of instruction in Europe and the reasons why higher education institutions implement such programmes, and, more recently, Macaro et al. (2018) attempt to summarize research on EMI, with an additional focus on attitudes to English in higher education.

Coleman (2006: 6) situates the start of English-medium instruction in European countries in the 1990s. Since then, EMI has become increasingly widespread, especially after the 2002 Bologna Declaration, as “[o]nly by adopting a common academic language, can the ideal of a free market for higher education be realised” (Jensen & Thøgersen 2011: 19). This is indeed confirmed by recent studies, as the number of English-taught programmes (henceforth ETPs)

has dramatically increased. In 2014, Wächter & Maiworm (2014) assess the presence of English-taught programmes in Europe through institutional surveys, programme surveys and the ETP database of StudyPortals. They report 8,089 English-taught programmes in 2014, as against 2,389 in 2007 – a growth of 239% in 7 years (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 37), after having tripled from 2002 to 2008 (Wächter & Maiworm 2008: 10). They further list the reasons why ETPs have been implemented in higher education institutions. The two main motives are the enrolment of foreign students and the improvement of the international skills of local students (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 53). These motives are rooted in the marketization of higher education, which leads universities to be increasingly competitive. Higher education institutions need to attract the most brilliant foreign students and researchers, but also more foreign students for economic reasons, i.e. the income represented by foreigners' fees. Coleman (2006: 4) underlines the fact that universities do not implement English-taught programmes to enhance foreign language acquisition; instead, he highlights other motives, such as “CLIL, internationalization, student exchanges, teaching and research materials, staff mobility, graduate employability and the market in international students” (Coleman 2006: 4). As a consequence of the spread of EMI, researchers have expressed some concerns about the fact that the implementation of EMI would be at the expense of local languages, leading to domain loss (Wilkinson 2013: 11-13, Phillipson 2007, Ammon & McConnell 2002). However, English and the national languages are usually shown to co-exist, as English “has now widely spread into most European countries as a language of university teaching, alongside the national official languages” (Ammon & McConnell 2002: 171, 175).

Several researchers are also critical of the democratic value of EMI, highlighting its potential dividing effect, leading to the creation of a proficient English-speaking elite (Shohamy 2013, particularly on student immigrants for whom English is an L3; Wilkinson 2013), as those who do not have sufficient proficiency in English cannot access research published in English and/or are bound to succeed less well than those who reach native-like proficiency (Shohamy 2013: 205, Thomas & Breidlid 2015: 349). The access to EMI itself might be impacted by official English tests of proficiency, as mentioned by Shohamy (2007). English is not the primary focus of her work, but she highlights the use of results on official language tests as controlling devices, allowing for the inclusion or exclusion of individuals from a definite community, and conveying a detrimental message as regards the relevance of national languages. The democratic issue is particularly well illustrated by this quote from Wiggen

(1995: 76), in Ammon & McConnell (2002: 25), who specify that it is generalizable to the European context as a whole: “a more general use of English (...) divides people into those who control and understand the foreign language and those who do not. Letting English develop into a new Latin in Norway, carried by snobbism and cosmopolitan appearances, would be to allow for an undemocratic development”. That is, English might have a status of profit of distinction that either limits access to EMI programmes, which would then be considered more prestigious, or differentiates university graduates from the rest of the population, for example as regards their access to knowledge, if most scientific resources are available only in English. Students are directly affected by these issues, and giving them the chance to express their opinion is thus very important.

As regards attitudes toward EMI, Macaro et al. (2018) summarize the positive and negative types of attitudes that have been reported in the literature on teachers’ and students’ beliefs about EMI. Regarding positive motivations, they list: “attracting international/foreign students; compensating for lack of resources in L1; instrumental advantages for home students (improving English and opportunities to study abroad); high value placed on international English” (Macaro et al. 2018: 64). These positive attitudes seem in part related to the institutional reasons for implementing EMI and to the access to English resources, but they also illustrate the association of English with high prestige. On the other hand, negative attitudes to EMI revolve around insufficient proficiency levels and potential negative effects of EMI on the acquisition of content (Macaro et al. 2018: 64). Moreover, the authors report other apprehensions, i.e. “the creation or consolidation of socio-economic elites and anti-egalitarian outcomes for students; additional workload for teachers switching to EMI; lack of professional development and support” (Macaro et al. 2018: 64). This section includes reviews of studies that indeed corroborate Macaro et al.’s (2018) state-of-the-art article, focussing on papers concerned with students’ attitudes, and excluding articles that focus on teachers’ attitudes only (e.g. Jensen & Thøgersen 2011, Doiz et al. 2011). Studies in the field unfortunately use different methods to assess attitudes and are, therefore, hardly comparable.

Ammon & McConnell (2002) interview seventy students enrolled in international programmes in Germany, Tatzl (2011) studies the attitudes of teachers and students at an Austrian university, and Hu & Lei (2014) investigate beliefs held by different stakeholders of education, among which they count students, in the Chinese context. In all three studies, authors report that students are attracted by EMI because it is an opportunity for their future

career. Ammon & McConnell (2002) further explain that students study in English primarily with a view to working outside German-speaking countries, with a preference for economically strong English-speaking countries, such as the US or the UK. Students in the German context consider their proficiency sufficient to succeed in EMI, but do not believe that EMI considerably enhances their language skills. Surprisingly, Austrian students interviewed by Tatzl (2011) indicate that improving their English proficiency is one of the main motives for choosing EMI programmes, and that they also feel that EMI represents a supplementary workload compared to classes in their national language, arguably owing to their lack of confidence as regards the use of specialised terminology and their comprehension of English. Hu & Lei (2014) present an even more extreme picture of China, as the authors show that the students' level of proficiency is insufficient for EMI to be beneficial. Teachers and students indeed frequently report relying on Chinese during classes as they are not proficient enough to talk freely about topics in their field of study. Even though proficiency seems to be an issue according to Tatzl (2011) and Hu & Lei (2014), both studies highlight students' positive attitudes toward EMI. In addition, Ammon & McConnell (2002) investigate how students assess the linguistic threat that EMI represents for German and find that students do not think that their programme, which combines EMI courses with courses taught in German, is a threat to their mother tongue as a language of teaching, but that 30% of students agree that it is a slight threat for German as a language of research (Ammon & McConnell 2002: 159). These studies fail to reflect the attitudes of students who choose not to enroll in EMI programmes and mainly fall within the scope of 'satisfaction' surveys, except for Ammon & McConnell's (2002) subset of questions about the perception of EMI as a threat for German. It is noticeable that debates among researchers are not reflected in attitudinal studies, as the main issues researchers raise are not assessed by these surveys. Some other studies have nonetheless addressed the degree of legitimacy of EMI more specifically. For example, Doiz et al. (2003) investigate students' attitudes towards English and EMI at a Basque university through a questionnaire assessing, among others, opinions on the impact of English on Basque, foreign language learning, English as a lingua franca and EMI. They find that local students have rather negative attitudes towards EMI, as their answers reflect their unwillingness of seeing English become a requirement at university, partly because it might have a negative impact on Basque. These attitudinal dimensions will be addressed in the present study and will be supplemented with questions about students' perception of the academic field and of their chance of using English successfully in EMI, thereby characterising attitudes in terms of the perceived chance of linguistic profit, following

Bourdieu (1977), in order to give a complete overview of the forces at stake in students' attitudes to EMI.

2.2 EMI in the light of Bourdieusian theories

This section focusses on Bourdieusian concepts used to establish the research questions and interpret the results. In this study, language will be considered as a cultural capital, associated with symbolic power, following Bourdieu's (1979, 1997, 2001) typology of capitals. According to Bourdieu, different types of exchangeable capitals circulate on the market: economic capital, "which is immediately and directly convertible into money" (Bourdieu 1997: 47), cultural capital (e.g., education), and social capital, "made up of social obligations ('connections')" (Bourdieu 1997: 47). As a form of cultural capital, the knowledge of a language can be exchanged with economic capital: linguistic skills have a value on the work market. Conversely, economic capital can be exchanged with cultural capital (Bourdieu 1997: 53-54): language skills can indeed be acquired, given time, and sometimes money (e.g. private English lessons), which are derived from economic capital. Language is further associated with symbolic power, as illustrated by Bourdieu's (2001) discussion of the phenomenon of standardisation and its relation to the nation-state in France, by which standard French has been imposed as the legitimate language of the nation. In a given context, a language has symbolic power if considered as the legitimate language, thereby creating a profit of distinction in favour of those who master the legitimate language the best. In a case where the legitimate language is acquired, the level of mastery is distributed according to the level of access to educational resources allowing for language learning (Bourdieu 2001: 85-86). Access to educational resources is arguably a function of economic capital if education is not free and open to all. In the case of English in academia, the evolution of the academic field seems to point to English as the legitimate language, as it is increasingly used for teaching. A related field that might also be indicative of the direction in which the field evolves is the distribution of languages in scientific publications. Ammon & McConnell (2002: 12-13) show that English increasingly dominates the field of scientific publications, whereas other languages that used to enjoy a high status, such as French and German, are ever less used. However, they highlight that the use of English in scientific publications is highly dependent on the field, emphasizing that the dominance of English is stronger in natural sciences than in social sciences and humanities (Ammon & McConnell 2002: 17-18). These facts reflect the evolution of the field towards a generalized dominance of English as the

lingua academia, which is detrimental to other languages in that scientific terminology tends to develop in English faster than in other languages (Ammon 2001). As English becomes the legitimate language in tertiary education and as its mastery might depend on economic capital, it is important to compare the socio-economic profiles of students enrolled in EMI compared to students who are not.

Fears that EMI would be undemocratic are related to the notion of profit of distinction, according to which value is determined by inequality of access, creating a dichotomy between those who are proficient in the type of English required, i.e. academic English, and those who are not. In other words, proficiency in academic English is a symbolic capital, potentially allowing individuals to be recognized as members of the academic community, as “la compétence implique le pouvoir d’imposer la réception” [‘competence implies the power to impose reception’, translation mine] (Bourdieu 1977: 20). Two types of inequality might be at play in the use of English in higher education. Firstly, the dominance of English at universities might lead to the creation of an elitist academic discourse community, characterised by its English-speaking mode of communication and knowledge dissemination. Then, academic curricula would provide resources allowing students to become proficient users of academic English, making it a distinguishing cultural capital, and encouraging its members to use it for knowledge dissemination within the academic community. Consequently, this practice, if publications in local languages are not encouraged, would diminish the access to knowledge for those who did not benefit from academic English courses, creating a dichotomy between university graduates and non-university graduates. Secondly, English proficiency might in some cases be considered a necessary starting capital. This explains why some researchers have taken more critical stances, emphasizing the fact English has become a requirement to access higher education in Europe today (Phillipson 2007), and the fact that language testing might be used as a way to control access to rights or education (Shohamy 2007). That might particularly be the case of English-medium instruction as an immersive practice, requiring, officially (e.g., English language requirements and necessity to provide official test results) or not, a certain level of proficiency in English from the start. It is unclear whether every student, independently from socioeconomic status and previous education, has the same starting level of proficiency in English. The need for research in this area is supported by researchers, as illustrated by Benesch’s (2007) comment on the shortcomings of the field of English for academic purposes, which she situates “in the social influences on both academic English and the academic lives of English language

learners (ELLs) pursuing degrees” (Benesch 2007: 655), and in the exploration of “the varying socioeconomic and educational backgrounds of EAP students” (Benesch 2007: 655).

It has further been shown that social class, through its impact on self-concept and self-confidence, can have an impact on language learning. For example, Dewaele (2002) has studied English and French language anxiety among Flemish high school students, correlating it with sociodemographic and psychological variables. He finds that social class has an impact on foreign language anxiety in French, as students from high social classes are generally less anxious as regards communication in French, but has no impact on English language anxiety. Dewaele (2005) investigates the impact of the same variables on language attitudes, but does not find any effect of class, even though he finds an effect of politicocultural identity on attitudes towards French (but not towards English), thereby highlighting the importance of social identity in language attitudes. Kormos & Kiddle (2013) confirm the impact of social class on socio-affective factors involved in foreign language acquisition in the Chilean context. They find that “the most important influence of social class can be detected in the case of self-efficacy” (Kormos & Kiddle 2013, 408-9). As foreign language acquisition, and education more broadly, are potential places for social reproduction, students from different socio-economic backgrounds might not feel equally able and willing to enroll in EMI programmes. The present study may provide further insight into the conditions of access to EMI, and highlight potential inequalities related to socio-economic status through the associations between this demographic factor and affective variables linked to the self-concept, and attitudes toward EMI.

A complementary question, previously asked by Ammon & McConnell (2002: 42-3) on the Belgian case, is whether EMI programmes benefit from higher prestige, and consequently, whether they make courses in the local languages less attractive, which might in effect increase the risk of domain loss. Norwegian institutions emphasize the importance of delivering degrees considered of equal quality and prestige, if similar programmes exist both in English and in Norwegian (Ammon & McConnell 2002: 105), as a distinction of prestige might lead to a dichotomy between EMI and non-EMI graduates. To my knowledge, no study has been conducted on this topic yet. In a situation in which a distinction of prestige would exist, EMI, and more broadly, English language requirements in higher education, would indeed raise an issue of democracy and invalidate the legitimacy of national languages in higher education.

Inspired by Gentil's (2005) reading of Bourdieu, I choose to study attitudes as a form of habitus, i.e. a long-lasting disposition that determines how people act (here, the language they choose to study in)³. Attitudes are determined by the expected return of investment, justifying one's behaviour. Following Bourdieu (1977: 24) on the chances of linguistic profit, attitudes will be assessed in terms of the degree of legitimacy granted to English as a language of instruction, the self-perceived chance of success using English in EMI, and the perceived necessity of English in students' present and future communities. Indeed, Gentil (2005: 430) notes that "[h]abitus develops in response to the configuration of a specific social field through a process of socialization by which the individual internalizes the social rules for engaging in the field and a sense of his or her social standing in the field". In other words, attitudes to EMI might follow the evolution of the field, making students more favourable to the use of English because EMI might lead to a significant return on investment. The field therefore acts as a social structure leading to mental structures predisposing students to respect the social structure and reinforcing it. This converges with what Coleman (2006) qualified as a Microsoft effect, stating that "once a medium obtains a dominant market share, it becomes less and less practical to opt for another medium, and the dominance is thus enhanced" (Coleman 2006: 4).

In conclusion, this study is an investigation of students' attitudes to English and English-medium instruction as a form of habitus in the specific field constituted by the linguistic market of academia. In this framework, I aim at analysing, on the one hand, students' socio-economic profiles to understand whether and how EMI could be undemocratic, and on the other hand, students' beliefs about power and prestige imbalances in language use in academia, as part of the construct of attitudes towards EMI.

2.3 Second language acquisition (SLA), identity and socio-affective variables

Research on EMI generally overlooks attitudes toward English as a language that is being acquired at university, despite mentions of proficiency issues and research in the field of English for academic purposes (EAP). A thorough approach to EMI should, however, not ignore work in the field of second language acquisition, as EMI is a context of acquisition of

³ In his study, Gentil (2005) conceptualised Canadian students' engagement in biliterate writing practices as a form of habitus.

English, which requires specific language skills. As noted by Hyland (2007: 392) in the case of English for specific purposes, learners have to acquire skills and competences aligned with their needs. EAP is thus the type of English required in classes taught in English in higher education institutions. Cummins & Man Yee-Fun (2007: 801) define academic language proficiency as the “knowledge of the less frequent vocabulary of English as well as the ability to interpret and produce increasingly complex written and oral language”, distinguishing academic language proficiency from everyday English knowledge. They further note, on the basis of previous research, that the mastery of the academic genre requires “at least 5 years of exposure to academic English to catch up to native-speaker norms” (Cummins & Man Yee-Fun (2007: 801). This highlights the unfairness of the situation to non-native speakers of English as regards the language of instruction, even though “[t]here are no native speakers of *academic language*” (Mauranen 2012: 69). In other words, relevant EAP skills are necessary for students enrolled in EMI programmes, but these skills take time to be acquired. The acquisition of EAP is thus part of the broader field of second language acquisition.

Second language acquisition is defined as “the scholarly field of inquiry that investigates the human capacity to learn languages other than the first, during late childhood, adolescence or adulthood, and once the first language or languages have been acquired” (Ortega 2009:1-2)⁴. It includes works drawing on cognitive linguistics and contrastive linguistics (which led to interlanguage studies), but also works drawing on psychological and social-psychological theories. Because the focus of this investigation is on attitudes in an academic community, the latter subfields of second language acquisition are the primary topics of this section.

A large corpus of research is concerned with learner psychology, namely with motivation and other related concepts. Several models have attempted to account for the complexity of social and individual factors involved in the process of learning a second language, both to understand the psychological features involved in language learning as a behaviour and to emphasize its role in terms of development and attainment in second language learning. Motivation is a central focus in studies of L2 learner psychology. Motivation is defined as “the dynamically changing cumulative arousal in a person that initiates, directs, coordinates, amplifies, terminates, and evaluates the cognitive and motor processes whereby initial wishes and desires are selected, prioritised, operationalised and (successfully or unsuccessfully) acted out” (Dörnyei & Ottó 1998: 65). Attitudes and socio-affective variables play a significant role

⁴ In this section, second language acquisition is used as a generic term covering the acquisition of any second or foreign language (L1, L2, L3, ... in foreign and second language contexts).

in language learning as antecedents of motivation and willingness to communicate, as studies generally show that positive attitudes and emotions toward the language, the class setting and/or the L2 community are linked to a higher degree of motivation, which is in turn associated with behaviours enhancing language acquisition, and with more success in language learning. Two models that have been extensively used in research are the socio-educational model by Gardner (Gardner 1985a, 1985b, 2010) and the process model of motivation by Dörnyei & Ottó (1998), used in the large-scale Hungarian study to analyse learners' motivations to learn foreign languages (Dörnyei & Csizér 2005).

Gardner's (1985a, 1985b, Gardner et al. 1997) socio-educational model has been designed in the Canadian context to assess and describe the motivation of English-speaking students of French via a questionnaire, called the Attitude/Motivation Test Battery (AMTB). This questionnaire intends to evaluate the amount of motivation of each individual, on the basis of measures related to motivational intensity, attitudes to L2 learning and desire to learn. The model highlights three main factors that impact on motivation, viz. integrativeness (i.e. the degree of interest in and identification with the L2 community), attitudes toward the L2 community and the instructional setting, and orientations (i.e. the reasons for studying an L2). For example, the instrumental orientation is related to the perceived utility of the language (e.g., to get good marks or to get a good job), whereas Gardner (1985b) particularly emphasizes the importance of integrativeness as a key to success in the Canadian context.

Later, Dörnyei developed two models, summarized in Csizér & Kormos's (2008: 170) literature review. The first is the process model of motivation, which recognizes the dynamicity of motivation and its potential to change over time (Dörnyei & Ottó 1998). The second one is the L2 Motivational Self System, which departs from Gardner's work in that it reshapes the concept of integrativeness (Dörnyei & Csizér 2012). The central concept of the L2 Motivational Self System is the notion of possible self, based on Markus & Nurius's (1986) work and defined as the projection of the self in the future, according to what individuals wish and hope to become (in the case of the ideal self), but also according to what they think they should become and have to do (in the case of the ought-to self) and according to the L2 learning situated experience (their emotions in the setting of instruction, usually in the classroom). The ideal self is associated with what Higgins (1998) calls, in the theory of self-regulatory focus, the promotion-focus orientation (i.e. the focus on advancements and achievements to get closer to the image of the ideal self), whereas the ought-to self is

associated with a prevention-focus orientation (i.e. what one does to avoid failure and negative consequences). Similarly, Busse (2013) shows that an integrative orientation is not relevant to foreign language contexts, whereas the self-concept appears to be essential (Busse 2013: 392). She further demonstrates that instrumental orientation and self-perceived effort are correlated, and suggests that instrumental orientation is a relevant concept because of its ties to the image of the possible self. The L2 Self System model does not invalidate the socio-educational model, but simply changes its focus, drawing on theories of the self. Yashima (2009) also criticizes the Gardnerian model by contesting the notion of integrativeness, which might be of importance in the bilingual Canadian ESL context, but seems of lesser relevance in EFL contexts, such as the Japanese context. On the basis of observations from the field of English as a lingua franca, she introduces the notion of international posture and defines it as a concept that “tries to capture a tendency to relate oneself to the international community rather than any specific L2 group” (Yashima 2009: 145).

Motivation research has proven useful to understand socio-affective factors influencing learners’ behaviours and achievements in language learning. More broadly, the factors investigated by motivation researchers relate to the psychological processes underlying any type of learning. In EMI, students have to acquire both content and language; that is, they face two challenges, which might represent a supplementary workload and demand a higher degree of personal investment in EMI classes and in the acquisition of English. Their motivation is therefore a very important factor, and socio-affective antecedents leading to lower motivation to acquire English or to a feeling of unease when using English may prevent students from enrolling and/or succeeding in EMI programmes. Notions investigated in SLA are applicable to EMI, as EMI is a context of language acquisition in EFL countries. For example, Chun et al. (2017) investigate attitudes, language anxiety and language confidence through a survey in a Korean university, trying to explain why Korean students have negative attitudes toward EMI classes. They prove that language confidence is related to the perceived degree of content understanding and negatively correlated with language anxiety. English language anxiety, in turn, seems directly linked to low levels of course content understanding, leading to negative attitudes and course avoidance, while greater course content understanding leads to more positive attitudes. Their study emphasizes the importance of tackling emotional aspects among EMI students, to allow them to study in better conditions. It is also the only study which investigates the attitudes of students who are not willing to or not currently enrolled in EMI.

L2 motivation research provides a deep understanding of what identity is and of the role identity and self-concept play in second language acquisition. Social research interestingly complements notions such as the ideal self and the international posture from a social psychological perspective, shifting from identity as a stable and individual construct to identity as a fluid, social and contextual concept, anchored in power relations (Norton Peirce 1995: 12; Norton 1997: 419). Atkinson (2011) edited a volume dedicated to alternative approaches to second language acquisition, which is concluded by Ortega (2011), who describes these approaches in terms of a social turn in second language acquisition research. From that perspective, researchers after the social turn construct “learning as a social accomplishment and posit that knowledge and learning are socially distributed, have social histories, and are only possible through sociality” (Ortega 2011: 168), based on Sfar’s (1998) metaphors of acquisition and participation. It should be noted that the conceptual differences in motivation and social research, even though they seem minimal, lead to different methods for investigating second language acquisition. L2 social researchers prefer qualitative methods such as interviews, open-ended discussion or classroom observations (Morita 2004, Trentman 2013), journal diaries or first-person narratives (Norton 2000, Pavlenko & Lantolf 2000), ethnography (Duff 1995, Song 2012, Park & Abelman 2004) or conversation analysis (Kasper & Wagner 2011), even though questionnaires are often used next to these methods (Yashima & Zenuk-Nishide 2008, Trentman 2013). L2 social research includes different approaches, among them the sociocultural approach (Lantolf 2011), the identity approach (Norton Peirce 1995, Norton 1997, Norton & McKinney 2011) or the language socialization approach (Duff 1995, Duff & Talmy 2011). This literature review primarily focuses on the identity approach and takes some notions from the language socialization approach.

Norton Peirce (1995) rejects the traditional dichotomy between the L2 learner and the language learning context. In her work, Bonny Norton Peirce develops an extended theory of identity in the context of language learning and examines its influence, together with the impact of power relations, on L2 English acquisition among immigrant women in Canada through case studies, essentially based on interviews and journal diaries. She defines identity as the perception of the self in a situated context, but also as the perception of one’s possible self in the future. In addition, identity is associated with power relations that “can serve to enable or constrain the range of identities that language learners can negotiate in their classrooms and communities” (Norton 1997: 411), insisting on the importance for L2 learners

to be able to claim the right to speak and, that way, gain legitimacy as L2 speakers and members of the L2 community (Norton 1997: 422). This last aspect is linked to the work of Bourdieu (1977), from whom she borrows the economic metaphor, leading her to deal with investment rather than motivation. She defines investment as “the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their sometimes ambivalent desire to learn and practice it” (Norton 1997: 411), and notes that learners expect a return on investment in the L2 (Norton & Toohey 2001, Norton & McKinney 2011). Indeed, “if learners invest in a second language, they do so with the understanding that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources, which will in turn increase the value of their cultural capital” (Norton & McKinney 2011: 75). Also, the language socialization approach claims that the sense of self is built through socialization and refers to power relations to explain that learners might be silenced if they are positioned as powerless in interactions. This situation limits students’ possibilities to evolve towards a legitimate peripheral participation in the community, and ultimately, to acquire full membership, following Lave & Wenger’s (1991) conception of the community of practice (cited in Duff & Talmy 2011: 105). Norton completes this complex depiction of the construct of identity with the concept of imagined communities, which she defines as “groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination” (Norton & McKinney 2011: 76). She highlights the presence of these constructs through five case studies of Katarina, Felicia, Martina, Eva and Mai, and successfully uses the constructs to describe and interpret the investment of the L2 users inside and outside the language classroom. For example, Katarina’s disinvestment in classroom practices is explained by the fact that the teacher did not recognize her identity as a professional, participating in a well-defined imagined community (Norton 2000: 151). The struggle of immigrants to get recognition as members of a community through language has been recognized by other researchers, such as Morita (2004), who emphasizes the challenges encountered by immigrant students in Canadian universities. These notions are, however, deeply rooted in the ESL Canadian context.

Various studies have investigated investment in the L2 from an identity approach, but only some of them are concerned with EFL contexts and focus on how identity translates into investment. However, most of the investigated cases from EFL countries are studied in relation to study-abroad trips (Song 2012, Trentman 2013). An exception, which does not refer to study-abroad, is a study by Park & Abelman (2004). They investigate the symbolic

value of English in South Korea, its link to international imagined communities, defined as cosmopolitan striving (Park & Abelman 2004: 646) and its impact on how mothers manage their children's education, for example by enrolling them in after-school language classes. They conclude that English is a valuable symbolic capital in the Korean context that reflects achievements in the local context, and that its mastery indexes high social achievement, and is therefore seen as desirable, as part of the construction of an imagined international community. The imagined community, however, is not related to the practical goal of leaving the country.

Similarly, university is a community of practice in which students evolve. In English-medium programmes, they need to master English to be able to participate in the classroom community, to be recognised as members of their academic field, and to access academic resources written in English, as academia is a discourse community as well. Also, some students intend to enter international workplaces (e.g. international business) that are communities of practice outside university (or inside university, in the case of research teams). Therefore, these students need to develop their English language skills to have a chance to access their future community of practice. In both cases, students need to acquire legitimacy as English speakers to acquire legitimacy as members of present or future communities. Finally, some students may also imagine themselves as part of a broader imagined community of university students in their field, and therefore adopt an international posture impacting positively on their investment in the development of their English and on their attitudes towards EMI. However, this makes English a requirement to enter targeted communities, and the necessity of being recognised as a proficient user of English is even more important for them in order to connect with their imagined community. In a nutshell, this study highlights the role English might have as a marker of membership in various types of communities.

In conclusion, this study defines EMI as a context of acquisition of English. In this framework, socio-affective variables related to the use of and investment in the L2 will be studied as they might influence attitudes to EMI, decisions to enroll in EMI, and/or experience and well-being in EMI. Notions of social identity are also taken into account, as academia is a community, and as identity and investment in classroom practices cannot be separated from the social context of learning, and from the communities in which students participate or wish to participate. Present, future and imagined communities might have

impacts on attitudes towards EMI. Dörnyei (2001: 188) remarks that an exhaustive investigation of motivation and its antecedents is impossible, which seems applicable to this study as well; it is therefore necessary to select specific variables that might influence attitudes to EMI. In the present study, five variables related to language learning are investigated: intended learning effort, language anxiety, self-efficacy beliefs, possible self, and imagined communities.

2.4 Variables under study: A summary

2.4.1 Attitudes: perceived legitimacy of EMI, chance of success in EMI, perception of English in academia, and willingness to participate in EMI

Attitude is the main dependent variable this study aims to investigate. Unlike opinions, attitudes may be unconscious and are therefore difficult to study. To resolve this issue, attitudes are considered as an aggregate of beliefs and opinions on different subjects. The perceived legitimacy component is the students' opinion on the institutional choice to implement EMI, but also the potential impact it might have on their national language and on the academic standards of their university. The chance of success in EMI represents the salience of the vision of a successful self in EMI and is expected to have a significant influence on students' motivation to enroll in EMI programmes, in the same way as the ideal L2 self influences L2 motivation. The state of the field reflects the perceived necessity of EMI, both in terms of the present and future communities in which students participate or wish to participate, and in terms of the added value of EMI as a way to acquire the necessary skills to participate in these communities. Finally, the willingness to participate in EMI is the degree to which students wish to enroll in EMI programmes, and the reasons they have to do so (enjoyment, prestige, ...).

2.4.2 Socioeconomic status

Socioeconomic status might influence both attitudes and socio-affective variables. This factor has been shown to impact on some socio-affective variables involved in language learning, such as language anxiety (cf. Dewaele 2002) and self-concept (cf. Kormos & Kiddle 2013). Even though Dewaele (2005) has found no correlation with language attitude, socio-economic

status might influence attitudes towards EMI, either directly or through its influence on socio-affective variables. In the present study, the knowledge of English is considered a potential profit of distinction, and English proficiency might play a role either as a controlling device filtering access to prestigious EMI programmes, or as a language of science, i.e. as a condition to succeed at university and to access knowledge (cf. Shohamy 2013, Wilkinson 2013, Ammon & McConnell 2002). It is therefore interesting to examine whether students are aware of this potential discrimination and how they react to it. Moreover, studying the socioeconomic profiles of students enrolled in EMI programmes compared to non-EMI students might help assess whether and to what extent EMI is a place of social reproduction.

2.4.3 Intended learning effort

Intended learning effort is one traditional component of motivation, also called motivational intensity in the AMTB (Gardner 1985a). It can be defined as the effort the learner is ready to expend in language learning. I selected motivation to improve and master the English language as an independent variable, as motivation is an influential factor in the development of foreign language proficiency. EMI courses are not designed as foreign language courses even though students might still need to develop their EAP skills. Therefore, intended learning effort might be a crucial factor for students to be able to cope with their linguistic deficiencies.

2.4.4 Language anxiety

Language anxiety is a feeling of apprehension linked to the use of a foreign language (Horwitz et al. 1986), as opposed to language self-confidence. Horwitz et al. (1986: 127-8) distinguish three types of language anxiety: communication anxiety (i.e., anxiety arising in situations of communication in the foreign language), test anxiety (i.e., anxiety arising when being tested out of the desire to use the language perfectly) and fear of negative evaluation (i.e. fear that the language skills would be negatively evaluated even in everyday situations). The study mainly focuses on communication anxiety and fear of negative evaluation, including some elements from language class anxiety, i.e. the specific type of anxiety provoked by the use of the target language in the classroom context (Horwitz et al. 1986), adapted to EMI settings. Feelings of comfort using English might impact on students' participation in the classroom and on their feeling of legitimacy as members of the group and of academia, which might be associated with different types of attitudes toward EMI.

Language anxiety, as shown by Chun et al. (2017), is an important factor in EMI course avoidance, but also an issue as regards the well-being of students who follow classes in EMI, but are not comfortable with their L2 communicative skills.

2.4.5 Possible self

Ushioda & Dörnyei (2009: 3) claim the ideal self is the most influential factor in motivation. It is important to note that possible selves are grounded in reality and are not fantasized versions of the self: they are also based on what the individual considers as possible and are related to the effort they put in learning “to narrow the gap between one’s present self-perceived status and what one should ideally be” (Yashima 2009: 147). In the literature, possible selves are understood in two different ways. Dörnyei (2010) and Taguchi et al. (2009) conceptualize the ideal L2 self as the mental representation the individual has of himself in the future as a competent user of the language and as a projection of the self in a community in which the individual uses English, whereas Ryan (2009) only relates it to the latter. The sense given by Ryan (2009) will be kept as a socio-affective variable.

2.4.6 Self-efficacy beliefs

Self-efficacy beliefs have been highlighted as essential factors in self-regulation of the learning processes and cognitive development by Bandura (1993). They are defined as task-specific beliefs in one’s own abilities to succeed (Bandura et al. 1996: 1206). Self-efficacy beliefs have been shown to be good predictors of attitudes towards the task: believing in one’s ability to succeed in a task leads to more positive attitudes towards the task, even more so than actual ability (Bandura 1993: 119). They also lead to higher motivation, and greater commitment to the task (Bandura et al. 1996: 1206) and can therefore favour higher attainment. In the case of foreign language learning, Busse (2013) studies motivation to learn German in English-speaking contexts through a longitudinal study and highlights the role played by self-efficacy beliefs in terms of salience of the ideal L2 image. She remarks that “self-efficacy beliefs play a role in whether a possible self seems attainable and therefore triggers motivated behaviour” (Busse 2013: 392), thereby emphasizing their importance to avoid dropout. Self-efficacy beliefs might reflect the difficulties encountered by students in EMI and non-EMI students’ lack of confidence in their English skills. These elements might in turn impact on attitudes towards EMI and well-being in EMI programmes.

2.4.7 Imagined community

As imagined communities are difficult to assess through questionnaires, the present study focuses on the international posture that has been characterised as an international imagined community by Yashima & Zenuk-Nishide (2008). In their investigation of the impact of study-abroad on proficiency, willingness to communicate and international posture in Japan, Yashima & Zenuk-Nishide (2008) show that study-abroad students have a better proficiency level in English, which correlates with a more marked international posture and higher indices of willingness to communicate. In EMI, international posture might likewise correlate with more positive attitudes towards EMI and more investment in classroom practices. The use and measurement strategy of the variables presented above are the focus of section 5.1.1., which is concerned with the description of the instrument used in this study.

3 Investigated contexts: EMI in Belgium and Norway

Even though English is a foreign language in Belgium and in Norway, the degree to which debates about EMI have attracted attention is very different in the two countries. This chapter describes the difference in higher education policies and research about EMI in the two contexts under study.

3.1 The Belgian context

Belgium, with its 202 English-taught programmes, is not considered a leading country in terms of the number of proposed ETPs (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 35-37). Table 1 gives a general overview of the situation of English-taught programmes (ETPs, i.e. programmes entirely taught in English) in Belgium, which ranked 17th in Wächter & Maiworm's (2014: 47) ranking of European higher education institutions (HEIs) according to the number of proposed ETPs and the proportion of students enrolled in ETPs in 2013-2014.

Table 1. Situation of Belgian HEIs in Europe in 2013 – 2014 according to Wächter & Maiworm (2014: 47)

RANK ACCORDING TO ETP PROVISION	% OF HEIS PROPOSING ETPs	% OF ETPs IN STUDY PROGRAMMES	% OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN ETPs
17TH	29.2%	7.5%	1.1%

These figures, however, take into account situations in both Dutch- and French-speaking universities. Ammon & McConnell (2002: 42) distinguished between the two communities and found more programmes in Dutch-speaking universities (82 programmes) than in French-speaking universities (14 programmes). Most of these programmes are found at the postgraduate level. The authors further argue that the imbalance between the two linguistic communities might be due to the power imbalance between Dutch and French on the international level, as French is spoken by more people internationally and has a history as a lingua franca (Ammon & McConnell 2002: 42). There is a lack of literature about EMI in French-speaking Belgium, and the question does not seem to attract much attention from the public. This is surprising in comparison with the debates EMI has provoked in France, mentioned by Gentil & Séror (2014: 18) and emphasized in French newspapers, as can be seen from the AFP short news from 2013 available on the website of Libération, for example.

In Belgium, one article addressing the issue can be found, but the debate is only used to further introduce German-speaking programmes (Dive 2013). The question of domain loss seems less sensible in Belgium than in France, maybe because of the multilingual status of Belgium. In 2015, the Direction de la Langue française (2015) designated a work team to reflect on the political void around the use of English in higher education in French-speaking Belgium. This reflection led to the acknowledgment that attracting foreign students is a necessity and that biliteracy should be encouraged. The team notes that it is necessary for students to be able to use English, at least passively (and actively for researchers), but that they should also develop their ability to interact in French (Direction de la Langue française 2015: 27). They conclude by a call for more research in the field and emphasize the need for language policies in higher education in French-speaking Belgium (Direction de la Langue française 2015: 36-7). However, it would seem that studies answering this call have not been made available yet.

3.2 The Norwegian context

Norway, with its 187 ETPs, is not reported to be a leading country in terms of the number of ETPs proposed compared to the Netherlands (1,078 ETPs), Germany (1,030 ETPs), Sweden (882 ETPs), France (499 ETPs) and Denmark (494 ETPs) (Wächter & Maiworm 2014: 35-37), even though it is part of the Germanic Nordic countries that usually make a great use of English in higher education, as the places of Sweden and Denmark demonstrate. Table 2 provides the percentages of English-taught programmes (ETPs) in Norway, which ranked 9th among European HEIs in 2013-2014 according to Wächter & Maiworm's (2014: 47).

Table 2. Situation of Norwegian HEIs in Europe in 2013 – 2014 according to Wächter & Maiworm (2014: 47)

RANK ACCORDING TO ETP PROVISION	% OF HEIs PROPOSING ETPs	% OF ETPs IN STUDY PROGRAMMES	% OF STUDENTS ENROLLED IN ETPs
9TH	41.1%	8.1%	2.4%

Ammon & McConnell (2002) report that EMI programmes are almost exclusively available at Masters level and are usually designed for international students, even though they are open to local students. Proficiency in English is an entrance requirement for these programmes. The reasons for the implementation of EMI are mainly economic, but also related to academic prestige (Ammon & McConnell 2002: 101-4). According to Schwach (2009), 27% of master students participate in EMI programmes in Norway. Among those, 85% are Norwegian, while

only half of the international students are enrolled in EMI (results of Schwach 2009, reported in Airey et al. 2015: 565 and in Ljosland 2011: 992-3).

The issue of EMI in Nordic countries, as well as its situation in Norway more particularly, has been addressed by several researchers (e.g. Saarinen & Taalas 2017, Airey et al. 2015, Brock-Utne 2007, Hahl et al. 2016). Brock-Utne (2007), Ljosland (2011), and Saarinen & Taalas (2017) list key moments in the evolution of language policy in Norwegian higher education, reported in table 3.

Table 3. Key moments in the evolution of language policy in Norwegian higher education

YEAR	CHANGE IN NORWEGIAN LANGUAGE POLICY IN TERTIARY EDUCATION
1995	NORWEGIAN IS THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE OF HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN NORWAY.
2002	THE PARLIAMENT ABROGATES THE PARAGRAPH CONCERNED WITH THE STATUS OF NORWEGIAN AS THE NORMAL LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN THE UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES ACT.
2005	SPRÅKRÅDET (THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE COUNCIL) SUGGESTS A NEW LANGUAGE STRATEGY, WITH PROPOSALS SUCH AS PARALLEL LANGUAGE USE, WHICH LEADS TO A SIGNIFICANT PUBLIC DEBATE.
2009	HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS OFFICIALLY HAVE THE RESPONSIBILITY “TO MAINTAIN AND DEVELOP NORWEGIAN TERMINOLOGY” (SAARINEN & TAALAS 2017: 603).

Ljosland (2011) supplements her study on language policy in a Norwegian university by interviews with the university staff and some students. She reports their mixed reactions to Norwegian language policy in tertiary education and the progressive disappearance of Norwegian as language of instruction. Positive attitudes relate to the improvement of English proficiency, whereas negative attitudes are associated with the fear that EMI would have a negative impact on the quality of students’ works. Some students remain neutral, noting that courses in some areas such as sciences and engineering are already taught in English, so that the lack of protection of Norwegian as an academic language would have, ipso facto, no consequence. Ljosland further analyses the language practices of students, using Bourdieu’s theories to interpret her findings. She shows that students tend to use English in written and oral formal situations during their studies, explaining this phenomenon by the importance of using the legitimate linguistic code of the group they want to integrate in, as “[m]astering the language becomes part of enacting this social role” (Ljosland 2011: 1002). Norwegian is, however, used together with English in informal situations. This is confirmed by Söderlundh (2013) in the Swedish context, who shows that students do not speak English all the time and recognize the legitimacy of both Swedish and English in different contexts “so that it fits local expectations, traditions and ideologies” (Söderlundh 2013: 129). Brock-Utne (2007) is more critical toward EMI and highlights the risk of domain loss; a fear that is mentioned by other researchers as well (e.g. Airey et al. 2015). She warns against linguistic discriminations, (e.g.,

favouring English native speakers over non-native speakers as employees) on the basis of proficiency (Brock-Utne 2007: 373), but also against differences in rewards, i.e. the practice of rewarding Norwegian academics writing in English more greatly than those writing in Norwegian, and the negative impact this practice may have on the status of Norwegian as an academic language (Brock-Utne 2007: 384).

Norway and Belgium are similar in that English is a foreign language in both countries and is only used as the language of a minority of programmes. However, the two contexts are dissimilar in several regards. Firstly, as pointed out by Ammon & McConnell (2002: 42) in the case of Dutch, Norwegian has less weight than French on the international scene. This power imbalance might play a role in the extent to which the language is felt to be endangered, but also in the extent to which English is felt to be necessary in research or professional environments. Secondly, there have not been any debates about the legitimacy of EMI in the public opinion and among Belgian researchers, whilst Nordic researchers have already investigated different dimensions of the debate, namely regarding the history of this type of education, language policies, and attitudes toward the policies. This might reflect the fact that the situation is felt to be more urgent in Norway than it is in Belgium, arguably because of the power imbalances between Norwegian and English, and/or because academia is more homogenized as an English-speaking field in Norway than in Belgium. Finally, Belgium is characterized by its political void around EMI, whereas Norway has been debating about languages of instruction in tertiary education for several years. All these elements point to differences between the two countries in terms of how crucial the protection of the mother tongue is felt to be, but also probably in terms of how dominant English is in the academic field.

4 Research questions

The previous chapters have attempted to provide a global picture of previous research in the field of EMI and attitudes. Some gaps in the literature were highlighted, namely the lack of research on the Belgian context, the lack of research taking SLA concepts into account to investigate attitudes to EMI, the lack of research investigating the prestige associated to EMI compared to programmes taught in national languages, and the lack of research on the impact of the socioeconomic profiles of students. This study therefore aims at answering the four following questions.

RQ1. What are the attitudes of students toward EMI?

Following Bourdieu (1977: 24) on the chance of linguistic profit, attitudes are assessed in terms of the degree of legitimacy granted to English as a language of instruction, the self-perceived chance of success in EMI, and the perceived necessity of English. Next to the chance of linguistic profit, the evaluation of students' attitudes also includes their willingness to participate in EMI programmes and the prestige they associate these programmes with.

On the basis of the differences between Belgium and Norway in the quantity of research and in language policy in higher education, students from the two countries are expected to have diverging attitudes toward EMI. The amount of research in Norway might indicate that the field is much more dominated by English than in Belgium. Stemming from the idea that the habitus usually adapts to the field, we expect to find more positive attitudes toward EMI in Norway than in Belgium, despite the potential linguistic endangerment it represents for the Norwegian language.

RQ2. How do attitudes to EMI relate to socio-affective variables involved in language learning?

Attitudes will be addressed alongside selected affective variables that have been proven to play a role in second language acquisition, namely motivation (here, intended learning effort), language anxiety, imagined community (in terms of international posture), possible self, and self-efficacy beliefs. My hypothesis is that positive attitudes to EMI will correlate with low language anxiety, an imagined community and possible self related to international communities, and high scores for intended learning effort and self-efficacy beliefs. Negative

attitudes are expected to correlate with low scores on intended learning effort, and more local imagined community and possible self.

RQ3. Is participation in EMI related to higher socioeconomic status and does status impact the other variables under study?

This research question aims at investigating if participation in EMI programmes is related to economic capital. Moreover, class has been shown to play a role in language learning (Dewaele 2002, Kormos & Kiddle 2013). I hypothesize that, similarly to the results presented in Dewaele (2005), there will be no significant difference between the attitudes of students from different classes toward English, but there might be a difference as regards socio-affective variables, as shown by Dewaele (2002) and Kormos & Kiddle (2013). Students with a higher socio-economic status might have more opportunities to participate in international communities and might have been given more resources to learn English, which might consequently lead to higher confidence in their ability to study in EMI programmes. The socioeconomic profiles of EMI and non-EMI students might therefore differ.

5 Methods

Mixed methods will be used to assess students' attitudes towards English in higher education institutions. The study starts with a quantitative investigation through questionnaires, which constitutes the central part of this dissertation, followed by a qualitative study on the basis of semi-structured interviews, so as to help understand and interpret the results of the quantitative study by giving insights into students' situated experience with English-taught classes in higher education. The present chapter describes the two phases of this investigation.

5.1 Quantitative study

In the first phase of the study, online questionnaires were sent to students from French-speaking Belgium and from Norway to collect a convenience sample of students on a voluntary basis. The form is anonymous and accompanied by a consent form, previously approved by the NSD (Norsk senter for forskningsdata). The questionnaire has been designed according to the instructions given by Dörnyei (2001) and Dörnyei & Csizér (2012). It consists of adapted multi-item scales (mainly Likert scales) and questions about demographic information, based on previous studies in the field. The English version can be found in the appendices (see appendix 1). The questionnaire has been translated into French and into Norwegian. The translations have been checked for intelligibility with bilingual speakers of French and English, before piloting each translated version on groups of three persons. Based on the collected data, I describe students' attitudes towards EMI. I then run correlation and association tests to highlight the ties between attitudes to English-medium instruction, socio-affective variables involved in language learning, and socioeconomic status.

5.1.1 Description of the instrument

The first section of the questionnaire is concerned with attitudes and consists of four sets of questions. The second part is concerned with socio-affective variables related to language learning and is made up of five subsections. The third section is addressed to EMI students only and focuses on their experience in EMI courses. Finally, the fourth section consists of questions on students' backgrounds. The questionnaire is presented by section in the appendices, but the multi-item scales were mixed in the on-line version of the questionnaire.

Within the attitudinal section (see part A in appendix 1), the first subset of questions is comprised of ten items that aim at assessing the degree of legitimacy that students attribute to the use of English as a language of instruction at university. Four items have been adapted from Doiz et al.'s (2013) questionnaire, in particular from the part used to assess attitudes toward English as a lingua franca in Basque universities. Six items are taken from Jensen & Thøgersen's (2011) questionnaire, which aimed at assessing the attitudes of Danish lecturers toward EMI on four themes (its detrimental effect on knowledge dissemination, Danish as an academic language, but also its effectiveness for students and its effect on academic standards and competitiveness). These themes are not distinguished in the present study because all are related to the legitimacy of English in academia. Via these items, it will be possible to highlight whether students feel higher education institutions are right in choosing to implement EMI.

The second subsection is concerned with the perceived chance of success for the individual in EMI. Six items have been adapted from studies concerned with the ideal L2 self (e.g. Taguchi et al. 2009), combined with typical university tasks in order to assess how salient the image of the ideal L2 self is for typical EMI activities. Two items from Doiz et al. (2013) generalize the question to all students rather than addressing individual perceived chance of success only.

The third subsection includes nine items assessing students' perception of the necessity of English for their present and their future, as the field in which they are or project themselves might differ individually. As a form of habitus, attitudes are arguably oriented by the perceived state of the field to which students belong. Some of the items have been designed especially for the purpose of this questionnaire, and others have been inspired by questionnaires concerned with the instrumental orientation (Busse 2013, Taguchi et al. 2009, Ryan 2009) and with students' satisfaction with EMI courses (Tatzl 2011). These questions are expected to shed light on the degree to which students believe that EMI might be beneficial.

The last subsection, comprising seven items, is no doubt the most representative of what researchers have usually considered to be attitudes, as it is concerned with students' willingness to follow EMI classes. Three items are concerned with interest and enjoyment; two items are concerned with expected difficulty; and, finally, two items are concerned with the worth and prestige attributed to EMI.

Cronbach's alpha will be calculated for the entire section, determining whether the subsets represent a coherent construct as a whole. On that basis, I expect to describe students' attitudes towards EMI settings.

Within the second section (see part B in appendix 1), each subsection aims at exploring one specific socio-affective variable. The first variable is intended learning effort. The six items used in this study are inspired by the section devoted to motivational intensity in the AMTB (Gardner 1985a) and by the intended learning effort section from Ryan's (2009) study. One item (*My level of English is so good that I do not feel I have to work to improve it*) has been added to account for the fact that most students might consider they are not learners but users of English. The second investigated variable is language anxiety. Five items have been taken from Taguchi et al. (2009) to assess language anxiety. The variable 'imagined community' is adapted from the theoretical notion introduced by Norton (2000). The method presents some limitations in that regard, as imagined communities should rather be studied through interviews or open questions. Therefore, the questionnaire focuses on students' international posture as a form of imagined community. Five items were adapted from Yashima's (2009) questions on intergroup approach-avoidance tendency and Ryan's (2009) exploration of international posture in the Japanese context to make them relate more closely to academic discourse communities and university students' lives. Next, the variable 'possible self' is assessed through four items taken from the section on interest in international vocation in Yashima's (2009) questionnaire and one item taken from the questions assessing the ideal L2 self by Ryan (2009). Self-efficacy beliefs are assessed following Busse (2013). The questions from Busse (2013) were adapted to focus on typical academic activities in EMI to assess how confident students are in their ability to carry out academic tasks in English. Finally, EMI class anxiety (see section CA of part C in appendix 1) is assessed through six questions taken from Chun et al. (2017). Cronbach's alpha will be calculated to assess the consistency of the scale for each section.

The last section of the questionnaire (see section DEM of parts C and D in appendix 1), which only includes closed questions, aims at collecting metadata on the participants (age, gender, academic institution, etc.) and their English language history (age of first English language course, study-abroad, English language proficiency, etc.), but also their socio-economic status. Two items ([DDEM9] and [DDEM10]) give an indication of socio-economic status. These questions are related to the higher diploma of both parents, as recommended in

previous studies (Preston 1989). The first questions of the section are specifically dedicated to EMI students and visible only to them, as they address practical aspects of EMI organization and students' satisfaction with EMI.

5.2 Qualitative study

Even though the questionnaire study constitutes the main part of this research work, it includes only closed questions (multiple choices and Likert scales). It does not provide any information on the underlying reasons for people's answers, nor information on their situated experience, despite the fact that the questionnaire was made to be as concrete as possible. The quantitative side of this study shares the characteristics and aims of most motivational studies, viz. highlighting individual differences quantitatively based on large data sets. With regard to quantitative studies on individual differences, Ortega formulates this general warning: "[t]he prevailing power of correlational survey methods and the emphasis on group tendencies can sometimes make research on individual differences dangerously faceless" (Ortega 2009:146). This perspective is even more dangerous in the case of attitudes due to their socially constructed nature, as highlighted in the literature review.

For all these reasons, case studies through interviews were a method of choice to complement the quantitative study. The interviews followed the guidelines offered by Friedman (2012), and the questions were designed on the basis of the examples from the literature. Interviews have the advantage of giving access to interviewees' perceptions of a situation, their interpretation of situated experiences, and the way in which they make sense of it. Following Briggs (1986), the analysis of the interview data went from the broadest to the most specific, starting with a focus on the structure of the interview (e.g., topics triggered by the interviewer's questions vs. topics spontaneously addressed by the interviewee) before analysing the meaning of specific utterances, taking their situation in the structure of the interview into account. In applied linguistics, researchers have warned against the use of interviews as being decontextualized and as being raw reports of the 'truth' interviewees wished to express, regretting a lack of theorisation in the area (see all the articles published in Hyland & Zuengler 2011, specifically Talmy & Richards 2011). To prevent this study from falling into the pitfalls of the interview, the interviews are reported in a transparent way in order to account for the context of the interview and its interactional aspect, following Mann (2011). To do so, interviewees' answers are presented within the context of the question

which they followed, and the analysis is mainly based on topics that were spontaneously raised by the interviewees. I attempted to report on both the discourse analytic axis and the thematic axis, but the discourse analytic axis did not prove relevant. The thematic axis, on the other hand, fits the purpose of the qualitative part of this study: complementing the results from the quantitative study by giving voice to students about their experience.

The interview guide, which can be found in the appendices (see appendix 2), was designed to be as broad as possible while nonetheless including specific questions to trigger the report of anecdotes and the expression of beliefs as regards language use at university. Interviews are organised as one-to-one conversations between the researcher and the participants (Burgess 1982), loosely oriented by the interview guide. Participants in the questionnaire study were invited to indicate whether they would agree to be contacted for a follow-up interview on the same subject, which would be conducted in English for ease of comparability. The choice of English as the language of the interview aimed at keeping the interview situations in the two countries as similar as possible, being conducted in a foreign language for all students, as I do not speak Norwegian and would have been unable to conduct interviews in the Norwegian students' first language. This decision also made it possible to avoid the translation of the interviews, which would have required an interpretation of interviewees' words. However, the main drawback of this procedure is that the participants have different levels of proficiency in English and are not equally equipped for the interview: the language of the interview might limit some informants' ability to express themselves clearly. Among the students who voluntarily included their email address on the form, four per country were selected for 30-minute interviews. The selection of the participants was based on their score on the attitudinal scale in an attempt to include participants from all quartiles of scores so as to represent all types of attitudes. Appropriate measures were taken to ensure the protection of participants' identities and personal data. All audio-recordings and transcripts are, therefore, anonymous, and the method has been approved by the NSD. Audio-recordings will be deleted after the end of the project. The interview guide revolves around three major themes, namely participants' imagined community, their situated experiences (in terms of community of practice, assessment and study strategies), and their opinion on English-medium instruction. The interviews were transcribed using transcription conventions inspired by the conventions in Prior (2011) (see appendix 3). The analysis of the interview data is, however, not at the centre of this thesis and is mainly a way to illustrate the findings of the quantitative data through concrete examples, shifting the focus from the constructs back to the students.

6 Participants

The samples collected for this study are convenience samples. Therefore, the results should be taken with caution, as it has not been possible to control for their representativeness.

The Belgian data was collected in Spring 2018 and is made up of the answers of 107 students (mean age = 21.44, standard deviation = 3.64) with 61 students who were, at the time, enrolled in English-taught classes, and 46 students who were exclusively attending classes taught in French. Among the participants, 87 are female students, 19 male students and a non-binary student, and, in April 2018, a majority of them (n=66) were studying at the Université Libre de Bruxelles (ULB), a French-speaking university situated in Brussels. In total, 88 students were enrolled in institutions in the capital city and 19 study in Walloon institutions. The participants studied in a range of different fields, as shown in figure 1, with Human Sciences being dominant (n=35). Most EMI students were enrolled in this field or in modern languages or law, probably due to the existence of a bilingual programme in law at the Université Saint-Louis (USL) in Brussels. This might, however, sound surprising as Ammon & McConnell (2002: 17-18) show that, as regards academic publications, English is more dominant in the natural sciences than in the social and human sciences. Some participants were enrolled in modern language programmes (n=15), which might include English as a target language and could therefore be more readily described as being enrolled in CLIL programmes. These students have been indicated as studying English in figure 1. However, as noted in the introduction, the term EMI is here used as an umbrella term covering all types of English-taught classes that are not language classes independently from a potential complementary focus on language in those classes. Most students were in their first year of their bachelor's degrees in April 2018 (n=43), but only a minority of the BA1 students followed EMI classes, while all other years displayed a majority of students following classes in English.

Despite a similar number of participants (n=107, mean age = 24.85, standard deviation = 4.25), the Norwegian sample is slightly less balanced, with 76 students who were enrolled in EMI classes and only 31 students who were not at the time of the data collection, in winter 2018-2019. The difficulty of finding participants from the latter group might be indicative of EMI popularity and of the wide range of available EMI classes in Norway. Among the participants, 77 are female students, 29 male students and a non-binary student. The majority

was studying at the University of Oslo ($n = 70$). The main contrast between the Belgian and Norwegian samples is situated in the participants' distribution among the different fields of study, with a majority of participants enrolled in sciences in Norway ($n = 37$), human sciences and other humanities coming second and third ($n = 26$ and $n = 23$, respectively), as shown in figure 1. EMI students are dominant in all fields of study but medical sciences and pedagogy and teacher education. The prevalence of EMI students might be linked to another difference between the samples. Belgian participants included a majority of first-year students, whilst the Norwegian sample is more balanced as regards participants' year of study, with first-year student being the minority ($n = 12$), following PhD students ($n = 1$). Students in BA3 are the dominant group with 27 participants. As in the Belgian sample, EMI students are dominant in all years but BA1, with this tendency becoming more marked from BA3.

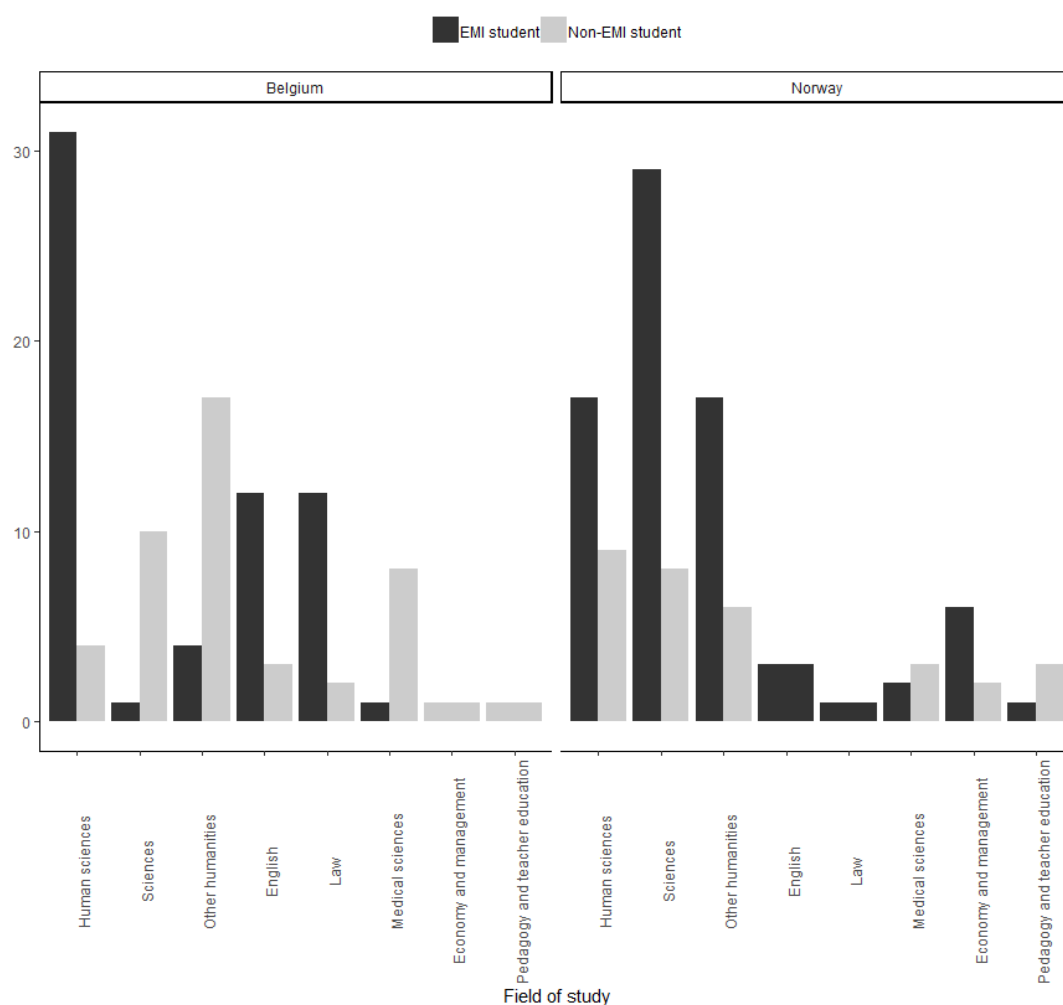


Figure 1. Participants' fields of study.

Regarding the socio-economic status of the participants based on their parents' level of education, a wide range of statuses is found, but the data show that the majority of students

have parents who went to university themselves in both the Norwegian and the Belgian samples. This indicates that higher education is probably a place of social reproduction, which is in line with research and information circulating about this topic (e.g., Mathy 2018). A socioeconomic index (henceforth referred to as SES index) was computed by attributing a score to each education level, ranging from 1 (no education) to 7 (doctoral degree), for each parent's educational achievement. This led to scores ranging from 2 to 14 for each student in both countries. The results are not normally distributed (Shapiro-Wilkinson test with $p < .05$) and are characterised by some outliers at the lower end of the scale in both samples, as shown on figure 2. The median SES score is 10 for the Belgian sample, with an interquartile range of 3 and a median absolute deviation of 2.97. This suggests that, on average, both parents tend to have reached the bachelor's degree level, with most of them achieving higher levels such as a master's degree. As regards the Norwegian sample, the median SES score is also 10, with an interquartile range of 3 and a median absolute deviation of 1.48. Results in Norway and Belgium are thus similar, even though Belgian students tend to have slightly less diverse and higher scores. This variable and its correlation with participation in EMI, attitudes to EMI and socio-affective variables are further discussed in section 7.2.7.

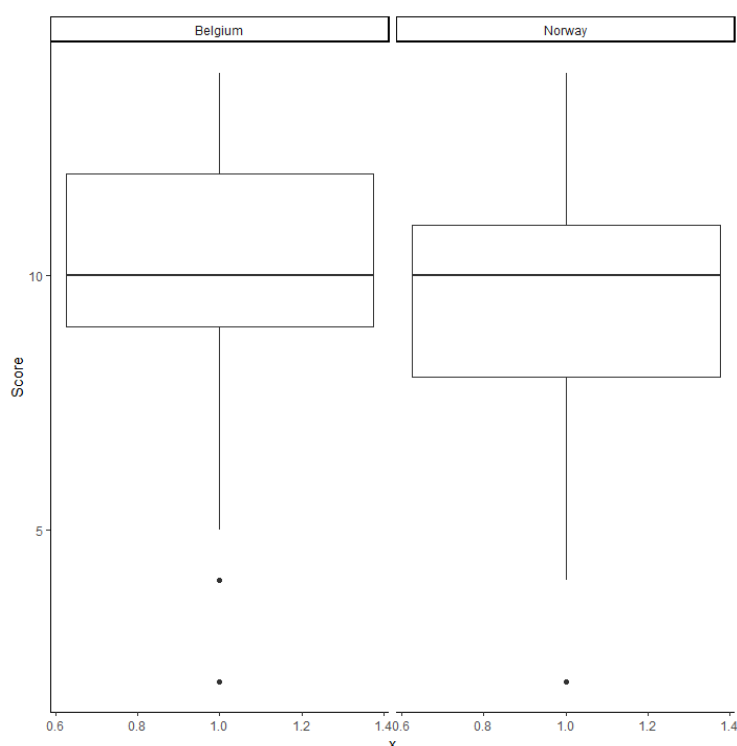


Figure 2. Participants' SES per country.

Participants from both countries reported having intermediate to high levels of English proficiency, as shown in figure 3. Proficiency and participation in EMI seem to be associated

in the Belgian sample, as most EMI students reported having professional working proficiency or full professional proficiency, whereas non-EMI students were more evenly distributed over the different levels. On the whole, professional working proficiency (n=34) and full professional proficiency (n=36) remain the most frequently reported levels among Belgian students. No student reported having no proficiency at all in English in any of the samples. In the Norwegian sample, students report slightly lower levels of English with professional working proficiency being dominant (n = 36) and full professional proficiency being less frequent (n = 22), despite the larger proportion of EMI students. EMI participation does not show a clear association with the level of English proficiency. Figure 3 shows that answers from EMI and non-EMI students show the same tendency, except for elementary proficiency, which is more frequently found among non-EMI students.

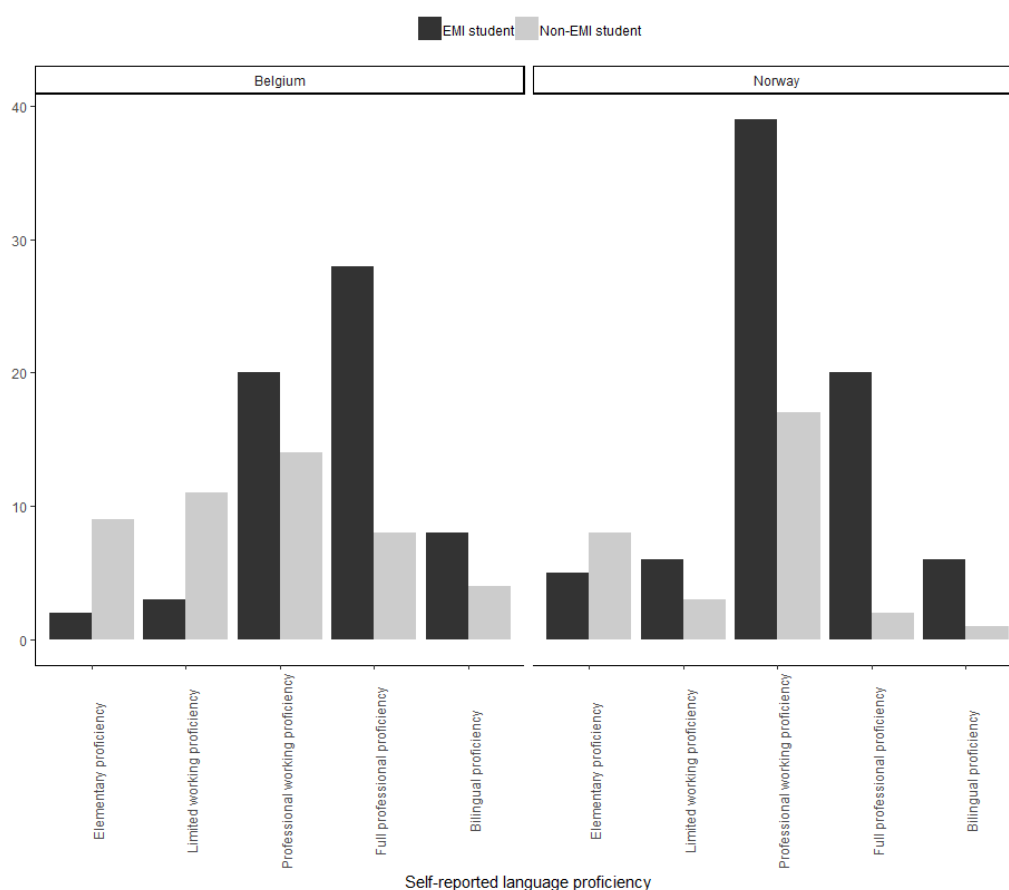


Figure 3. Participants' self-reported level of proficiency in English.

The age at which students started to learn English ranges from 2 to 19 years old in the Belgian sample, demonstrating large individual variations and a non-normal distribution (Shapiro-Wilkinson test with $p < .05$). The median age for the first English class is 13 (interquartile range = 4, median absolute deviation = 2.97), which roughly corresponds to the

age at which third language classes start at schools in Wallonia and in Brussels⁵. Answers are, however, rather dispersed, as proved by the interquartile range of 4, which might be an effect of some students having chosen English as second rather than third language and having started earlier. The large range of answers and outliers in the left part of the density plot may be indicative of a tendency for some families to provide their children with private language instruction before the start of language classes at school. The Norwegian sample differs from the Belgian sample as regards the age at which students started to learn English. Answers to this question range from 0 to 14 years old in the Norwegian sample, with smaller individual variations, but a non-normal distribution as well (Shapiro-Wilkinson test with $p < .05$). The median age for the first English class is 7 (interquartile range = 2, median absolute deviation = 1.48). In other words, Norwegian students start learning English 6 years younger than Belgian students on average. These results reflect the fact that English classes usually start in grade 1 in Norwegian primary schools. Both the minimum (0) and the maximum (14) are outliers; most answers are concentrated between 6 and 8 years old. Individual factors, such as private language classes, may not play a role in the Norwegian sample, as opposed to the Belgian sample.

Going on study-abroad trips does not seem to be the norm among Belgian students, nor among Norwegian students, but is nonetheless common, as 32% of Belgian students and 29% of Norwegian students report having done so ($n = 73$ for Belgian students who had not gone on study-abroad trips and $n = 76$ for Norwegian students; $n = 34$ for Belgian students who had and $n = 31$ for Norwegian students).

At the time of the questionnaire, the EMI students in both countries had been enrolled in English-taught classes for 1 to 12 semesters, showing a widespread distribution in the Belgian sample (median = 4, interquartile range = 6, median absolute deviation = 2.97) and a slightly less widespread distribution in the Norwegian sample (median = 4, interquartile range = 3, median absolute deviation = 1.48). The average number of credits taught in English per semester in the Belgian sample ranges from 2 to 45, with a median of 12, an interquartile range of 15 and a median absolute deviation of 10.38, indicating the data is very dispersed. In the Norwegian sample, answers range from 1 to 37, with a median of 15, an interquartile range of 20 and a median absolute deviation of 7.41, indicating similarly dispersed data. This

⁵ A recent education reform in French-speaking Belgium ('réforme du Pacte d'Excellence') announces that second language classes will start from the 3rd year of primary education (age 8-9) (Avis n°3 du Groupe Central 2017: 12). However, the second language might be either English or Dutch.

seems to show that the number of credits taught in English is far from being constant and might heavily depend on the field of study and on personal choices of students as regards their optional classes in both countries. However, this last hypothesis is challenged in the Belgian case by the fact more than half of the students report that all their EMI classes are mandatory (n=32 out of 60 EMI students). The proportion of classes taught in English seems thus to be more a question of programme design than actual pro-active selection of those classes over French-speaking counterparts from the part of the students in more than 50% of cases. On the other hand, most students in the Norwegian sample report that only some of their English-taught classes are mandatory (n = 28), closely following the number of students who have only English-taught classes (n = 20), compared to a smaller group of students who have only or mostly mandatory English-taught classes (n = 13 and n = 15 respectively). Individual preference for English-taught classes is thus more likely to be the result of a pro-active selection in Norway than in French-speaking Belgium. As regards potential English requirements to access EMI classes, answers from the Belgian students were evenly distributed between students who reported attending classes with an English language proficiency requirement and those who did not. Among the 29 students who reported the existence of such a requirement, the C1 level of the CEFR was reported to be the required level to access EMI in most cases (n = 14). When a C1 requirement was imposed, most students were required to provide exam test results. In total, this amounts to 13 students who had to prove their level with an official English test such as the IELTS (n = 5), a university examination (n = 4) or a certificate from a language school (n = 2) against 16 students who did not need to provide test results. The remaining two students indicated they did not know which test was necessary, probably because, as noted by one of them, the requirement was only necessary for students who did not graduate from the bachelor's degree corresponding to their master's degree. This might mean they did not have to prove their level personally even though their programme requires other students to do so. Similar conclusions can be drawn from the Norwegian sample. Only 8 students reported the existence of a requirement to access EMI classes (against 68 who did not), which was in most cases results above 4 or 5 in English at their high school examination (n = 6) or, in the case of foreign students or students who would not meet this requirement, results from an official language test, such as the TOEFL or the IELTS. One student reported that a B1 / B2 level in English was required to access classes, without mentioning the name of the test, and one student reported that IELTS (above 6.5), TOEFL (above 90) or PTE (62) results were necessary. Requiring test results is thus absolutely no norm in Belgium or in Norway.

The next chapter provides the reader with an analysis of the reliability of the construct of attitude used in this dissertation, followed by a detailed discussion of the results of the quantitative study.

7 Quantitative study

7.1 The reliability of the scales

Following Dörnyei (2003), I assessed the reliability of the different multi-item scales used in the survey. Validity and reliability are two key concepts in the assessment of questionnaires. Validity is related to the ability of the scales to measure the targeted element and psychological salience of this element for participants. Validity is, however, not considered an issue in this case, as the scales are theoretically grounded. Reliability is therefore the primary concern of this section. To assess the reliability of the scales, Dörnyei recommends measuring their internal consistency, i.e. their homogeneity (Dörnyei 2003: 111). Factor analysis was not used due to the small amount of collected data. Cronbach's alpha coefficients and correlation coefficients, on the other hand, are measures of choice for that purpose (Dörnyei 2003: 112). Scales are said to correlate when the correlation coefficient is above .30, and scales are said to be internally consistent when Cronbach's alpha is above .70 (Dörnyei 2003: 113). In this study, different procedures have been applied to the attitudinal scale and to the scales measuring socio-affective variables. As the latter scales were borrowed from existing studies that have already been validated on large samples, their composition can be considered as valid and reliable. The attitudinal scale, however, is an aggregate of scales used in different surveys to measure diverse dimensions. For that reason, the verification of the homogeneity of the scale called for an in-depth investigation of the scale composition, and the number of items in the scale had to be reduced in order to ensure the solidity and consistency of the construct. First of all, items with means above 4 and below 2 were deleted, as these items seemed to trigger unanimous answers, therefore not contributing to the informativeness of the scale. In fact, such items might be part of the construct of attitudes, but would not allow for distinctions between students, and lead to extreme scores on the attitudinal scale. The following items were affected by this procedure:

- Knowing English well enables students to make the most of their university studies;
- Students who will be employed in the Belgian / Norwegian labour market should be taught exclusively in French / Norwegian [reverse coded];
- Studying in English helps / would help improve my communication skills in English;

- Studying in English prepares / would prepare me for an international workplace;
- Studying in English familiarises / would familiarise me with English on a daily basis;
- Studying in English allows / would allow me to acquire technical terminology.

The presence of the last four items among those with very high means indicates that the practical advantages of EMI in terms of language learning seem obvious to most informants. EMI is considered an educational setting favouring language learning and preparing students for an active use of English language skills.

Then, correlations between each individual item and the total scale were explored by visual means, and items that were in a non-monotonic relation with the total scale were excluded, as this type of relation indicates an absence of correlation. The following step consisted in generating a correlation matrix to investigate inter-item correlations, using Kendall's tau, as the scores are non-normally distributed and, in most cases, in non-linear relations with the total score for the scale. Items that did not correlate with most other items were dropped and those with the highest mean correlation coefficients were kept. The standardised Cronbach's alpha for the scale, the corrected item-scale coefficients and the Cronbach's alphas if each item was dropped were then computed, leading to results proving the solidity of the construct, now reduced to 12 items, and its internal consistency, as can be seen in table 4.

Table 4. Reliability analysis for "Attitude". Item-total statistics

Item	Corrected item-total correlation	Cronbach Alpha if item deleted
1. I can imagine myself following all my current classes in English.	.81	.93
2. I can imagine myself taking all my exams in English.	.80	.93
3. I can imagine myself writing my thesis in English.	.81	.93
4. A high level of English is necessary for further studies or for my future job.	.78	.93
5. The things I want to do in the future require me to use English.	.68	.94
6. I have to master English because without a high proficiency I cannot be recognised as being good in my field.	.62	.94

7. Students should be required to take a certain number of modules taught in English.	.57	.94
8. Academic standards fall when the medium of instruction is English(*)	.63	.94
9. I enjoy or would enjoy classes taught in English.	.77	.93
10. I am interested in following classes taught in English.	.80	.93
11. I would prefer to follow classes in my mother tongue(*)	.75	.93
12. I think that having an English-speaking diploma is better for my future.	.67	.94
Cronbach Alpha for the 12 items	.94	

Items 1 to 3 address students' perception of their chance of success in an EMI setting by assessing their ability to picture themselves as active EMI students; items 4 to 6 are related to the perceived necessity of English as a language of instruction and show the importance of the necessity of English for students' future in the construct; items 7 and 8 reflect the perceived legitimacy of EMI; items 10 to 12 relate to the willingness to enrol on EMI programmes. It should be noted that more than half of the questions had to be excluded for the construct to be reliable. This may point to the fact that the questionnaire might benefit from modification and should be further worked on. The advantages and disadvantages of the construct are discussed in section 7.3.1. The perceived legitimacy of EMI, in particular, did not yield results that correlated strongly with the scale, except from items 7 and 8. The lack of consistency between items concerned with legitimacy and the total score on the scale highlights a contrast between researchers' and students' concerns. Whilst researchers warn against domain loss (Wilkinson 2013: 11-13; Phillipson 2007; Ammon & McConnell 2002), answers related to this issue did not correlate with the attitudinal scale and had to be excluded from the construct. This may be explained either by a lack of awareness of issues of domain loss on the part of students or by the fact that, albeit aware of these issues, students are more influenced by practical matters, such as the benefits of studying in EMI or the necessity of English. These interpretations will further be discussed in the qualitative analysis of students' interviews (see chapter 8).

With regard to the other scales, they were only tested for internal consistency. This led to the exclusion of the scale measuring motivation, whose standardised alpha was below .70 ($\alpha = .59$) and would not have been improved by removing items. The lack of internal consistency in the motivation scale can be explained by the differences between the settings in which the

scale proved to be valid and the present setting. Items were mainly inspired by the AMTB (Gardner 1985a) and by Ryan's (2009) study. Both studies were targeted at less proficient language learners. In contrast, participants in this study reported high levels of proficiency and, therefore, they probably consider themselves language users rather than language learners. Besides, most participants indicate that EMI does not impact negatively on their grades, which probably points out that students do not consider proficiency an issue in Belgium and in Norway, as opposed to findings in Tatzl (2011)'s and Hu & Lei (2014)'s studies, and the fears expressed in Ljosland (2011). For this reason, questions about dedicating time and energy to mastering the language may have seemed confusing to informants. The BIMC5 item (*International mobility is not important to me as part of my study plans*) had to be removed from the possible self scale, as it was impacting negatively on the consistency of the scale. Imagined community might thus be independent from plans of studying abroad: belonging to an international imagined community does not require students to plan study trips. This idea seems in line with Park & Abelmann's (2004) findings in the Korean context, and this shows that the cosmopolitan striving is distinct from the practical instrumental goal of moving abroad. Cronbach alpha's and descriptive statistics (minima, maxima, medians and median absolute deviations, i.e. MAD, as the scores are non-normally distributed) are provided for all scales in table 5.

Table 5. Cronbach Alpha and descriptive statistics for each scale

	Attitude	Language anxiety	Imagined community	Possible self	Self-efficacy beliefs	EMI class anxiety
Cronbach α	.94	.92	.78	.85	.93	.91
Median	3.58	2	4.25	3.6	4.14	2
MAD	.99	1.48	.74	.89	1.06	1.19
Minimum	1	1	1	1	1	1
Maximum	5	5	5	5	5	5

As regards the statistics, the ideal case scenario would have been to have enough data points to generate a regression model, which would allow for the calculation of the relative weights of each independent variable on students' attitudes, simultaneously controlling for the remaining variables. However, the small amount of data does not provide solid ground to generate such a model. The research questions have thus been isolated and each variable has

been tested separately. In spite of this limitation, the statistical tests provide a good basis for a preliminary discussion of the issues highlighted in the literature review. Associations between each variable, participants' countries, and EMI participation are commented upon as well. In the following sections, statistical results for each research question are presented and discussed scale by scale. In the discussion section, I then attempt to explain these results as a coherent whole by linking insights provided by individual scales together.

7.2 Results

7.2.1 Attitudes

The attitudes towards EMI instruction among the informants tend to be rather positive. Scores on the attitudinal scale are, however, non-normally distributed. The median score is 3.58 with a median absolute deviation of .99. Most outliers are situated at the lower end of the scale, i.e. informants with negative to very negative attitudes.

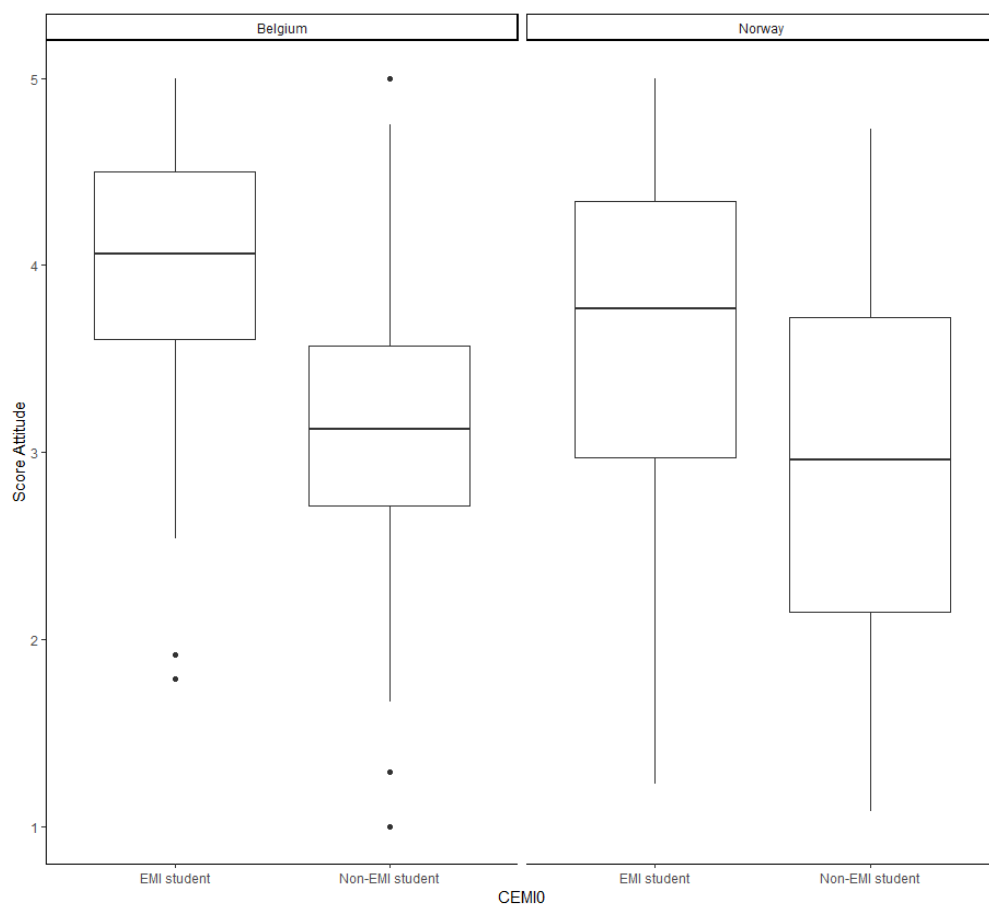


Figure 4. Description of the scores on the attitude scale.

As can be seen in figure 4, attitudes differ slightly across countries, as Belgian students (median score = 3.65; median absolute deviation = .87) are generally more positive about EMI than Norwegian students (median score = 3.56; median absolute deviation = 1.08), but the tendencies seem to be similar across groups. The scores for the Norwegian sample tend to be subject to more individual variability. The main difference in the samples, however, resides in the distinction between EMI and non-EMI students. In both countries, EMI students tend to have more positive attitudes towards EMI than non-EMI students. Among the excluded items, it is interesting to note that the item about the perceived chance of success in EMI that generalised the topic to other students than the informants (*The students at my university are linguistically prepared to be taught in English*) did not correlate with students' answers about their own perceived chance of success. Answers to this question tend to be neutral on average, while answers concerning the student's own chance of success tend to be more positive, albeit displaying equal or superior individual variability. This indicates that informants may not be willing to generalise their situation to other students.

Belgian students' slightly more positive attitudes are in contradiction to the hypothesis according to which Norwegian students would be more positive towards EMI due to the higher frequency of this phenomenon in the educational market in Norway than in Belgium. The larger percentage of mandatory EMI classes in Belgium (50% of EMI students indicated that all their EMI classes were mandatory, against 37% in Norway) does not appear to impact negatively on students' attitudes. These results might be due to variables that were not controlled for, such as the field of study, or to the fact that attending EMI classes in Norway is a more general phenomenon, which appears to be unavoidable, and triggers less enthusiasm on the part of students, while it might still seem exceptional, and therefore more prestigious in Belgium. To test this explanatory hypothesis, scores for the item addressing the prestige associated with EMI (*I think following classes taught in English is prestigious*) were compared for the two countries. A chi-squared test confirms the hypothesis ($\chi^2(3) = 59.89$, $p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .52$), as country of study and perception of prestige of EMI appear to correlate moderately with each other. Norwegian students tend to perceive EMI as less prestigious than Belgian students. Figure 5 illustrates this association by displaying the number of answers per score interval. The scores are divided into four bins: bin 1 corresponds to scores from 1 to 2, bin 2 to scores from 2 to 3, bin 3 from 3 to 4, and bin 4 from 4 to 5. The process of binning is similarly applied to all numerical variables in the bar charts. A similar association is found for item AWIL7 (*I think that having an English-speaking diploma is*

better for my future), which is part of the ‘attitude’ construct. These results bring a first answer to Ammon & McConnell’s (2002: 42-3) question related to the perceived prestige of EMI in Belgium: EMI is indeed perceived as more prestigious than French-taught classes, which might increase the chance of domain loss. The Norwegian situation is probably at a later stage in the process of anglicisation of higher education, and EMI has come to be perceived as the norm, therefore losing its association with prestige, which contradicts Ammon & McConnell’s (2002: 101-4) observation that EMI is related to academic prestige, but probably gaining value as a necessity, because EMI classes might be difficult to avoid. Students are nevertheless positive towards EMI, probably because they do not experience it as a constraint and keep an illusion of freedom of choice. These results may also stem from the fact that Norwegian institutions insist on delivering diplomas of equal prestige when English- and Norwegian-taught programmes co-exist (Ammon & McConnell 2002: 105).

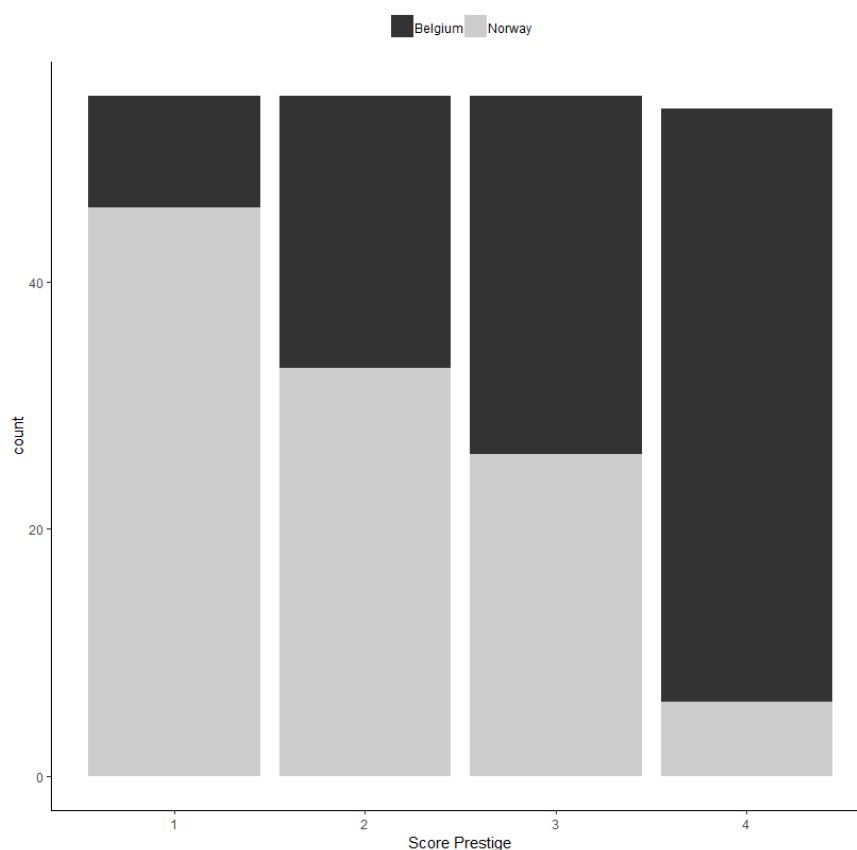


Figure 5. Distribution of answers per interval of scores for prestige.

However, chi-squared association tests reveal that the attitudes in the present samples are not significantly associated with participants’ country of study, but with their participation in EMI classes ($\chi^2(3) = 27.44$, $p < .001$). Figure 6 illustrates the association between EMI participation and attitudinal scores. EMI and non-EMI samples show reverse tendencies. The

colours used in the bar plot help distinguish between countries, but differences between the two countries are not systematic.

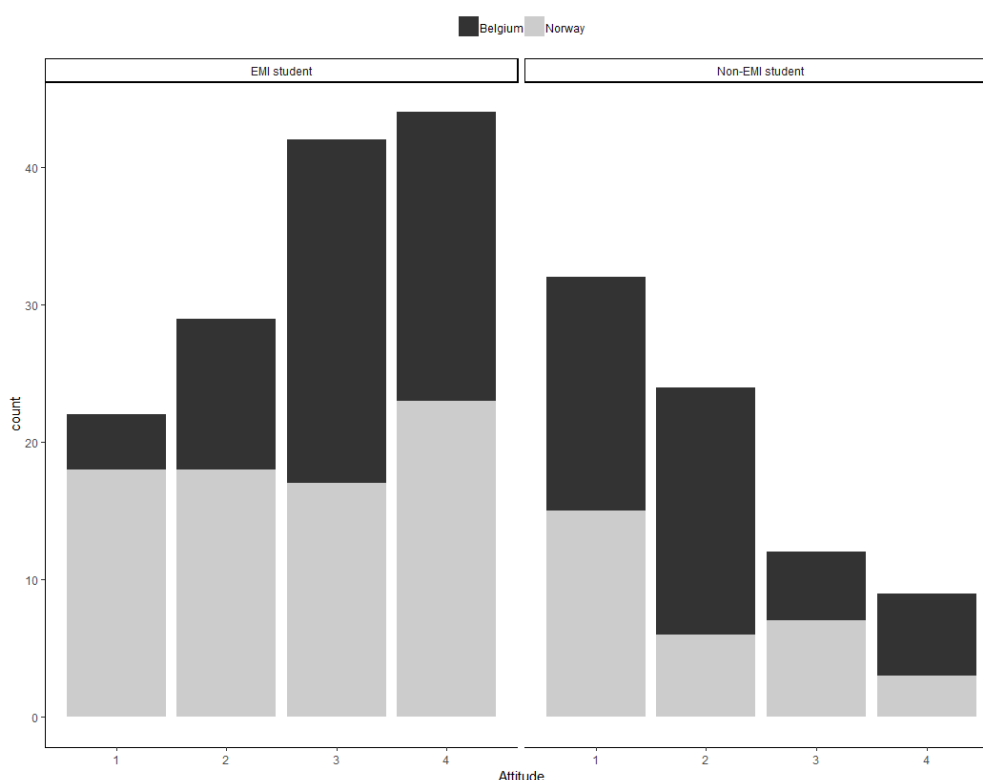


Figure 6. Distribution of answers per interval of scores for attitudes.

The association between EMI participation and attitudes is moderate (Cramer's $V = .36$). EMI participation is associated with more positive attitudes, whilst non-EMI participants have more negative attitudes. These results seem coherent and might be used to argue that most non-EMI students might not be willing to participate in EMI classes, as a majority of them scored between 1 and 3. Association tests, however, do not provide any ground to describe cause-effect relations, and more positive attitudes might, as a matter of fact, be caused by positive experiences in EMI programmes, while more negative attitudes might be linked to anxiety due to the lack of experience in EMI classes. Even though these results have to be treated with caution, it is possible to argue that participation in EMI is not experienced as something they are forced to do by students. In the Belgian sample, the obligatoriness of most EMI classes does not seem to be experienced negatively. It is less surprising as regards the Norwegian sample as only a minority of EMI classes are mandatory. If EMI had been considered an obligation, students' attitudes would probably have been more negative and participation in EMI would not have been associated with more positive attitudes.

7.2.2 Possible self

Students' possible self scores range between 1 and 5, with one corresponding to more local projection of the self in the future and 5 corresponding to more international intended futures. Students' possible selves are on average slightly more international than local, with 3.6 as a median (median absolute deviation = .89). Outliers are situated at the lower end of the scale, most scores being situated between 3 and 4.2. Figure 7 illustrates the tendencies per sample.

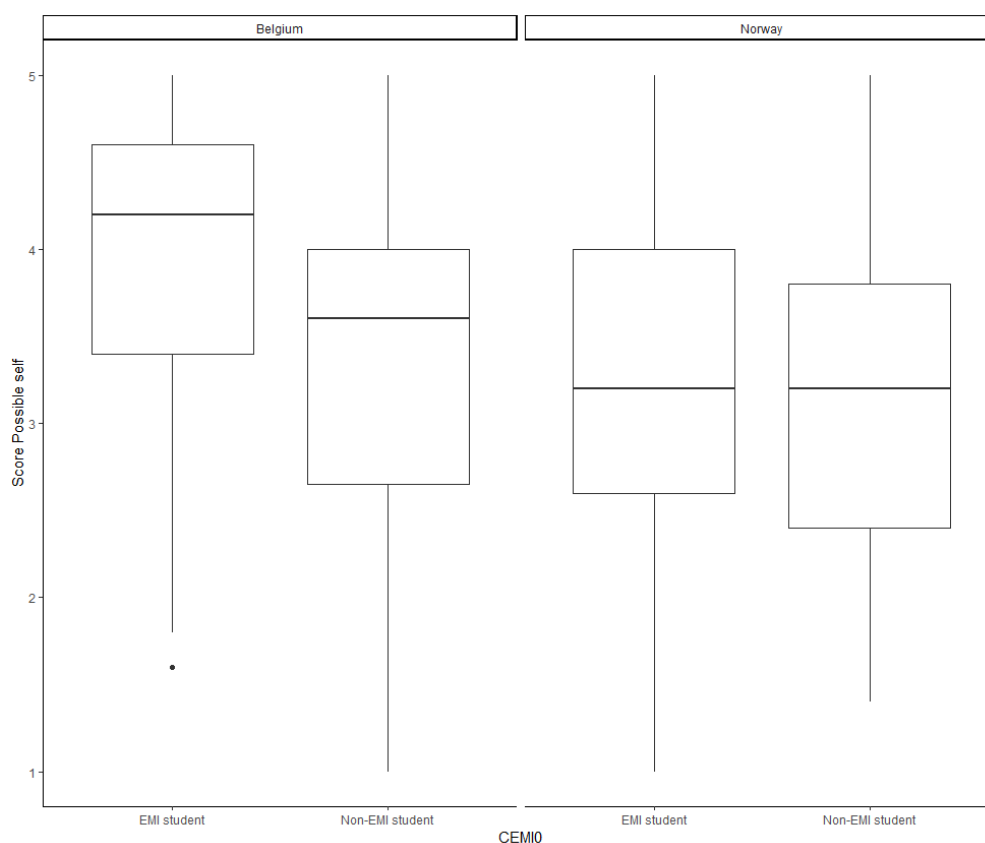


Figure 7. Description of the scores on the possible self scale.

Scores for the possible self scale tend to vary a lot, especially in Belgium. On the whole, Belgian students are more oriented towards international job markets, while Norwegian students tend to be neutral on the question. There is a weak but significant association between scores on the possible self scale and country of study ($\chi^2(3) = 18.18$, $p < .001$, Cramer's $V = .29$). This might be due to differences in the fields of study of the participants, but also to the presence of international institutions in Belgium, which might make the possibility of being employed in international workplaces more salient to Belgian students. This tendency is arguably in line with the normalization of EMI classes in Norwegian universities: students seem to be enrolled in EMI classes independently from the job markets

they aim at. EMI and non-EMI students do not differ greatly in the Norwegian sample, but differences tend to be more marked in the Belgian sample.

Scores on the possible self scale and scores on the attitudinal scale correlate at a .001 level of significance ($Z = 9.89$, one-tailed Kendall's tau = .47). The correlation is moderate and positive: more international possible selves correlate with higher score on the attitudinal scale. This confirms the hypothesis according to which the possible self, as a concept involved in language learning, also plays a role in attitudes towards EMI.

7.2.3 Imagined community

The imagined community scale has scores ranging from 1 to 5. A score closer to the lower end of the scale points to a less international imagined community, while a score closer to 5 indicates a strong international posture. Participants displayed strongly international postures as shown by the 4.25 median score (median absolute deviation = .74). Figure 8 is a visual summary of the scores per sample.

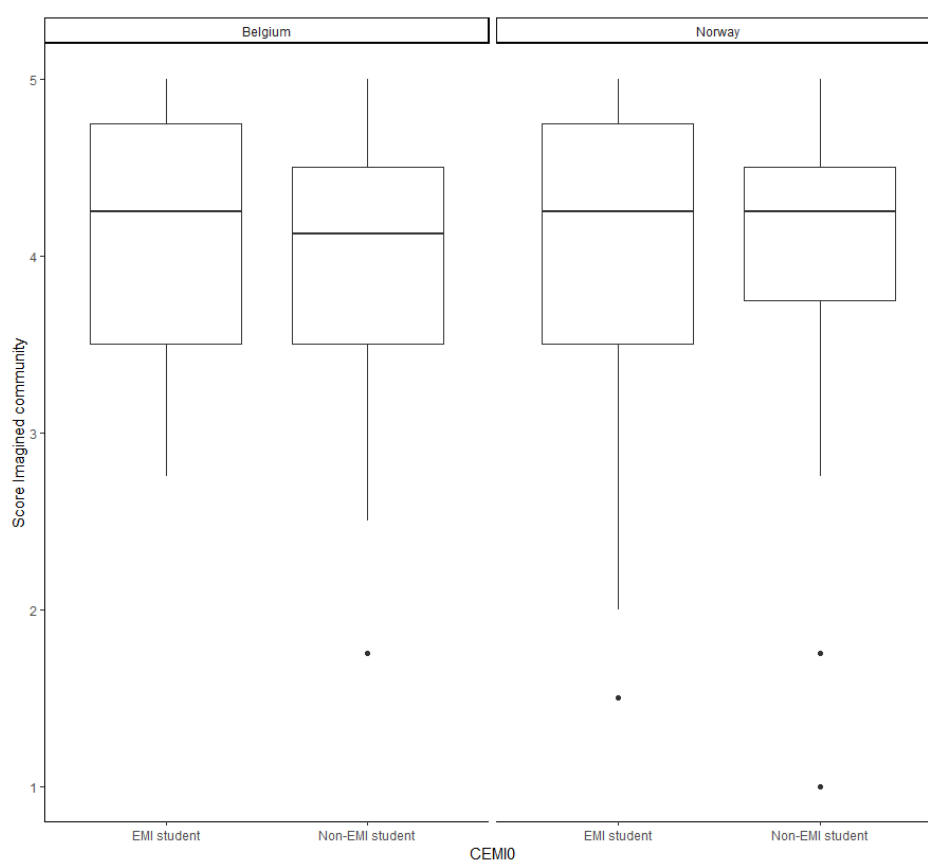


Figure 8. Description of the scores on the imagined community scale.

Surprisingly, the EMI samples yielded slightly more variable scores. Scores on the imagined community scale are very similar across samples and are not significantly associated with EMI participation or country of study. Across groups, students identify themselves with very international communities. Such results may be indicative of the success of the globalisation of higher education and of the student mobility promoted in Europe through the Erasmus programmes, among others. The absence of association with participation in EMI shows that international imagined communities develop independently from the language of teaching. Several factors might explain this. Firstly, the use of digital communication makes international communities more salient and may serve as a way to connect with fellow students all over the world. Secondly, students who are not enrolled in EMI have as much chance of going on study-abroad exchanges as EMI students. EMI and non-EMI students are also as likely to meet exchange and international students on campus. Finally, the number of resources available in English in most fields of study may reinforce the sense of being interconnected with other students reading on the same topic abroad.

As was hypothesised, scores on the imagined community scale significantly correlate with the scores obtained on the attitudinal scale (Kendall's tau = .42, $Z = 8.65$, $p < .001$). This correlation is positive and of moderate strength, i.e. when scores on one scale increase, scores on the other follow the same tendency.

7.2.4 Language anxiety

Scores on the language anxiety scale range from 1 to 5 with 1 corresponding to a low anxiety level, and 5 to a high anxiety level. Scores are low on average with a median score of 2, but display a large individual variability (median absolute deviation = 1.19). Figure 9 summarizes the scores per sample. The large individual variability shows that not all students feel equally equipped to interact in English. It might be interesting for institutions to provide linguistic support to try to level up these individual differences.

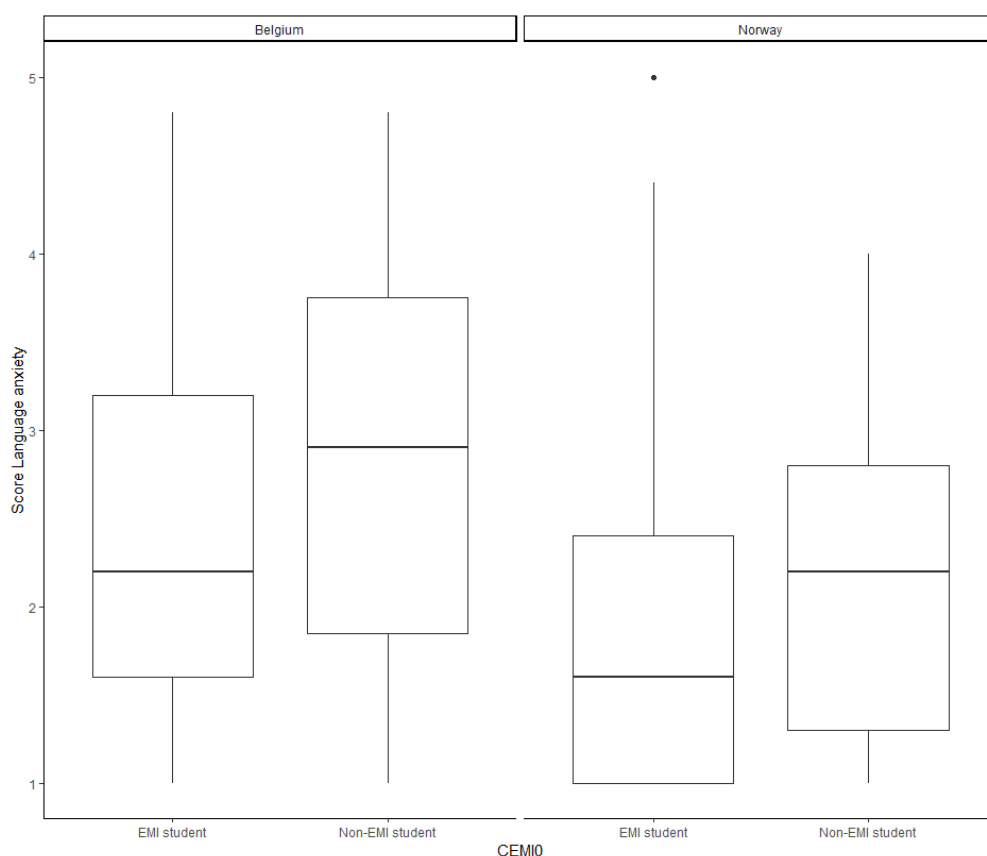


Figure 9. Description of the scores on the language anxiety scale.

Even though tendencies seem to be similar across countries as regards the differences between EMI and non-EMI participants, both country of study and EMI participation are associated with language anxiety scores. Despite being significant, these associations are weak. Participation in EMI is associated with lower language anxiety scores ($\chi^2(3) = 8.23$, $p < .05$, Cramer's $V = .20$). This arguably stems from the fact that EMI students make a more frequent use of English on an everyday basis, leading them to feel more confident about their abilities in situations where they have to use this language actively. However, the cause-effect relation might work in the reverse way, and students with higher language anxiety scores might simply decide to avoid EMI classes. In any case, the association between EMI participation and lower anxiety levels is positive, as students who have to use English in their course programme are less anxious.

Moreover, Belgian students display higher language anxiety scores than Norwegian students ($\chi^2(3) = 17.93$, $p < .001$, Cramer's $V = 0.29$). This is surprising, as Belgian students reported higher levels of proficiency. A hypothetical reason for this result might be that, despite having higher proficiency levels, Belgian students are less likely to use English on a daily basis and might, therefore, feel less confident about the active use of English. It is also possible that

Belgian students are more oriented towards accuracy, and might therefore be less confident in their communicative skills due to the importance attached to speaking correctly.

Scores on the language anxiety scale significantly correlate with scores on the attitudinal scale (Kendall's tau = $-.32$, $Z = -6.77$, $p < .001$). The correlation is negative and moderate. In other words, lower attitudinal scores correlate with higher scores on the language anxiety scale. This confirms the hypothesis according to which language anxiety negatively influences students' attitudes towards EMI.

7.2.5 EMI class anxiety

Scores on the class anxiety scale work similarly to scores on the language anxiety scale. The median score is 2 with 1.19 median absolute deviation. These results are very similar to those found on the language anxiety scale, despite being applicable for EMI students only. The high median absolute deviation shows that EMI students could indeed benefit from language support to level up the large individual variability. Tendencies for each country are illustrated in figure 10.

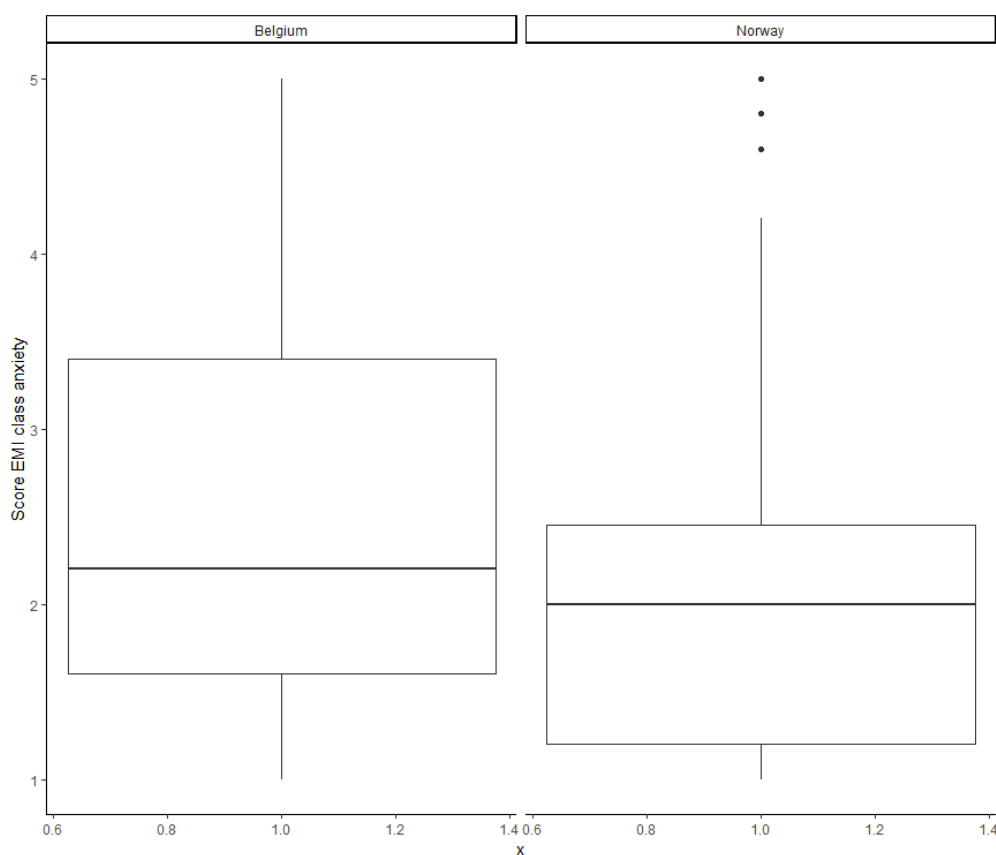


Figure 10. Description of the scores on the EMI class anxiety scale.

Belgian students tend to have higher levels of EMI class anxiety than Norwegian students. The country of study is significantly associated with class anxiety scores, but the association is weak ($\chi^2(3) = 9.67$, $p < .05$, Cramer's $V = .27$). As students' country of study is also correlated to language anxiety, Belgian students' higher level of EMI class anxiety might stem from their overall language anxiety. The qualitative analysis based on students' interviews provide some insights into possible differences between Belgian and Norwegian students in terms of frequency of use of the target language and of class interaction perception (see chapter 8).

Scores on the class anxiety scale significantly correlate with attitudes (Kendall's tau = $-.31$, $Z = -5.13$, $p < .001$). The correlation is moderate and negative, as was the case for the correlation between language anxiety and attitudes. The association and its direction correspond to the hypothesis.

7.2.6 Self-efficacy beliefs

Scores on the self-efficacy scale range from 1 to 5, corresponding to low self-efficacy beliefs on the lower end of the scale and high self-efficacy beliefs on the higher end of the scale. The median score for self-efficacy is 4.14, with a median absolute deviation of 1.06. The scores are thus subject to high individual variability, but can be described as being high overall. As was the case for language anxiety and EMI class anxiety, this finding supports the idea that students might benefit from being given the opportunity to receive linguistic support. Figure 11 is a representation of the descriptive statistics for the scale per sample.

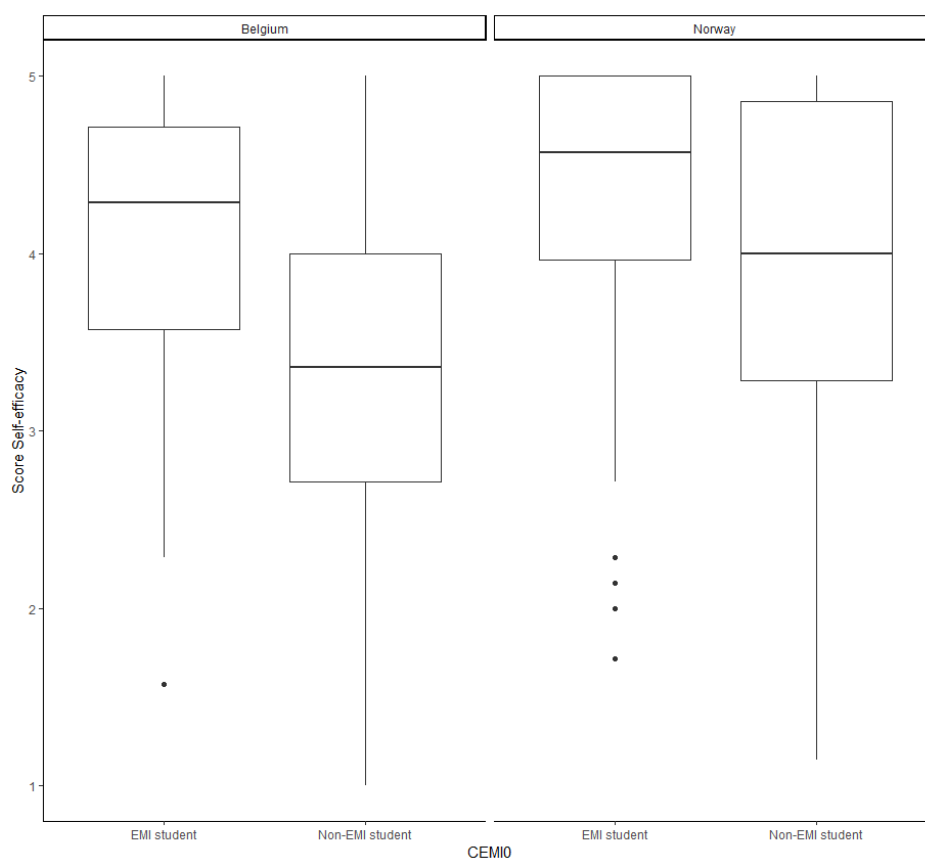


Figure 11. Description of the scores on the self-efficacy scale.

Scores primarily differ in terms of EMI participation, even though Norwegian students tend to have slightly higher scores than Belgian students. Self-efficacy scores are in fact significantly associated with both country of study ($\chi^2(3) = 15.54$, $p < .01$) and EMI participation ($\chi^2(3) = 22.89$, $p < .001$). The association is weak in the case of the former (Cramer's $V = .27$) and moderate as regards the latter (Cramer's $V = .33$). The distinction in terms of country is particularly counterintuitive, as Norwegian students generally report lower levels of proficiency than Belgian students. The results are, however, in line with those previously described for language anxiety, arguably stemming from the fact that students who are less confident in their abilities might also be more anxious.

As was hypothesised, scores on the self-efficacy scale significantly correlate with attitudinal scores (Kendall's $\tau = .51$, $Z = 10.68$, $p < .001$). The correlation is positive and moderate. That is, the higher the scores on the self-efficacy scale are, the more positive the attitudes are.

7.2.7 Socioeconomic status (SES)

The SESs are described in the participants' description. Figure 12 gives an overview of SES statistics for each sample.

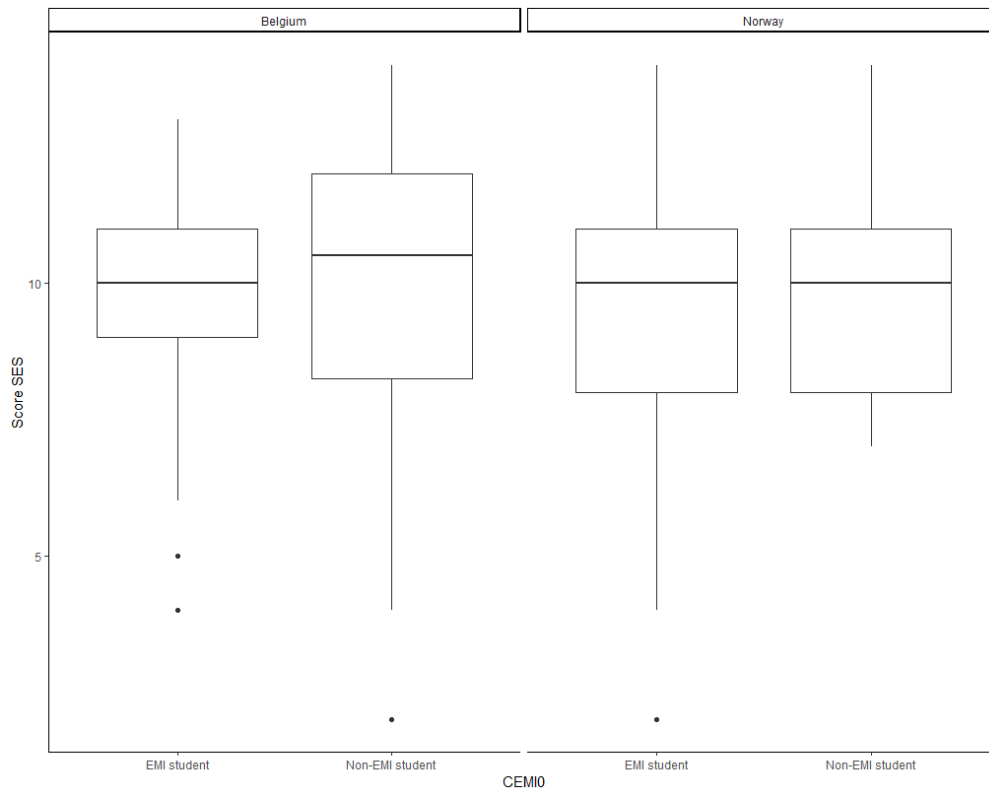


Figure 12. Description of the socioeconomic status scores.

Albeit being very similar across samples, SES scores are significantly associated with country of study and EMI participation. The association between EMI participation and SES is discussed in the following section. As regards the association with country of study, the result is significant at .01 level ($\chi^2(3) = 12.74$, Cramer's $V = .24$). Despite the association being weak, Belgian students tend to have higher SESs than Norwegian students. This association might be rooted in the difference in fee policy in the two countries, as Norway provides free access to education, but not Belgium. The fields of study of participants might also impact on these results, as the Belgian sample counts more students in law and medical studies: two prestigious fields that might be subject to social reproduction.

Figure 13 illustrates the association between SES and participation in EMI. The association does not appear to be linear, but results for EMI and non-EMI students mirror each other. SES 1 represents scores from 1 to 4.25, SES 2 represents scores from 4.25 to 7.5; SES 3 represents scores from 7.5 to 10.75; SES 4 represents scores from 10.75 to 14.

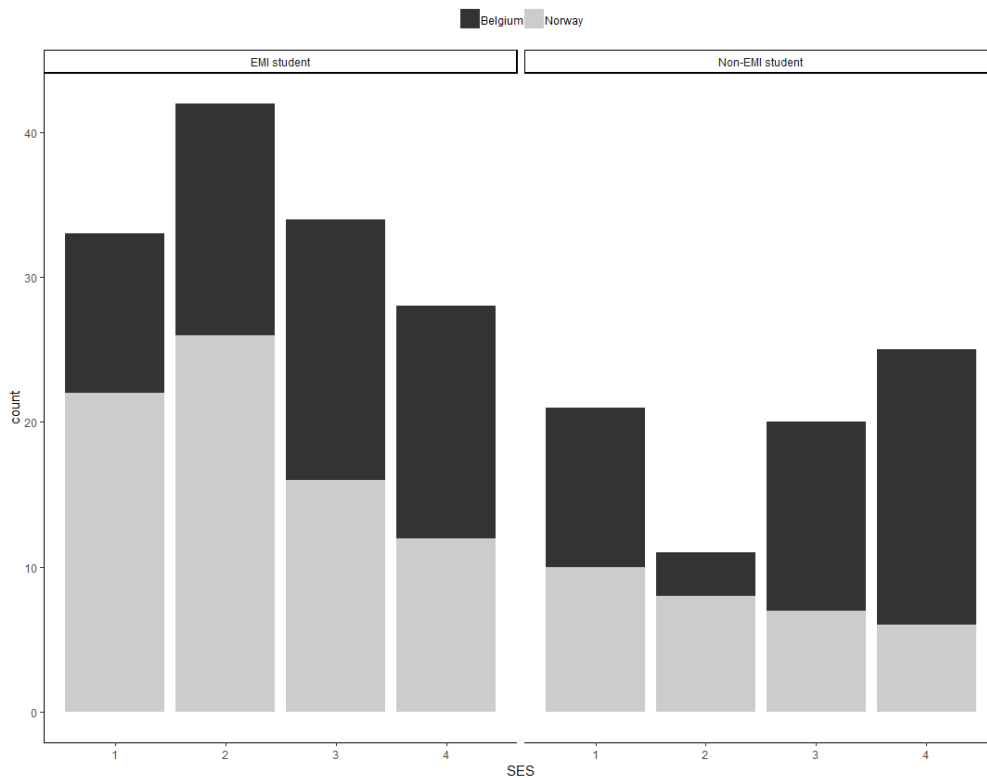


Figure 13. Distribution of answers per SES scores interval.

The chi-squared test yielded a significant result at the .05 level ($\chi^2(3) = 8.44$). The association is, however, small (Cramer's $V = .20$). There might also be an interaction between EMI participation and country of study that together would have different effects on the SES. The association between SES scores and EMI participation is surprising, as 54% of EMI students are in the two lowest intervals of SES, while 58% of non-EMI students are in the higher intervals of SES. In other words, EMI participation is weakly, but significantly, associated with lower SES. This association is further discussed in the next section.

There is no association between SES and attitudes. To be as complete as possible, correlations between SES and socio-affective variables were also tested, but the tests did not yield any significant result. Thus, SES does not influence attitudes through the socio-affective variables that are associated with it.

7.3 Discussion

7.3.1 Research question 1: What are the attitudes of students towards EMI?

Students' attitudes tend to be neutral to positive and are associated with EMI participation, but not with students' country of study. In other words, students across the samples tend to agree with the fact that institutions are right in proposing EMI classes, that it is beneficial to enroll in EMI classes and possible to succeed in them, and that EMI is necessary and useful for their field of study or future career. Students are generally willing to participate in EMI programmes. These tendencies are, however, very light and students cannot be described as overly positive about EMI. Belgian EMI students are the most positive group, while other groups seem to be more neutral. These rather positive attitudes contrast with the results of Doiz et al.'s (2013) study among local undergraduate students at a Basque university, and appear more in line with the results they found among international students at this same university. Their 'English as a lingua franca/EMI' scale was, however, based on items measuring the perceived legitimacy of EMI at university, most of which have been excluded from the present 'attitude' construct.

Based on these results, it is possible to argue that students do not try to avoid EMI classes, and that they see EMI classes as a rather good opportunity on the whole. In the same vein, the vast majority of EMI students (74%) report that attending classes taught in English did not impede their examination results. Despite the fact that EMI classes are obligatory in some programmes, EMI is not felt as a compulsion or seen as something negative. The positive attitudes probably stem from the perception of English proficiency as being necessary and useful. There is, however, a significant contrast between EMI and non-EMI students: participation in EMI is associated with more positive attitudes, while non-participation is associated with more negative attitudes. It is thus possible that students who are not in EMI have chosen to avoid EMI classes, arguably due to their field of study, because EMI seemed less necessary and useful to them or because they did not feel comfortable enough with English. The qualitative part of the study, described in chapter 8, provides deeper insights into the way students design their course programme, the reasons why they choose to enroll in EMI classes, and their experiences in these classes.

At this stage, it is interesting to come back to the definition of attitudes as a habitus that would be oriented by the chance of linguistic profit. As mentioned in section 7.1, many items have been excluded to obtain a stable construct. Within the excluded items, some were excluded because their means were too high, especially in the ‘field’ component, and some were excluded because they did not correlate with most of the other items. Among the former, most items address the perceived usefulness of EMI classes and its advantages for students to improve and practise their English. Among the latter, more diverse items are found. As regards the ‘legitimacy’ component, most items correlate with each other, but do not correlate with the rest of the construct, indicating that legitimacy may be a valid construct by itself, but may be rather independent from the construct of attitude. The fact that impact on the native languages did not turn out to be part of the construct of attitudes, means that fears of domain loss do not seem to affect students in their beliefs about EMI. With regard to the ‘chance of success’ component, the items generalising students’ attitudes to other students failed to correlate with the construct. This shows that attitudes are individual and probably depend on students’ experiences. Students are also aware of individual differences as regards language proficiency. The only item addressing students’ ideal self through the lens of active oral use of English has been excluded as well, pointing to the fact that students’ speaking skills remain uncorrelated with their receptive skills and their attitudes towards EMI. Students’ perception of the field is essentially determined by their perception of the field they will be working in, rather than by the perception of their field of study. This explains why the item addressing the perception of the resources (*Within my field, most resources are in English*) does not correlate with the rest of the construct. It is possible that this absence of correlation would be due to the fact that students learn how to deal with English-language resources, independently from EMI participation, and do not perceive EMI as a game-changing element in their ability to do so, while they consider that EMI actively prepares them for an English-speaking workplace. Items addressing students’ willingness to enrol on EMI classes are comprised of items written in the first-person singular, while the excluded items are mainly items that generalised their perception, e.g. *I think following classes taught in English is challenging* or *I think following classes taught in English is prestigious*. The first item might also have been excluded because the term ‘challenging’ can be perceived as negative or positive, so that its reverse coding might not be representative of how students understood the sentence. However, a second item addressing the topic of the difficulty of EMI (*I think that taking classes taught in English will have a negative impact on my grades*) was also excluded, showing that the perceived difficulty of EMI classes does not make part of their attitudes towards EMI.

On a methodological level, the exclusion of a large number of items supports the idea that the construct would benefit from further work to better theorise it. Bourdieu's framework does not seem to apply to attitudes towards EMI exactly as expected, even though English proficiency is a form of cultural capital endowed with symbolic power (e.g., the power to access certain workplaces) and EMI can be seen as an investment that allows for the acquisition of this cultural capital. For example, the perception of legitimacy seems to play a minor role in attitudes, with only two items included, and the perception of the field does not seem to be related to students' current field of study, but rather to the field in which they project themselves for the future. The four components (perception of the legitimacy of EMI, perception of own chance of success, perception of the field, and willingness to enroll in EMI / satisfaction with EMI) are, however, present in the final construct. The chance of linguistic profit might thus orient attitudes, understood as a habitus, but its calculation should be redefined and adjusted. Firstly, all components do not seem to play an equal role in the chance of linguistic profit: the legitimacy is represented by only two items, while the chance of success and the perception of the field are both represented by three items. Therefore, the claim according to which attitudes depend heavily on the status of English as the legitimate language for teaching has to be nuanced, as questions related to the legitimacy of EMI do not appear to be highly consistent with the rest of the scale. Secondly, the perception of the field has to be understood as the perception of the necessity of English for the field in which students will work: their perception of academia does not play a primary role. The usefulness of EMI for students' proficiency level appears to be unquestionable, and does not need to be included in the construct. Finally, the 'willingness to enroll in EMI' component, which was added to the components of the chance of linguistic profit, appears to be part of the 'attitude' construct and is even its most represented component, with four items.

The calculation of expected profit of EMI aimed to highlight tensions between the notions of prestige and necessity – two notions that are present in Macaro et al. (2018)'s list of motivations to organise EMI programmes according to students and teachers (Macaro et al. 2018: 64). However, the item directly addressing prestige had to be excluded. Prestige is only present in the construct via the item describing a diploma mentioning that classes were taught in English as better for students' future. The construct does thus not encompass the notion of profit of distinction, which can only be analysed based on the question that addressed prestige and its association with country of study. This association may indeed be indicative of the fact that the perception of the prestige of EMI is based on the profit of distinction it brings: the

rarer EMI is, the more prestigious it is considered, as their participation in EMI distinguishes students. This might explain why Belgian students identify EMI as more prestigious. In contrast, Norwegian students do not perceive EMI as a source of profit in terms of distinction and prestige, as most students are or will have to attend English-taught classes in their studies. This might result in different situations in the countries: on the one hand, English might be perceived as absolutely necessary in Norway, therefore normalising its use and making university a context of language development for all students; on the other hand, English might still be perceived as more exceptional in French-speaking Belgium, and EMI might therefore be reserved for students who already have high levels of proficiency in English at the beginning of their studies. However, these considerations do not make part of the construct of attitude, leading the Bourdieusian approach to lose part of its interest.

7.3.2 Research question 2: How do attitudes relate to socio-affective variables involved in language learning?

Except intended learning effort, all the socio-affective variables involved in language learning that have been included in this study correlate moderately with students' scores on the attitudinal scale, and the directions of these correlations are fairly predictable. The results are in line with those from Chun et al.'s (2017) study that show that anxiety plays a role in students' willingness to enrol on EMI classes. In their study, they also show that language anxiety is related to the level of course understanding. With low levels of reported anxiety, it is therefore very likely that Belgian and Norwegian participants reach high levels of course understanding. The results are also coherent with Bandura's (1993) finding that self-efficacy beliefs are good predictors of attitudes towards a task, as far as EMI can be considered an aggregate of tasks undertaken in English. As self-efficacy beliefs have been shown to work as a trigger of motivated behaviour (Busse 2013), it seems important to take such a construct into account when attempting to increase students' chance of success in EMI.

Even though self-efficacy and language/class anxiety influence students' attitudes towards EMI, the results point to the fact that EMI cannot completely be equated with a context of foreign language acquisition. The inconsistent answers on the motivation scale, the high levels of proficiency, and the students' self-identification as members of international communities indicate that university students are foreign language users rather than learners. However, the correlations between socio-affective variables and attitudes show that EMI is a context with specificities that differentiate it from native language-medium instruction.

Students' emotions towards the use of English, namely their level of self-confidence in their linguistic skills and their anxiety levels when using the language actively, are related to both their attitudes towards EMI and their participation in EMI, which are in turn correlated to each other. This observation does not allow for any conclusion as regards a cause-effect relation, however. Two interpretations are indeed available for the aforementioned correlations. The first possible scenario is that the affective variables related to English use would influence their attitudes and, consequently, determine their choice to enrol or not on EMI classes. The second possible scenario is that participation in EMI classes, by increasing the frequency of use of English, leads students to feel less anxious and more self-confident in their abilities, which improves their attitude towards EMI. In both scenarios, the results highlight the importance of affective factors and the necessity of taking them into account and of providing students with linguistic support so as to help them feel more comfortable with the use of English. In the first scenario, such a support would be more effective if taking place before having the opportunity (or obligation) to attend EMI classes. Students would then feel more prepared for these classes and would be able to choose their language of instruction without being influenced by their discomfort using English. In the second scenario, EMI classes themselves would help develop students' self-confidence, and support would only have to be available for students suffering from EMI class anxiety so as to ensure their well-being in the programme of their choice. The necessity to take socio-affective variables into account in education planning is nuanced by the fact that students display, on average, high self-efficacy beliefs and low anxiety levels. However, these scales show very high individual variability, i.e. students differ widely in the types of affective challenges they meet when using English.

Variables related to the communities with which students identify themselves have to be interpreted in a slightly different way, as they do not directly impact on students' well-being, but rather on the relevance of EMI programmes. An overwhelming part of students identify themselves as members of international imagined communities whose language of communication would be English, illustrating a modern trend towards globalisation and cosmopolitanism among university students. This tendency is stable across groups, i.e. it depends on neither country of study, nor EMI participation, and it correlates with students' attitudes. In other words, students' cosmopolitan identity, promoted by a society emphasising mobility, multiculturalism, and internationalisation (for example, through Erasmus programmes), tends to make them see EMI in a positive light. However, the absence of

association between EMI participation and imagined community shows that this cosmopolitan identity might not impact on students' decisions to actually enrol on EMI classes. Values of cosmopolitanism arguably justify the existence and organisation of EMI programmes and emphasise EMI's possible benefits to enhance a sense of international imagined community, but, as a matter of fact, this sense of community develops independently from the actual language of instruction of students' courses. In reality, classes might not be the most determining part of student life, and the sense of cosmopolitanism may be enhanced by the creation of real communities through activities taking place outside of classes (on campus, through extra-curricular activities such as student unions and networks, through student mobility, etc.) or by an acute sense of interconnection with the youth in other countries (through digital media, institutional messages about globalisation, the reading of English-written sources, etc.). The existence of a cosmopolitan identity underlines the necessity for students to be able to claim the right to speak in English and to be considered legitimate users of this foreign language. EMI classes might thus be a place where interactions have an acute value, as students can engage with English and find a way to express this part of their identity. This is important for the organisation of EMI classes, as teachers in EMI should be aware of their students' imagined communities and of EMI being one of the possible ways for them to connect with such communities. Denying their legitimacy as English users and stigmatising their use of English might hinder their participation in EMI classes and lead them to reduced well-being at university and disinvestment in classes, whilst EMI classes should offer them a possibility to get more connected with their imagined community and give them the opportunity to develop and gain peripheral to full membership into actual communities of practice, sharing the value of cosmopolitanism, at university. It should, however, be emphasised that EMI does not appear as a means to create such communities of practice, and might not create any sense of community altogether. The correlation between attitudes and imagined community solely indicates that students might consider EMI as a way to facilitate the connection with their imagined community because it arguably familiarises students with the use of English and the terminology used in their field. In this case, EMI would only be a supplementary context to practise the language, and one might argue that approaches such as CLIL would then be more beneficial for students thanks to their stronger focus on language.

Similar remarks can be made for the possible self. Results for possible self and imagined community differ slightly, as students are less widely oriented towards future international communities than they are towards international imagined communities. The correlation

between possible self and attitudes indicates that EMI is seen more positively by students who plan on working in international workplaces. This result seems in line with Ammon & McConnell (2002)'s results, as they show that students consider EMI as an opportunity for their future, and as a way to increase their chances of moving abroad. It is noticeable that, even though students are positive towards EMI, such a context of instruction appears more relevant for students who will use English in their future community of practice than for those who will not. EMI should therefore not be imposed on students from any field of study: fields leading to international workplaces might benefit from EMI, while other fields might not. These observations on both types of communities and the previous observations on affective variables show that there might be beneficial impacts of offering linguistic support to students, such as making EMI accessible to all students, increasing their well-being in EMI classes, and enhancing potential benefits of EMI, such as a better connection with international imagined communities and access to future English-speaking communities of practice. This optional linguistic support would be helpful, especially for students who suffer from higher anxiety levels, lower self-efficacy, but strive to connect with international communities. Despite being language users rather than language learners, university students would be able to get some more practice and build up their self-confidence in their English language skills, preparing them better for the challenges of EMI and levelling up the differences with students who already have the necessary self-confidence. This necessity of offering linguistic support for students who struggle with using English in their academic lives and students' tendency to associate EMI with an increase in their English proficiency, based on the items excluded due to their high medians, indicate that a CLIL approach might be more appropriate, as students expect their English-taught classes to improve their level and to prepare them for workplaces in which English is actively used. The question is to know whether students consider purely content-oriented approaches sufficient for them to develop the necessary proficiency or whether a focus on language might be necessary. A quick glimpse at the data provides a first hint of answer to this question. In Belgium, 51% of the students who attended EMI classes for one year or more report that their English skills significantly improved, and 40% report a slight improvement, against only 9% who do not report any improvement. In Norway, 27% of the students report a significant improvement, and 46% a slight improvement, against 27% who do not report any improvement. These results are rather variable, but show that students consider EMI useful to their English proficiency to some extent. The nuanced results for the Norwegian sample nevertheless contrast with the almost unanimous belief that attending English-taught classes would

improve students' proficiency level in the Belgian sample, but they are similar to Ammon & McConnell's (2002) findings in Germany. This contrast supports the idea that English proficiency and EMI might be considered more natural in Norway, while they require a greater engagement from Belgian students, as was the case for Austrian students who identified EMI as a supplementary workload in Tatzl (2011). On the whole, improvements do not seem to be extraordinary, and these results call for further research as regards the impact of EMI on students' language proficiency on the long run.

7.3.3 Research question 3: How do socioeconomic status, participation in EMI, and attitudes to EMI relate to each other?

The study shows that participation in EMI tends to be slightly associated with lower socioeconomic statuses. This is a surprising finding, and it is difficult to have any solid claims on the subject: this result calls for further research. My hypothesis, albeit very speculative, is that students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds might be attracted to the prestige associated with EMI and its orientation towards international job markets. Participation in EMI would then be a way to gain status and to access more prestigious jobs. Despite the lack of solid explanation for this association, it indicates that there is no discrimination in access to EMI based on socioeconomic status. This is further confirmed by the rarity of official (expensive) tests, such as the IELTS or the TOEFL, as requirements to access EMI classes. In Belgium, there seems to be a bit more discrimination based on the level of proficiency, as language requirements are more frequent (50% of the EMI students reported their existence), but proofs of language proficiency are asked in less than 50 percent of cases, and official tests are far from being the majority. In Norway, requirements are even rarer, and the necessity of showing official language test results seems to be limited to very specific cases. English-medium instruction can thus be accessed independently from financial concerns in Norway and French-speaking Belgium. In contrast with what had been hypothesised based on Shohamy's (2007) work, language testing cannot be said to be used as a control to access education in the studied contexts. Language proficiency might, however, determine the access to EMI programmes, especially in Belgium, but, if this is indeed the case, this is not done so through controlling devices such as requirements.

As regards attitudes towards EMI, there is no relation between students' attitudes and their socioeconomic status. Furthermore, there is no indirect impact of socioeconomic status on attitudes through the socio-affective variables, as SES does not correlate with any of the

scales in this study. This finding confirms Dewaele's (2002, 2005) conclusions, as he did not find any correlation between socio-economic status and attitudes (towards language learning rather than toward EMI), nor any correlation between class and language anxiety in the case of English, but it contradicts the results of Kormos & Kiddle's (2013) study. The latter authors show that class is correlated to students' self-efficacy beliefs. These contradictions might stem from the difference in terms of contexts of study: Kormos & Kiddle (2013) study secondary schools in the Chilean context, where contrasts in terms of socioeconomic status and access to English-speaking resources might lead to different results.

The results from the present study indicate the absence of discrimination in access to EMI. This might be due to the fact that access to resources allowing for language learning are now more widely available. However, discrimination might arise at a previous stage, as university students themselves have, on average, rather high socioeconomic statuses. This issue is not addressed by the present research work, as it falls outside the scope of a study focusing on university students. It should nevertheless be kept in mind that, even if EMI is accessible to all students, university might not be accessible to all, and programmes proposing EMI might be more frequent in fields of study where good school results are required (in Norway) or where entrance examinations are mandatory (in Belgium). Moreover, the absence of discrimination in access to EMI does not mean that people outside university have the same ability to use English as university students. EMI programmes might thus contribute to developing an English-speaking socioeconomic elite who is able to communicate in English. EMI does not seem to reduce access to education, but might still reduce access to knowledge for the part of the population that does not enter university or benefit from EMI programmes familiarising them with academic English (Shohamy 2013, Thomas & Breidlid 2015: 349) and consolidate a socioeconomic elite (Macaro et al 2018: 64). The reality of this risk probably depends on the language future researchers will decide to publish in.

8 Some insights from the interview data

This chapter aims at providing some complementary insights about students' situated experience in and beliefs about EMI, based on data from eight interviews. The initial goal of the qualitative study was to use students' situated experience to explain the results of the quantitative study. However, the interviews were conducted prior to the analysis of the quantitative data for practical reasons: I wanted to conduct the interviews face-to-face and be physically present, rather than conducting some of them virtually, and, for that reason, I had to organise the interviews with Belgian students before collecting answers to the questionnaire among Norwegian students. The interview guide (see appendix 2) was thus created without any of the results presented in chapter 7. The qualitative analysis, based on a thematic analysis as described in the method chapter (see section 5.2), is nonetheless used to confirm or disprove several hypotheses of interpretation of the quantitative results, and further enriches the analysis with students' voice on the topic of EMI.

The chapter starts with a description of the eight interviewees (four Belgian students and four Norwegian students). All names have been replaced by pseudonyms to preserve their privacy. The interviews in Belgium took place in July 2018 and those in Norway in February 2019. The description of the participants' backgrounds is followed by the qualitative analysis of the interviews. The analysis is organised around several factors which seem to influence students' attitudes towards EMI. These factors emerged from topics that arose spontaneously in the course of the conversations with the interviewees.

8.1 Interview participants

At the time of the interviews, all participants were in their early twenties. Four interviewees, Chloe, Eva, Maxime and Lionel, studied in Belgium, and four interviewees, Nora, Sara, Jonas and Elias, studied in Norway. All the interviews lasted around thirty minutes, providing enough material for an in-depth analysis. The interviewees represent a sample of different types of attitudes towards English-medium instruction according to their results on the attitudinal scale of the questionnaire. Lionel⁶, Chloe (Belgium), and Nora (Norway)

⁶ Lionel's interview was initially considered as a try-out interview, but its content proved to be relevant and was therefore kept in the material for the analysis.

demonstrated more negative attitudes than the average, Maxime (Belgium), Sara, and Jonas (Norway) displayed average attitudes, and Eva (Belgium) and Elias (Norway) more positive attitudes than the average. Each interviewee studied in a different field: in Belgium, Chloe was a master's student in educational sciences, Eva attended a master's programme in multilingual communication, Maxime was a medical student in his master's degree, and Lionel was a law student at the bachelor's level. In Norway, all the interviewees were master's students: Nora studied Scandinavian linguistics, Sara studied Japanese language, Jonas studied gender studies, and Elias, informatics. All participants but one, Chloe, had experience with at least one English-taught class at university, and all of them were comfortable with being interviewed in English.

8.2 Results

Based on interviewees' experience in and opinions about EMI as well as their account of the way they designed their course programme, several themes appeared to be recurrent. The first theme is related to the impact of the future community of practice on the choice of English-taught classes, both at the institutional level and at the level of personal course design. In the quantitative analysis, the weight of this factor appears in the construct of attitudes: the perception of the field, which should be centred on the discourse community, is reinterpreted as the perception of the future field, demonstrating the importance of the future community of practice. The second theme is concerned with students' present community of practice, as an explanation to the implementation of EMI at the institutional level. This theme is linked to the topic of EMI's legitimacy, but also gives some insight into the interviewees' actual use of English. The legitimacy of EMI is further questioned through the third theme. Even though SES as such is not mentioned in the interviews, the interviewees explore the relation between EMI, proficiency in English and access to education, discussing the responsibility of secondary schools in preparing students for the use of English at university. The fourth theme is related to the conceptualisation of EMI as a context of foreign language acquisition: results from the quantitative analysis show that EMI is a context of foreign language use rather than a context of foreign language acquisition, due to students' high levels of proficiency in English and due to the exclusion of the intended learning effort from the socio-affective variables. However, in the interviews, the participants mention EMI as a means to improve their English skills. The last theme gives some more understanding of an issue linked to the use of English in higher education: the impact of English terminology on students' daily life. This theme

addresses, from the students' practical point of view, a question related to the fear of domain loss, mentioned in the literature review. Items about domain loss were excluded from the attitude construct, but this theme shows related fears that are more in line with the students' situated experiences. The five themes outlined here are presented in the following sections (8.2.1 – 8.2.5).

8.2.1 Attitudes to EMI and students' future communities of practice

The emphasis on the future community of practice in the interviews is in line with the quantitative results, as the perception of the field was in fact related to the field in which students plan to work rather than to their current field of study. The interviewees similarly associate EMI with classes teaching content that can be considered international or that students will use in their future international communities of practice. These beliefs are illustrated in (1).

- (1) <Researcher> hum and let's imagine if you had the choice between a programme taught completely in English and a programme taught completely in Norwegian (.) same topics same quality which one would you choose and why (.)
 <Elias> again if it's in informatics I would probably pick English because of the problems I said earlier but if it was something like (1.64) societal problems or uh (?) hum (2.28) the course that you take to among other things to become a teacher is u:h
 <Researcher> pedagogy?
 <Elias> might be that yeah
 <Researcher> yeah teacher training?
 <Elias> yeah that basically uh I would probably have that in Norwegian but hum (.) I'm not planning on becoming a teacher (.) that's one of the things that I think is a little different (.) so but informatics specifically and my own course I would definitely prefer English cus I hate changing languages it must be in the same-

[Norway]

In both countries, the students who displayed negative attitudes are characterised by their desire to stay in local native-language communities of practice for their future jobs. In Belgium, Chloe says she cannot project herself in a different country, and Lionel explains that he is interested in national rather than international right. In Norway, Nora explains that she wants to become a teacher and that the subjects she would teach (Norwegian and religion) are specific to the Norwegian context, even though she considered a career abroad in the past. By contrast, Eva and Elias, who display very positive attitudes, plan to work in international communities of practice, and consider the possibility of moving abroad. Eva indeed hopes to work in an NGO in Belgium or abroad, and Elias plans to accept the best offer, be it in Norway or elsewhere, knowing that informatics is a very international field, in which work is

generally carried out in English. Maxime and Sara, who have median attitudes, also project themselves in potentially multilingual communities of practice, but in local environments. As a future doctor in Belgium, Maxime considers that English is a necessity to communicate with foreign and Dutch-speaking colleagues and foreign patients, as well as to access the medical discourse community. Sara projects herself in Norwegian administration, and hopes that she will be able to use her English and Japanese skills, but she does not wish to move abroad. Jonas is the only student with median attitudes who wishes to work in a multicultural and/or international organisation, either in Norway or abroad. His international orientation might be nuanced by his description of EMI as being a challenge, and his opinion that there should be a balance between English- and Norwegian-taught classes at university. In other words, if English is seen as being useful for their future jobs, students might support EMI more overtly because of its added value in terms of knowledge of terminology and of practice of the target language, as illustrated by the excerpt from Eva's interview in (2). These two linguistic advantages would facilitate students' integration in their future community of practice.

- (2) **<Researcher>** ok hm like hm do you think that hm like for your studies would you like to have more classes that are taught in English?
<Eva> general classes or in general?
<Researcher> in general
<Eva> hm (.) hm yes hm I was thinking about one more general classes related to communication and maybe useful vocabulary or something like that but for everybody not compared to like not for the ones that study in this **<French>** finalité [transl.: specialisation] **</French>** or other ones for everybody I think it would be useful hm
<Researcher> for what reason
<Eva> hm because for the future hm I think it's just better to have knowledge if I want to go abroad to have this knowledge but in English and to know a lot more vocabulary in this specific era [area?]

[Belgium]

EMI is represented as a useful practice for students who will use English at their workplace. This advantage in terms of access to the future community of practice is related to the linguistic training provided by EMI classes, as it is believed that EMI is a setting in which students get to practise their English. This belief is, however, in tension with students' accounts of English use in EMI, discussed in section 8.2.4.

8.2.2 EMI as a consequence of the institution's community of practice

If interviewees' future community of practice seems to be a primary concern, it does not mean that their present community of practice is absent from their discourse about EMI. In the quantitative analysis, the perception of the field included items about the discourse community, but no item addressed students' real community practice at university. However, the classroom composition, in terms of students' and teachers' countries of origin and first language, plays a role in the legitimacy attributed to EMI and should be taken into account in future questionnaires. The implementation of EMI is pictured as depending on the composition of the university community of practice, i.e. the presence of foreign teachers and students, which makes English the necessary lingua franca. The two countries diverge as regards the composition of the institutions' communities of practice. In the Belgian context, the implementation of EMI courses seems to be related to two factors: the content of the class and its international orientation associated with the targeted job markets mentioned previously, and the nationality of lecturers, as illustrated in Lionel's quote in (3).

- (3) <Researcher> ok and during so did you go to some classes in English or not
<Lionel> yeah I had in the third bachelor it was like comparative law so that was more like an English matter hm subject and (.) it was more about idea= ideas developed in English in this one so it was= it was different because we had hm teachers from US that comed

[Belgium]

Maxime, in (4), reports on a conflict with his institution, as one of the classes that was announced in French was, in fact, taught in English due to the presence of foreign teachers. Maxime, however, seems to suggest that students should be proficient in English in any case, a point that will be commented upon in more detail in the next section.

- (4) <Researcher> yeah you get more involved with everything so that's easier so have you ever had any classes that were taught in English but that were not English language classes
<Maxime> hm yes cuz some of the lecture? (.) hm are given by hm some hm postgraduates that were coming from hm lots of countries hm essentially E= Asia
<Researcher> Asia
<Maxime> and hm so the only language they use is English so and lots of students were upset about this
<Researcher> yeah really why
<Maxime> hm because hm (.) our studies are said to be taught in French and there is a lot of people coming from schools where they were not really really fluent fluent

with English and especially from Wallonia where they have to choose between Dutch and English and if they do Dutch they don't do English and they had a lot of difficulties but I think they would have more difficulties in the future because all the literature is in English so-

[Belgium]

If such cases are also commented upon in the Norwegian context, the interviewees highlight one more component of the environment which justifies the language of instruction: the presence of foreign students. This aspect is not taken into account by the Belgian students. Lionel mentions international students, but does not seem to believe that the choice of the language of instruction is due to their presence. In contrast, the Norwegian interviewees refer to international students to frame EMI as a legitimate practice. For example, Sara explains that EMI is a way to make education accessible to foreigners and to make them feel included, and Jonas emphasises the benefits of studying with students from different backgrounds and identifies their inclusion as one of the advantages of his EMI programme. In (5), Nora describes a practice that embodies the importance of this factor: the existence of classes taught in English on request.

(5) <Researcher> ok and do you think it's something very frequent (.)

<Nora> hum (1.72) for me it could have been (.) easily avoided to: t= taking classes in English or I guess in my philosophy bachelor's it will be a bit hard hum because there (.) they have quite a lot of exchange students and almost all of their advanced classes are (.) hum (.) there is- they are English-language classes by request and usually there will be exchange students requesting that they're talking English

<Researcher> ok and like have you experienced that type of things creating problems like were there like you know negative reactions from Norwegian students who would have preferred to have the class taught in Norwegian (.)

<Nora> no: not in the study or the classes I have taken in other fields of study but I have friends that have talked about this so I know some students have this reaction (.) that they feel that they have to take a class in English but they don't feel comfortable (.)

[Norway]

If the language of instruction rarely raises issues for Norwegian students, Nora and Sara mention that the teacher's language proficiency is sometimes more problematic. This type of criticism towards the lecturers' English does not emerge from the Belgian interviews.

The interviews seem to confirm that EMI is a context in which English is a lingua franca, i.e. an ELF context, rather than a context of foreign language acquisition. This hypothesis is proposed in the quantitative analysis as a result of the exclusion of the intended learning effort construct from the socio-affective variables due to its lack of internal consistency, combined with the high levels of proficiency reported by students. In the two contexts, English seems to be used as a lingua franca in the community of practice. The omnipresence of fellow

international students in the Norwegian interviewees' life points to a more frequent use of English than in the Belgian context. This seems in line with the idea that there would be a sort of normalisation of EMI in Norway, as hypothesised to explain the tendency of Norwegian students to have a more local possible self, even in EMI settings. Norwegian students are, indeed, more likely to have English-taught classes, even in fields that are not oriented towards the international job markets, due to the presence of foreign students. In contrast, Belgian interviewees do not mention using English in their everyday life, and none of them mention studying with international students. While EMI in Norway may be directed towards international students, EMI in Belgium seems to be determined by the teachers' linguistic repertoires, and the linguistic advantage EMI may constitute in students' future communities of practice. This indicates that Belgian students probably do not need to use English as often as Norwegian students, which might explain their higher language anxiety and their lower self-efficacy beliefs, as will be developed in 8.2.4.

8.2.3 EMI and access to education

In the literature review, researchers' fears about the democratic value of EMI were mentioned. The quantitative analysis, however, lead to the exclusion of most items concerned with the legitimacy of EMI and of English in academia from the 'attitude' construct. Similarly, SES did not correlate with students' attitudes, nor with the socio-affective variables involved in language learning. In spite of this, a theme related to the democratic value of EMI emerges in the interviews of Norwegian students: the accessibility of higher education. Its mention in some of the interviews shows that students are aware of the ethical aspects related to the implementation of EMI and reveals contradictory beliefs among the participants.

According to Sara, EMI makes education more accessible by opening it to speakers of other languages than Norwegian. This belief probably stems from Sara's international orientation and from her experience in international communities, as she reports having many international friends and justifies her opinion by her own experience as an exchange student in a Japanese university. In contrast, Nora emphasises that the necessity of being proficient in English adds a supplementary threshold to access education, even though most high school students in Norway reach high levels of English according to her.

The theme of the accessibility of education is related to comments about the responsibility of secondary schools in preparing students for the use of English. The interviewees in the two

countries seem to suggest that English communicative skills are supposed to be shared by all university students, and that this might be the responsibility of secondary schools rather than of higher education institutions. Maxime reports having asked his faculty to provide students with basic English language classes and having received an answer supporting this point from his institution as well, as illustrated in (6), which follows passage (4) in the interview.

(6) <Researcher> yeah of course and (.) hm (.) you told me that some students were upset about the fact the classes were taught in English do you think that's hm your institution should have like given more information about the fact that there would be classes taught in English?

<Maxime> yes and I asked the faculty to do so hm and I asked I also asked to give English lessons to the students

<Researcher> oh yeah so you don't have any English language classes besides the ones that are in English

<Maxime> hm yes hm that's not really the case but we don't have a class to learn English

<Researcher> yeah

<Maxime> and I asked the faculty to do so and they refused because they said that English hm has to be learned in secondary

<Researcher> so it's like a requirement to enter university then

<Maxime> yeah a requirement that is not written but we have a class that is an English class but it's a class where the professors speak in French and they explain how to read articles in papers

[Belgium]

It should be noted, however, that English language classes are not part of the mandatory core courses in all French-speaking secondary schools in Belgium, and that some students enter university without any prior instruction in the language, as mentioned in (4), which was the reason for Maxime's request. However, his request does not aim at having classes of English for academic purposes, which are already organised, and which he seems to consider useless. The reason for his request seems to lie in his international imagined community and in the belief that university students should master English rather than in practical goals related to students' academic programme. Similarly, in (7), Eva highlights the need for good language classes with the possibility to practise English actively.

(7) <Eva> hm in bachelor the level of English was of course much important hm but I think we weren't prepared enough for sorry for the level of English

<Researcher> yeah

<Eva> because for me it was necessary to have at least one good English class and not related to linguistics or literature but really like more talking and how do you say it English class for with vocabulary and with the possibility to talk a lot and to practise

[Belgium]

This need seems to be related to her desire to work in international workplaces after her studies. In contrast, some of the Norwegian interviewees agree that classes preparing students to the use of academic English, primarily as regards their readings, could be of use. The responsibility for this seems to be attributed to secondary education according to Jonas and Nora. On the other hand, Jonas explains that the difficulties he encountered with academic English might be due to the passage from secondary education to higher education. Similarly, in (8), Elias describes the acquisition of academic English as the acquisition of the academic genre, which happens naturally, irrespective of the language, at university level, when students encounter more and more academic texts.

(8) <Researcher> yeah I= I got it yeah well yeah that's interesting so it helped to- more at an interpersonal level

<Elias> yeah

<Researcher> than you know for example for academic English let's say

<Elias> yeah academic English I feel is more of a just (.) for lectures and books I don't think (.) academic English is necessarily something that you can directly be prepared for at the school anyway because generally what you learn at least in Norway is not necessarily academic English it's general understanding and helping you get better at learning yourself it's not this is how now you're ready now you're done

<Researcher> yeah

<Elias> but it's preparing you to learn to understand better

<Researcher> yeah so it's the role of the university to like (.) familiar= get you familiar with-

<Elias> well I mean

<Researcher> academic English for example

<Elias> well yeah but it's also like academic Norwegian right it's (.) there are significant amount of terms and words that you don't learn at high school level and you learn (at university) and that's part of the difference between the (two) (.) it's (at least) that's how it is in general (.) it isn't preparing you= it's preparing you to start university it's not preparing you to be a proper university student immediately at least that's how I feel

[Norway]

He does not believe that secondary schools should prepare students for the use of academic English, but, like Maxime, he thinks that some more preparation for the use of English in academic and professional communities might be beneficial, for example as regards intercultural communication. This might also be related to the emphasis on receptive skills in EMI contexts that emerges from the interviews: developing active skills does not seem to be necessary for students to progress in their studies, but might be beneficial to communicate with international students and colleagues. In this case, basic English skills are needed rather than academic English. The lack of focus on active skills in EMI is further commented upon

in the next section, as it is in apparent contradiction with the idea that EMI would prepare students to the use of English in their future international community.

8.2.4 EMI and foreign language use

As previously mentioned, the results of the survey show that EMI is not a context of foreign language acquisition, but a context of foreign language use. However, in the first phase of treatment of the questionnaire, several items were removed because of their very high means, indicative of unanimous answers. These items were mainly concerned with the benefits of EMI in terms of proficiency in English. Similarly, in the interviews, EMI is described as beneficial as regards students' future integration into English-speaking communities of practice at work, thanks to the input in terms of terminology and in terms of the practice provided by EMI. These elements show that, even though EMI is an ELF context, participants consider that one of its advantages is related to the development of their English skills.

However, the interviews point to a gap between the idea that EMI would help students develop their linguistic skills, and the interviewees' accounts of EMI as a context in which students are mainly passive users of English. While Maxime identifies practice as an advantage of EMI, Eva points to this aspect as one of its shortcomings: EMI gives the opportunity to get more input, but not to practise actively. There is thus a gap between some students' experience in EMI and their expectations as regards the improvement of their active proficiency, which will be necessary at their future workplace. Most interviewees do not describe participation in EMI classes as being different from non-EMI classes. Interactions, in fact, are reported to be very scarce in classrooms due to the number of students in lecture halls, on the one hand, and to the traditional way of conducting lectures, on the other. Sara goes even further, arguing that the lack of participation is cultural. This trait, however, seems to be shared across contexts. Anxiety, when it occurs, may be due to the scarcity of interactions, which appear to be unusual and stressful, and this anxiety may be common to classes taught in the L1 and to classes taught in English. People who speak up during classes are therefore described as self-confident, brave, daring, knowledgeable, and more focused and interested than other students. This illustrates a double constraint on participation: speaking up requires courage, maybe due to the number of students in the class, and it also requires sufficient content mastery. In spite of this, the results of the survey show that students tend to have low levels of EMI class anxiety: the low number of interactions in classes does not impact negatively on students' EMI class anxiety. However, this shows that the results on the

EMI class anxiety scale have to be contextualised, as the items relate to activities that might be rare in everyday classes.

The negative connotation of in-class interactions seems to be more marked in Belgium than in Norway. Participation in content classes is described by the Belgian interviewees as occasions on which the teacher asks questions to assess students' understanding and concentration. There is thus a link with evaluation, and lectures seem rather stressful places where it is not always easy for students to give their opinions and participate in discussions and activities. Maxime goes even further, describing in-class participation as a negative feature and as potentially harmful for students if they make mistakes. In other words, in-class interactions are not central to the routine of Belgian and Norwegian students' community of practice in L1- and English-taught classes.

Despite Sara's claim that class interactions are not part of the Norwegian educational culture, the instances of participation discussed by the Norwegian students show that the types of interactions are more varied, and it seems that, in seminars particularly, these interactions might take place as part of a community of practice. The interactions include questions and answers (questions from both students and teachers), and classroom discussions. The interviewees describe their experience with study groups as well. As a student with experience in both Belgian and Norwegian higher education institutions, it seems to me that interactions are much more frequent in Norwegian classrooms, in spite of the similar number of students in class. This difference between Belgian and Norwegian classes, combined with the more negative experiences of classroom interactions described by Belgian interviewees, may explain the association between country of study and EMI class anxiety. In the quantitative analysis, it is shown that Belgian students tend to have higher levels of EMI class anxiety. This might be due to the fact that interactions are rarer in the Belgian context and that, when they occur, they are perceived as more face-threatening. However, this observation might not be limited to EMI classes, but to interactions in classes irrespective of the language of instruction.

When students comment on in-class interactions in EMI classes more specifically, the interviews corroborate the results concerning the link between EMI class anxiety and language anxiety, and their common impact on students' attitudes. For example, Jonas describes the difficulties he faced when enrolling on his EMI programme (9).

(9) <Researcher> ok and is it any different in the classes that are taught in English you know at= as regards participation and interactions in class (1.72)

<Jonas> hum (1.36) not the ones I'm taking now because we're such a small class we're like nine people in our class and we know each other really well so I feel like everyone (.) is expressing themselves if they have something to say (.) but I know I've taken classes before I've had a seminar for example where= which I've had- (.) I've been in English and I think that the fact that it's in English makes it harder for certain people to participate like people who might already be afraid to participate like the threshold becomes much higher I think because people are very insecure about their English and I don't know that word and I'm not sure if that's correct or (.) things like that (1.96) and I also think I was like that in the beginning when I started my master's (.) because we are yes cuz the master's is in English we are like 50 50 Norwegians and international students and in the beginning I was really insecure bout my English but I feel like I just have had to push through it and just (1.12) you just have to practise it I guess and not as long as you make yourself understood I feel like that's the most important part (.) I've learned {laugh}

[Norway]

This might have affected his results on the scale as, despite planning to work in an international community, Jonas's scores on the attitudinal scale did not exceed the median score. Lionel, who is negative towards EMI, describes his EMI course as a course in which mainly international students interacted with the teacher because they were more fluent in English, and other students might have been afraid to be laughed at. As emphasised by the Norwegian students, participation in EMI seems to contribute to the low language anxiety scores, as students explain that their anxiety decreased with their experience in EMI classes. This link between participation in EMI and lowered language anxiety confirms the hypothesis according to which the association between EMI participation and language anxiety, found in the quantitative analysis, is probably due to the frequency of language use in EMI settings. The second hypothesis, which was that students with higher language anxiety avoid EMI classes, might also be true, and several interviewees mention knowing students who avoid EMI classes due to their lack of self-confidence in their English skills, but this situation seems infrequent. The benefits of EMI as regards language confidence might be more salient in the Norwegian context, as the students' experiences can be described in terms of a community of practice in which interactions take place in class, increasing the students' use of English. This would explain the association between language / EMI class anxiety and country of study in the quantitative analysis. This phenomenon might be reinforced by the presence of international students in the Norwegian institution's community of practice, mentioned in section 8.2.2, which arguably increases the frequency of use of English in students' daily life.

8.2.5 Dealing with English-language resources and terminology

Belgian and Norwegian students seem to diverge as regards their accounts of the resources used in their curriculum and of the advantage of EMI in terms of access to field-specific discourse communities. The quantitative study shows that the question of domain loss does not influence students' attitudes towards EMI and that the proportion of English resources in their field does not correlate with students' attitudes. I hypothesise that this might be explained by the use of English-language resources, independently from EMI participation. This hypothesis seems to be confirmed, especially in the case of the Norwegian students. The Belgian students nevertheless consider that EMI facilitates their access to the literature and to their discourse community, as highlighted by Maxime and Chloe. Again, this aspect seems to be mainly related to the advantage in terms of terminological input. Chloe, who never attended EMI classes, is the most positive participant in that regard, and even considers it as a way of opening students' minds to research conducted abroad. Her opinion is illustrated by the passage in (10).

- (10) <Researcher> ok and hm what do you think about this situation like do you think that you should have classes taught in English or do you think like it's good as it is
<Chloe> I don't think I really hm hm it's not I don't think it's a really necess=
necessity in hm in what I study like maybe fin of course not maybe in business things
it's really important but hm I would maybe not in my bachelor but in my master hm
because it's a specification [specialisation?] hm and because hm we have fin to be
more (sensib)?
<Researcher> sensitive?
<Chloe> sensitive to the research in educational sciences who are made a lot in
English hm and because I see now my difficulties to to search for my hm fin thesis
<Researcher> thesis
<Chloe> thesis hm in other language as in French and I think it's hm <French>
dommage </French>
<Researcher> it's too bad
<Chloe> it's too bad {laugh} because hm in a way even if hm I want to stay in
Belgium hm and if educational sciences in Belgium is hm a question of French or
Dutch I think but hm just to be sensitive to the research to be more yeah
[Belgium]

The reason why this aspect does not play such a significant role for Norwegian students is that they use English-language resources and handbooks in Norwegian-taught classes as well. This practice is seen as a challenge by many of the interviewees. Elias and Sara would prefer having all their resources (language of instruction, handbooks and slides) in English only, while Jonas identifies this as an advantage, as the necessity of translating increases his engagement with course concepts and helps him deepen his understanding of the content. This

issue seems recurrent in the interviews, as it is also mentioned by Nora, who describes the process of translating as intricate, and Jonas, who mentions the same difficulties and describes the Norwegian language as being “limited”. Sara also displays a very strong ideology as regards Norwegian and English in academia. In (11), she describes Norwegian as being easier and less academic, as academic writing in Norwegian does not differ a lot from spoken Norwegian in her opinion. In contrast, English is described as more fancy, serious and academic.

(11) <Researcher> and like do you have different experiences like writing academically in Norwegian and in English (1.92)

<Sara> yeah I never thought of- when I wrote hum essays in En- no in Norwegian I never thought of the language (1.36) hu:m being anything (.) different than when I speak

<Researcher> yeah (.)

<Sara> but in hum= but in English it was I really needed to (1.40) kind of force myself to use fancier words and maybe (?) or (.) take a whole sentence and find one word that can kinda explain that (.) if that makes sense hum (2.56) but in Norwegian i= it was (.) i= it wasn't a= a big problem if I spent a few sentences explaining one concept yeah (.) if that makes sense

[Norway]

This description indicates that Norwegian students might indeed consider English the legitimate language in academia, which is encouraged by the availability of resources in English. This aspect is distinct from attitudes to EMI, but opens up the question of experiences of pluriliteracy in higher education. This issue might, however, be field-specific. For example, Elias contrasts the quickly expanding and changing field of informatics with other more traditional fields, in which he would not encourage the use of English terminology. Nora further argues that Norwegian has, in fact, never been an academic language, as other languages have always been dominant. This statement nuances descriptions of domain loss in Norway, but also highlights her ideology towards Norwegian, as she accepts that Norwegian is not used in academia, despite the practical problems it causes. By contrast, such comments do not emerge in the Belgian interviews. In a nutshell, English-language resources are unavoidable for Norwegian students. Nora and Elias explain that an advantage of the Norwegian-taught classes is that they learn the Norwegian terminology alongside the English terminology, which is featured in their handbooks. By contrast, Maxime is the only Belgian participant who mentions the necessity of developing English proficiency to access research, while Chloe even mentions that she consciously avoids using English-language resources to write her thesis, as there is enough work available in French, which contrasts with her opinion, expressed in (10), about the theoretical advantage of EMI in terms of access

to the discourse community. English is far from being a necessity in the French-speaking context, in which more resources are available in the L1, and this is probably why EMI is considered as a means to get familiar with the terminology and the discourse community.

A last difference between the Norwegian and Belgian interviewees is the concern for language use in informal conversations about university subjects that emerges from the Norwegian interviews. Sara, Nora and Jonas all explain that Norwegian is primarily used between students outside classes to discuss their topics, which is in line with Ljosland's (2011) findings and Söderlundh's (2013) observations in the Swedish context. Sara reports having issues talking about her school subjects in Norwegian, as she does not know the terminology in her L1. It is one of the arguments she mentions when explaining why she would prefer a Norwegian-taught programme to an English-taught programme. In (12) and (13), Nora describes the use of Norwegian as facilitating discussions in informal contexts, while English slows down the discussion and might hinder students' stream of thoughts.

- (12) <Researcher> but if you're doing your readings in English even in Norwegian classes it might be hard to-
<Nora> yeah but what you get there is you will learn Norwegian terminology (.) during the class
<Researcher> yeah
<Nora> and you will often quite- spend a bit of time discussing that in your text it says this Norwegian term is this (.)
<Researcher> and do you think it's something good (.)
<Nora> to have- I think it's good to have both sets and I think in most fields of study not- I wouldn't say in= in every field of study but in most fields of study you need to have- to know some English terminology because (.) hum (1.92) not- (1.56) usually there won't be enough curriculum available in Norwegian (.) so at some point you will have to switch to English and it's easier if you're= you're taught the terminology the whole way
<Researcher> yeah
<Nora> hum but I think it's good to have Norwegian terminology I think it's good that that is available to you I think that makes for instance hum study groups easier because study groups will usually be in Norwegian and if half the study group is spent "oh what should we call that" then that's sorta= sort of holds the discussion
[Norway]
- (13) <Nora> so: but I will say I think it's useful to have Norwegian terminology I think it c= I think it facilitates (.) the kind of small discussions that you will have in the hallway hum that you can have with your friends while you're taking a coffee break hum (.) and that's useful that can usually like jump-start a thought-process
[Norway]

The contrast between in-class and out-of-class contexts does not appear in the Belgian interviews. This may be related to the availability of French-language resources that make it easier for students to develop their terminology in both French and English. Another

explanation may lie in the Latin roots of English academic and specialised vocabulary that make it easier for French-speaking students to link concepts they learn in English to their French equivalent.

8.3 Discussion

In this chapter, five recurrent topics from the interviews have been analysed: the future community of practice, the present community of practice, access to higher education and English proficiency, the place of practice in EMI, and the consequences of the dominance of English in EMI and in the readings in university courses. These five topics are elements which seemingly play a role in students' attitudes towards the use of English in higher education and in the way they experience their education. This section summarises how the qualitative study contributes to answering the research questions.

8.3.1 Research question 1: What are the attitudes of students towards EMI?

As regards the attitudes towards EMI, nothing in the interviews indicates that EMI is seen as a compulsion. This confirms the results of the quantitative study, which shows that students are generally positive towards EMI. It is observed in the treatment of the questionnaire that the 'perception of the field' component of the attitudinal construct is primarily dependent on the perception of the future field in which students plan to work, i.e. the relevance of EMI as regards their subject matter and future community of practice. This is confirmed through the interviews, as participants essentially refer to the community of practice they plan to integrate in when justifying the presence of EMI, both at the institutional level and at in their individual course programme. However, the qualitative data shows that the questionnaire lacks an element that might be important to further understand students' attitudes towards EMI: the classroom composition in terms of diversity of backgrounds. The more diverse the L1s of the students and/or of the teaching staff, the more legitimate English becomes. Attitudes towards EMI may thus depend on this factor, and future surveys may benefit from the inclusion of this element to investigate its influence on attitudes, as the presence of students with other linguistic backgrounds makes English the necessary lingua franca at university. In those cases, EMI is seen as necessary, but students generally remain positive towards this practice,

as EMI allows for the inclusion of foreign students, and as proficiency in English is considered a baseline for students in higher education.

As a whole, EMI is seen as an opportunity for foreign students to participate in higher education, and for local and foreign students to train for English-speaking workplaces. EMI is believed to be beneficial because it prepares students for the use of English at work in terms of terminology and practice. The terminological advantage is uncontroversial, but EMI seems to fail students' expectations as regards practice, as they describe EMI as a setting in which they are primarily passive users of English. EMI fails to create an English-speaking community of practice at university, which would train students for their future community of practice, especially in Belgium. In a nutshell, EMI is not felt as compulsory, but it can be made necessary by the composition of the classroom and due to the linguistic resources of the teaching staff. Moreover, EMI can prove useful for students who plan to further work in English, especially in terms of receptive skills, but it seems to fail their expectations as regards active skills.

Even though the fears of domain loss were excluded from the construct of attitudes, the interviewees from Norway spontaneously share their views on English as the language of academia, and some of its consequences. Belgian students do not raise questions of legitimacy and of potential domain loss, probably due to the status of French in the academic world: there are numerous French-speaking scientific resources at their disposal. Norwegian interviewees confirm that English is the legitimate language of academia, but show that this is problematic when it comes to communicating their knowledge in Norwegian. Their experience of pluriliteracy is thus rather negative, as they struggle to translate English terminology into Norwegian, as well as to communicate about their school topics in informal contexts in Norwegian for the same reason. These issues, however, emerge in non-EMI classes just like in EMI classes because most Norwegian-taught classes impose English-language readings. This last observation may partly explain the exclusion of items related to domain loss in the quantitative study: domain loss is not directly related to EMI, as English-language resources are used irrespective of the language of instruction. In the Norwegian context, some support might be useful to help students develop strategies to manage their pluriliterate practices, as suggested by Gentil (2018, 2005). This would facilitate informal dissemination of knowledge among Norwegian speakers, and free students from the feeling that they fail to communicate about their school topics in Norwegian

8.3.2 Research question 2: How do attitudes relate to socio-affective variables involved in language learning?

Although the quantitative study shows that all the socio-affective elements are correlated with the students' attitudes, the former do not appear in all interviews. When they appear, however, it is generally in the shape of negative feelings (e.g., language anxiety) experienced by interviewees who are under or in the average as regards their scores on the attitudinal scale. Mentions of such feelings are rare, which seems to be in line with the low anxiety levels and high self-efficacy beliefs found in the quantitative study. In other words, these aspects do not seem to cause trouble to students in general.

The exclusion of intended learning efforts from the socio-affective variables encouraged the conceptualisation of EMI as a context of foreign language use. This statement is coherent with the relation between EMI implementation and the presence of foreign students and teachers, drawn by the interviewees. However, when EMI is justified by the desire to prepare students for international work communities, the necessity of a focus on language skills becomes stronger. In courses in which English has been chosen as the medium of instruction for that reason, a CLIL approach would be more suitable to develop students' linguistic proficiency.

Albeit described as language users, students do not seem to use English frequently during their classes. If students choose EMI to develop their fluency, such programmes might thus fail their expectations. A CLIL approach might give them the chance to use their English actively in less artificial situations than in language classes. Interactions seem to be generally more present in Norwegian than in Belgian lecture halls. Yet, most of the interviews suggest that practice is a very important factor to decrease language anxiety and EMI class anxiety. This concurs with the correlation between EMI participation and language anxiety found in the quantitative study. Norwegian students seem to have more opportunities to practise English than Belgian students, which might also explain why studying in Norway is associated with lower levels of anxiety.

In the quantitative analysis, it was shown that there is an association between international communities and attitudes towards EMI. This seems to be confirmed, especially as regards the possible self. Relevance is the primary concern, as highlighted in the previous section in relation with students' future communities of practice. EMI programmes are thus not suitable for all fields and all purposes, but should be implemented where relevant. In Belgium more

specifically, students seem to expect more from EMI at the linguistic level, and EMI classes would therefore benefit from a CLIL approach, with a stronger focus on language and more active skills, which will be of use in the students' future workplaces. In contrast, the international environment of Norwegian universities may already provide students with occasions to practise English. In any case, interactions should be encouraged, as EMI is associated with situations in which it is desirable to be able to claim the right to speak and integrate into an international community of practice or as to train for the needs of the future community of practice.

8.3.3 Research question 3: How do socioeconomic status, participation in EMI, and attitudes to EMI relate to each other?

The quantitative results show that socioeconomic status does not correlate with any of the other variables. Similarly, it was not mentioned by any of the interviewees in the qualitative study. However, some of the interviewees show concern about the accessibility of education. As regards access to education, one interviewee depicts EMI as a way to open up education to students from all linguistic backgrounds, especially as entry fees in English-speaking countries tend to be high. On the other hand, another interviewee highlights a drawback of EMI: English language proficiency becomes a condition to access higher education. In a globalised world, EMI becomes necessary, and proficiency in English with it. According to several of the interviewees, it is the role of secondary schools to equip students with these language skills. The question is then to know whether all secondary schools are able to do so equally well.

9 Conclusions

The aim of the present dissertation was to provide deeper insights into students' perceptions and beliefs about the use of English in higher education. Previous research on the subject suffers from some limitations: firstly, attitudes towards EMI are rarely theorised, secondly studies tend to focus on the attitudes of students who are enrolled in EMI exclusively, and, finally, the socio-affective variables involved in second language acquisition are rarely taken into account in EMI research. Moreover, to date, the context of French-speaking Belgium lacks investigations on EMI. For these reasons, this research work attempted to examine students' attitudes towards EMI, understood as a *habitus* oriented by the chance of linguistic profit (Bourdieu 1977), in the French-speaking Belgian and the Norwegian contexts through a mixed-methods approach. The questionnaire survey was targeted at both students who were enrolled in EMI and students who were not, and aimed to test the construct of attitudes and to investigate its correlation with the socio-affective variables involved in language learning (i.e., intended learning effort, language anxiety, EMI class anxiety, self-efficacy beliefs, imagined community, and possible self) and with students' socioeconomic status. The interview data were then analysed in an attempt to link the results of the questionnaire survey with students' accounts of the use of English in higher education, which was only partially successful. The interviews nevertheless draw attention to students' situated experience of EMI and the challenges they face, but they also enrich the study with elements that were not taken into account in the questionnaire design, such as the classroom composition and the frequency of in-class interactions. This chapter sums up the main findings of this research work.

As regards the construct of attitudes, Bourdieu's (1977) theories are only partially successful in conceptualising them. Attitudes were defined as a form of *habitus*. To measure them, the questionnaire assessed the chance of linguistic profit through three components: the legitimacy given to English as a medium of instruction, the perception of its use in the academic field, and the perceived chance of success in EMI. A component measuring students' willingness to enroll in EMI was added to the chance of linguistic profit. The advantage of such a construct lay in the incorporation of the notion of profit, which could contribute to evaluate the prestige associated with EMI participation in comparison with L1-medium education, while also including notions which have preoccupied researchers in the field so far, such as the fear of domain loss and the democratic value of EMI, in the notion of 'legitimacy'. However, the analysis of the construct in terms of reliability and internal

consistency led to the exclusion of many items. The final construct primarily relies on items measuring students' willingness to enroll in EMI, and the notion of 'legitimacy' is only represented by two items. Items concerned with prestige and domain loss were excluded from the scale. The perception of the field becomes primarily concerned with the perception of the future field in which students project to work, instead of the perception of the academic discourse community. In other words, attitudes do not seem to be identifiable with a habitus oriented by the chance of linguistic profit, and the construct loses part of its interest, as the notion of prestige does not appear as a primary concern. In the interviews, the students' attitudes towards EMI seem to be essentially dependent on the field in which they want to work: EMI is seen as legitimate and useful when English is students' future working language. This aspect shows that Bourdieu's theories are suitable in that English proficiency is a cultural capital that can indeed be converted into economic capital. Attitudes towards EMI are thus indirectly related to the profitability of English skills, depending on students' future communities of practice. EMI's legitimacy is also influenced by the classroom composition: English is the necessary lingua franca when international students are in the class or when the teacher does not master French or Norwegian. Future questionnaires aiming to measure the perceived legitimacy of EMI should take such factors into account. If English indeed appears to be the legitimate language of academia, especially in the Norwegian context, it does not seem to be the legitimate language of teaching in all fields and all classrooms: the L1 is believed to be more legitimate in fields that are oriented towards the local context and in classrooms composed by students with the same L1.

In general, students' attitudes to EMI are neutral to positive. They do not seem to avoid EMI classes, and, even when EMI is compulsory, students do not see it as something negative. This is confirmed in the data from the interviews, in which EMI appears to be either an opportunity to prepare for the future community of practice or a necessity due to the presence of foreigners, due to the forces of globalisation, which are usually seen in a positive light. Students who were enrolled in EMI at the time of the survey tend to be more positive about EMI than students who were not. The country of study is also associated with the results on the attitudinal scale: Belgian students tend to be more positive towards EMI than Norwegian students. This is in contradiction with the hypothesis according to which Norwegian students would be more positive towards EMI because EMI is more frequent in their institutions. Again, the results of the quantitative study show that attitudes cannot be seen as a habitus, as they do not seem to be oriented by the state of the market in which students evolve. On the

contrary, the difference between the two contexts may stem from the fact that EMI is considered ‘normal’ in Norway, while it is still associated with some prestige in French-speaking Belgium, where English-taught classes are less frequent.

As regards the socio-affective variables, the quantitative study shows that higher education cannot be equated with a context of second language acquisition: students consider themselves as language users rather than language learners. However, all investigated socio-affective variables (except the intended learning effort, whose results on the scale proved inconsistent) correlate with students’ attitudes towards EMI in the expected direction: high self-confidence and low anxiety correlate with more positive attitudes, and identification with international communities are correlated with more positive attitudes. This highlights that, as a context of second language use, EMI is distinct from L1-medium instruction: EMI has its own specificities and the socio-affective variables involved in second language acquisition are relevant to studies on EMI. Albeit different from contexts of acquisition, students’ linguistic proficiency in English is believed to improve in EMI, especially in Belgium, showing that EMI is a context of language development. Similarly, in the interviews, students explain that EMI is a way for them to prepare to the use of English at their future workplaces, as EMI is believed to improve their English proficiency in terms of terminology and receptive skills thanks to the input they get during classes.

Scores on the affective scales are rather positive: students tend to have high self-efficacy beliefs and low anxiety levels, in spite of a high individual variability. Participation in EMI is associated with higher self-efficacy and lower anxiety levels. Even though it is possible that students who are less self-confident avoid EMI classes, the interview data suggest that this association between the variables might be due to the input provided by EMI. As students in EMI make a more frequent use of English, their anxiety decreases, and their positive experiences lead to an increase in their self-efficacy beliefs. This, in turn, impacts on their attitudes and they become more positive towards EMI. As regards the communities with which students identify, they are on average very international. Identification with an international imagined community is correlated to more positive attitudes towards EMI, indicating that EMI might be a way for students to connect with these communities. Scores on the imagined community scale are, however, not associated with EMI participation. In contrast, score on the possible self scale (connected to future communities) are associated with EMI participation. In the interviews, participants’ imagined community does not emerge

as a topic related to their attitudes to EMI, while their possible self appears to play a significant role. The future community of practice influences students' attitudes towards EMI, in terms of the legitimacy attributed to its implementation and in terms of personal choices in the design of their programme. This supports the argument that the benefits of EMI depend on the fact that certain fields of study pave the way for students' future in international communities, while others do not. Students from such fields see themselves as members (or to-be members) of these international communities, arguably reinforcing their self-image of language users, while also increasing their expectations: EMI has to equip them with the linguistic skills that are necessary to evolve in international communities and that are specific to these communities. However, the interview data indicate that the linguistic skills developed in EMI are essentially passive because of the scarcity of classroom interactions. Students who choose EMI to prepare themselves to work in international communities should be given the opportunity to develop their active skills. As frequency of use seems to decrease language anxiety, this might be even more important for students to connect with their possible self. It should also be noted that all socio-affective variables but imagined community are associated with the country of study. In the case of the possible self scale, this association is rather difficult to explain, but, as regards self-efficacy and anxiety, the association might stem from the differences in terms of frequency of use in the two contexts. Indeed, in the interviews, interactions are described as scarce in both contexts, but this tendency seems even stronger in Belgium. This might explain why students in French-speaking Belgium tend to have higher levels of anxiety and lower self-efficacy beliefs, in spite of reporting higher levels of proficiency.

In line with a Bourdieusian approach, I hypothesised that participation in EMI is related to students' socioeconomic status, and that this factor might also influence their attitudes towards EMI and the socio-affective variables. According to the idea that participation in EMI might be a profit of distinction, it was expected that students with higher socioeconomic statuses would tend to be enrolled in EMI and to score more highly on the socio-affective scales. However, the quantitative study shows that, if socioeconomic status is associated with EMI participation, it is, in fact, because students with lower socioeconomic statuses tend to be enrolled in EMI. I speculatively suggested that this might be due to the fact people with lower SES associate EMI with international workplaces, which are prestigious, and would, therefore, consider EMI as a way to gain status. Moreover, SES is not associated with any of the socio-affective constructs under study. These results show that EMI is not a

discriminatory practice designed for an elite, as SES does not condition access to it. This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that institutions in the two countries tend not to require expensive official test results for students to enroll in EMI. However, SES might determine the access to higher education in general, as students have high SESs on average. The question of access to EMI and to education nonetheless appears in some of the interviews: EMI is believed, on the one hand, to open access to education to foreign students with different L1s, but, on the other hand, the necessity of being proficient in English might exclude some students from EMI programmes. EMI is thus an advantage and an inclusive practice as long as students are all equally prepared as regards English proficiency. The responsibility for this thus lies with secondary schools, according to the interviewees.

As concluding remarks, some recommendations could be addressed to higher education institutions to increase students' well-being in EMI based on the present findings. Firstly, offering language support might be beneficial to level out the high variability found in the scores on the self-efficacy and the anxiety scales. Such language support should be individualised and centred on active language skills to familiarise students with the use of English in higher education. The aim would be to give them the necessary confidence to feel free to enroll in EMI if they wish to or to take more satisfaction from EMI classes. Such support might also contribute to erase the differences between students from various secondary education institutions who might not be equally well prepared as regards their English skills. Secondly, there should be a distinction between EMI classes that are implemented to attend the needs of international students and teachers, and EMI classes implemented because of the international orientation of the field of study. In the case of the latter scenario, a CLIL approach might be more suitable to fulfil students' expectations as regards their preparation for international communities of practice. Students would benefit from more frequent interactions, as they will need active skills in English at their future workplaces. A CLIL approach would give them the opportunity to practise English in the community of practice of their class, which will make it easier for them to claim the right to speak at their future workplaces. Alternatively, language classes, adapted to students' field and plans for the future, might prepare them equally well. In any case, there should be some sensibilisation to raise EMI content teachers' awareness of their students' possible selves and imagined communities, and of the importance of developing the ability to claim the right to speak and the feeling of being legitimate users of English. Finally, students might benefit from some guidance on the management of pluriliteracy, especially in Norway. In the

interviews, students describe the challenges they face when they have to use Norwegian instead of English terminology, especially in informal situations, due to the overwhelming number of English-language resources used at university. Offering a workshop on translation strategies and on tools such as terminological databases might help students feel more comfortable when using Norwegian on academic topics.

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Appendices

Appendix 1. English version of the questionnaire with Norwegian introduction

Appendix 2. Interview guide with invitation email

Appendix 3. Transcription conventions adapted from Prior (2011)