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Medium Instruction at University

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Edited by Jennifer Valcke, Amanda C. Murphy, Francesca Costa

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Indice

Adapting to EMI

in Higher Education: Students' Perceived Learning Strategies[1]

Robert Wilkinson, René Gabriëls

To a varying extent, many universities are changing their language of instruction to English in order to position themselves in the global market of higher education. This change attracts mobile students who wish to undertake studies abroad, but they may have to adjust the way they study. The central question in the study we report here is how students perceive an effect of English-medium instruction on their learning strategies. In an exploratory study, students were interviewed about their learning strategies as a consequence of EMI, about possible inequalities in EMI and how they perceive them. The findings suggest that modification of learning strategies depends on personal agency and the learning context. The interviews reveal three types of linguistic asymmetry at the individual level under EMI. The qualitative data confirm findings of previous studies and suggest new perspectives for quantitative research on learning strategies in EMI and linguistic inequalities.

Keywords: English-medium instruction (EMI), learning strategies, language inequalities, linguistic asymmetry

Introduction

Universities[2] are competing in a race to claim a share of the global market for higher education. They have recognized that students have become very mobile and many are willing to travel abroad for their studies. Universities see these mobile students, rightly or wrongly, as a group of very gifted, highly motivated, extremely flexible, dynamic and creative individuals. The commodification of academic research and education entails an international competition among universities to attract as manyexcellent students as possible[3]. Universities want their share of this market. Moreover, enrolling such a vigorous group of students is attractive for recruiting highly talented academic staff (not to speak of the potential of well-funded research projects), and it is a two-way process: excellent staff

[1] Part of this paper was presented at the Situating Strategy Use conference at the Alpen-Adria Universität in Klagenfurt, Austria, in 2015. We thank the two anonymous reviewers and the editors for the constructive and helpful comments on this article, which have helped us to improve it considerably.

[2] Universities here include other institutions of higher education, whatever name they may be known under.

[3] H. Radder ed*., The commodification of academic research*, University of Pittsburgh Press, Pittsburgh 2010; R. Münch, *Globale Eliten, lokale Autoritäten. Bildung und Wissenschaft unter dem Regime von PISA, McKinsey & Co.*, Suhrkamp Verlag, Frankfurt am Main 2009.

attract excellent students. Universities may see themselves in a win-win situation. Excellent students and staff attract spearhead industries to the region, increasing the power and value of the university to the community. One can easily see how this theoretical path of university 'progress' can be attractive to the institutional top management.

Moreover, the path is eased by adopting a common language for learning and instruction. It is eased further by the policies of many governments that have adopted the same language as the foremost foreign language taught in schools. For example, Eurostat reports that in 2014, 94.1% of upper secondary students throughout the 28 member states were learning the same foreign language (English)[4]. The vast increase in the number of programmes in higher education degree programmes taught through English has been well documented[5] as well as the dominant reasons for their introduction.

The introduction of English-medium instruction (EMI) is part of the process of internationalization of the university. That process amounts to an amalgam of policies and practices that universities adopt as mechanisms to cope with the pressures of globalization, regulation and accountability. EMI has been defined as "the use of English to teach academic subjects (other than English itself) in countries or jurisdictions in which the majority of the population's first language is not English[6]". Scholars notably see EMI as anadaptive mechanism for change in response to globalization pressures[7]. Do students see EMI in the same way? What effects of EMI do they perceive on their learning? Do students modify their learning strategies when studying in EMI? The research we report here forms part of a larger study investigating the perceptions of EMI on the learning context. Our overall research aim is to explore the effects of language policy and practice on the learning and teaching environment in a university, in particular here what the impact of the EMI context is on student learning strategies.

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[4] Eurostat, Foreign language learning statistics, http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php/Foreign_language_learning_statistics(last accessed: May 11, 2017).

[5] B. Wächter – F. Maiworm ed., *English-taught programmes in European higher education: The state of play in 2014*, Lemmens, Bonn 2014; J. Dearden, *English as a medium of instruction – a growing global phenomenon*, British Council, London 2014 https://www.britishcouncil.org/sites/default/files/e484_emi_-_cover_option_3_final_web.pdf (last accessed: May 11, 2017); S. Dimova – A.K. Hultgren – C. Jensen ed., *English-medium instruction in European higher education*, De Gruyter Mouton, Boston/Berlin 2015; K. Ackerley – M. Guarda – F. Helm ed., *Sharing perspectives on English-medium instruction*, Peter Lang, Bern 2017.

[6] J. Dearden, *English as a medium of instruction...*

[7] P.J. Altbach – J. Knight, *The internationalization of higher education: Motivations and realities*, "Journal of Studies in International Education", 11, 2007, pp. 290-305; J.A. Coleman, *English-medium teaching in European higher education*, "Language Teaching", 39, 2006, pp. 1-14; C. Gnutzmann – M. Bruns, *English in academia – catalyst or barrier? Zur Einführung in eine kontroverse Diskussion*, in *English in academia – catalyst or barrier?* C. Gnutzmann ed., Gunter Narr, Tübingen 2008, pp. 9-24; H. de Wit, *Internationalization of higher education: Nine misconceptions*, "International Higher Education", 64, 2011, pp. 6-7; J. Jenkins, *English as a lingua franca in the international university. The politics of academic English language policy,* Routledge, New York 2014; H. Rose – J. McKinsey, *Japan's English-medium instruction initiatives and the globalization of higher education,* "Higher Education", 2017, https://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:8fefd80a-5afe-45f0-adb7-2344ea988dd3 , pp. 1-19, (last accessed: October 26, 2017).

Research into learning strategies has a long history. Strategy itself has military origins and has been described as a practice to maintain a balance between ends, ways, and means. It entails identifying objectives, and ensuring that the resources are available to meet them[8]. However, that could describe a process or a plan. A strategy arises when there is a problem, a difficulty, or potential conflict, and is a mechanism to seek to reach a solution or resolution. In education learners are confronted with challenges, problems, and difficulties, and they have to find ways to resolve them. Students adopt strategic behaviour to achieve their goals, though how they do so varies according to context, the task in question, as well as individual characteristics such as motivation, as a recent review of the effectiveness of learning strategy instruction shows[9]. Heikkilä and Lonka[10]classify three dominant theoretical inputs to learning strategies, approaches to learning, self-regulated learning, and cognitive strategy, concluding from their study that learning strategies can be explained as an intertwining of the three theoretical approaches. While EMI is a relatively new phenomenon in higher education, research into learning strategies and especially language learning strategies dates back several decades to the work of Rubin and Stern[11]. Learning strategies have been defined by Griffiths as "actions chosen by learners for the purpose of learning or regulating learning[12]". However, there has been sharp criticism, especially of language learning strategies[13],on the grounds of definition, scope, abstractness, among others. A survey of the work in the field of second language acquisition by Norton

[8] L. Freedman, *Strategy: A history*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2013.

[9] A.S. Donker – H. de Boer – D. Kostons – C.C. Dignath van Ewijk – M.P.C. van der Werf, *Effectiveness of learning strategy instruction on academic performance: A meta-analysis*, "Educational Research Review" 11, 2014, pp. 1-26.

[10] A. Heikkilä – K. Lonka, *Studying in higher education: Students' approaches to learning, self-regulation, and cognitive strategies*, "Studies in Higher Education", 31, 2006, pp. 99-117. Approaches to learning, e.g. see F. Marton – R. Säljö, *On qualitative differences in learning. I: Outcome and process*, "British Journal of Educational Psychology", 46, 1976, pp. 4-11; F. Marton – R. Säljö, *On qualitative differences in learning. II: Outcome as a function of the learner's conception of the task*, "British Journal of Educational Psychology", 46, 1976, pp. 115-127. Self-regulated learning, e.g. see P.R. Pintrich – E.V. de Groot, *Motivation and self-regulated components of classroom academic performance*, "Journal of Educational Psychology", 82, 1990, pp. 32-40. Cognitive strategy, e.g. see N. Cantor, *From thought to behaviour: Having and doing in the study of personality and cognition*, "American Psychologist", 45, 1990, pp. 735-750. Heikkilä and Lonka found that students using a deep approach were also better self-regulators and were optimistic; students using a surface approach had problems with study regulation and were pessimistic.

[11] J. Rubin, *What the "good language learner" can teach us*, "TESOL Quarterly", 9, 1975, pp. 41-51; H.H. Stern, *What we can learn from the good language learner*, "The Canadian Modern Language Review", 31, 1975, pp. 304-318.

[12] C. Griffiths, *What have we learned from "good language learners"?* "ELT Journal", 69, 2015, pp. 425-433.

[13] See in particular Z. Dörnyei – P. Skehan, *Individual differences in second language learning*, in *The handbook of second language acquisition*, C.J. Doughty – M.H. Long ed., Blackwell, Oxford 2003, pp. 589-630; Z. Dörnyei, *The psychology of the language learner*, Erlbaum, Mahwah NJ 2005. For a response see E. Macaro, *Strategies for language learning and for language use: Revising the theoretical framework*, "Modern Language Journal", 90, 2006, pp. 320-327.

and Toohey[14] summarizes how the early work on the successful language learning strategies of 'good language learners' has been complemented by an emphasis on learning context, identity and human agency.

Research into the effects of EMI on students' learning strategies is very limited. Recently Macaro[15] called for research into a wide range of areas, from the identification of the strategies used in EMI contexts and the consequent changes in interaction to the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic impacts on the students' first languages. It has been noted that students achieve success in EMI when they adopt effective learning strategies[16].

Macaro[17] has underscored the importance of investigating the effect of strategies on learning content as well as language, and research has begun in the EMI field. In their study of mainland Chinese students learning in an EMI programme in Hong Kong, Ding and Stapleton report that it took time for the students to change their learning strategies from a focus on linguistic form to a focus on content in the EMI setting[18]. A Malaysian university study in the humanities reports low awareness of language learning strategies among English majors, even though the students reported using more indirect than direct learning strategies[19]. Of more direct relevance is a Spanish study of students in accounting[20] comparing motivations and learning strategies among students on an EMI programme with their Spanish-medium cohorts. The EMI students show better motivation and higher self-confidence than the Spanish-medium students, and they score higher on the learning strategies denoting effort, time management, perseverance, and study organization. The study demonstrates changes of non-language learning strategies under EMI compared with the students in the first language. This is precisely the area that we are interested in.

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[14] B. Norton – K. Toohey, *Changing perspectives on good language learners*, "TESOL Quarterly", 35, 2001, pp. 307-322.

[15] Reported in A.D. Cohen – C. Griffiths, *Revisiting LLS research 40 years later*, "TESOL Quarterly", 49, 2015, pp. 414-429. E. Macaro's suggestions are on pp. 417-418.

[16] For example, as suggested by G.O. Hellekjaer – A.I. Hellekjaer, *From tool to target language: Arguing the need to enhance language learning in English-medium instruction courses and programs*, in *English-medium instruction in European higher education*, S. Dimova – A.K. Hultgren – C. Jensen ed., De Gruyter Mouton, Boston/Berlin 2015 (English in Europe, 3), pp. 223-243.

[17] See E. Macaro, *Students' strategies in response to teachers' second language explanations of lexical items*, "The Language Learning Journal", 45, 2017, pp. 352-367; E. Macaro, *Learning strategies in English-medium instruction contexts*, keynote at Situating Strategy Use 2 Conference, Komotini, Greece, 29 September 2017.

[18] F. Ding – P. Stapleton, *Walking like a toddler: Students' autonomy development in English during cross-border transitions*, "System", 59, 2016, 12-28.

[19] T.K. Chuin – S. Kaur, *Types of language learning strategies used by tertiary English majors*, "TEFLIN Journal", 26, 2015, pp. 17-35. R. Oxford classified language learning strategies in six broad categories in her 'Strategy Inventory for Language Learning' (SILL), with three direct strategies: memory, cognitive and compensation strategies; and three indirect strategies: metacognitive, affective, and social strategies. See R. Oxford, *Language learning strategies: What every teacher should know*, Newbury House/Harper & Row, New York 1990.

[20] M.J. Rivero-Menéndez – E. Urquía-Grande – P. López-Sánchez – M.M. Camacho-Miñano, *Motivation and learning strategies in accounting: Are there differences in English as a medium of instruction (EMI) versus non-EMI-students*, "Revista de Contabilidad/Spanish Accounting Review", 2017, http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.rcsar.2017.04.002, pp. 1-12,(last accessed: October 17, 2017). This is the only study revealed by our literature search that specifically investigates non-language learning strategies and EMI.

In line with the work of Rivero-Menéndez and colleagues, our central research question in the study reported here ishow students perceive an effect of EMI on their learning strategies. We investigated the effect of an EMI context on the students' perceptions of their learning strategies. To answer the research question we formulated some sub-questions. Which learning strategies do students prefer? Did they change their learning strategies as a consequence of EMI? What are the students' opinions concerning EMI? Do they perceive their context as equal or unequal? Perception in our study is defined as the student's report of what they think they do and should do, irrespective of whether they actually do what they say in reality. In essence, the perception of students is the process of their interpretation of stimuli in the brain about past experiences[21].

The structure of the article is as follows. In section 2, we set out our theoretical framework and the method we applied. We explain our theoretical assumptions and justify the chosen method. In section 3, we present the results of our explorative study. These results are based on semi-structured interviews. In the concluding section 4 we discuss the results and the possibilities for further research. We argue that the language policy of universities should address the linguistic asymmetries related to EMI.

2. *Theory and method*

Within the main research goal of exploring how actors in an internationalized context at university perceive EMI (the role of English and other languages) and its effects, here we report on a qualitative exploratory study with students about how EMI affects their learning and the learning strategies they use. As indicated in the introduction, EMI is defined following Dearden[22] as the teaching and learning of an academic subject (other than English itself) through English in a country in which the majority of the population's first language is not English.

We make the theoretical assumption that linguistic asymmetries underlie learning in an EMI context. A linguistic asymmetry is a situation in which agents donot have equal opportunities to communicate with each other, because of differences in language skills or the status of a language.A speaker may use a language in which she or he is less proficient to reach a learning goal. Learning strategies can be aimed at overcoming linguistic asymmetries, because the asymmetries affect content learning (learner agency). One can also speak of a linguistic asymmetry when a language has been given a privileged status or a language is perceived as inferior in comparison to other languages. Salleh, for instance, argues that "over the centuries, many people have been moulded and, subsequently, conditioned to believe in what they perceived to be their 'predicament' as inferior people with an inferior

[21] See for example D. Schacter – D. Gilbert – D. Wegner – B. Hood, *Psychology* (Second European Edition), Palgrave Macmillan, London, 2016; C. Ames – J. Archer, *Achievement goals in the classroom: Students' learning strategies and motivation*, "Journal of Educational Psychology", 80, 1988, 260-267.

[22] J. Dearden, *English as a medium of instruction...*

language vis-à-vis English[23]". It is relevant therefore to explore the conditions in EMI that contribute to linguistic asymmetries. Another theoretical assumption underlying the present inquiry is that linguistic asymmetries touch on the issue of linguistic justice. In the EMI context, linguistic asymmetry can lead to a perception of inequity. Van Parijs describes linguistic injustice as "the unfair distribution of the burdens of lingua franca production[24]". Here the focus is not on the language policy of universities, but on the perceptions of students regarding their linguistic practice.

The more specific goals of this study were (1) to identify and explore whether students perceived a change in their learning strategies in an EMI context, and (2) to explore their perceptions of learning in an EMI context and whether they experienced the learning context as equal. Regarding both goals, we have chosen to do a qualitative exploratory study[25]. The study is exploratory because we only want to explore whether students change their learning strategies in an EMI context and how they experience it. Based on the research results we will conduct further research. The study is qualitative because we assume that interviews provide a more detailed answer to the central research question than a survey. While qualitative research is particularly suitable for studying the nature of a phenomenon, quantitative research is especially suitable to determine the extent to which a phenomenon occurs.

There is a lack of clarity about the definition of learning strategies in the academic literature[26]. Learning strategies[27]can be defined, following Oxford, as the sum of the student's approach to learning and can include a combination of memory strategies, cognitive strategies, retrieval strategies, affective strategies, among others[28]. Consequently, we envisage a learning strategy, in line with Tóth,as "a complex system of procedures"[29](p. 214) where a learner may use a variety of methods, forms or means to achieve a chosen learning goal.

Learning strategies in EMI have been the subject of few studies. A search of eleven databases[30], using the search terms "English-medium instruction" or "EMI"and "learning strategies" and "higher education", yielded 181 references[31] for peer-reviewed research

[23] M.H. Salleh, *Coda: One Colonial language: One Great Tragic Epic*, in *English Language as Hydra: Its Impacts on Non-English Language Cultures,* V. Rapatahana – P. Bunce ed*.,* Multilingual Matters, Bristol/Buffalo/Toronto 2012, pp. 263-275.

[24] Ph. van Parijs, *Linguistic justice for Europe and for the world,* Oxford University Press, Oxford 2011, p. 72.

[25] R.A. Stebbins, *Explorative research in the social sciences*, Sage Publications, London 2001.

[26] See Z. Dörnyei – P. Skehan, *Individual differences in second language learning*...

[27] J. Rubin defined learning strategies broadly as "techniques or devices which a learner may use to acquire knowledge", in her seminal article *What the "good language learner" can teach us*, "TESOL Quarterly", 9, 1975, pp. 41-51.

[28] See for example R.L. Oxford, *Employing a questionnaire to assess the use of language learning strategies*, "Applied Language Learning", 7, 1996, pp. 25-45.

[29] P. Tóth, *Learning strategies and styles in vocational education*, "Acta Polytechnica Hungarica", 9, 2012, pp. 195-216.

[30] Business Source Complete, ERIC, JSTOR, Oxford Journals, PiCarta, PsycBooks, Sage Journals, Science Direct, SpringerLink, Taylor & Francis Journals, Wiley Online Library.

[31] The number varied slightly with successive iterations of the search or when the order of terms was changed.

articles published between a cut-off date of 2006 until 2015. After screening abstracts, 18 articles remained, covering both theoretical articles and empirical studies, of which there were only five that covered learning strategies in EMI in higher education. We also consulted additional articles that did not deal directly with learning strategies, but student learning practices under EMI, or that did not deal with higher education. Researchers investigated language learning strategies under EMI[32], adjustment and acculturation strategies[33], ability[34], teacher accommodation strategies to help learners[35], self-efficacy and self-regulation[36], and code-switching[37]. The diverse nature of these previous studies motivated our choice for an exploratory study into how students adapted their learning strategies under EMI. Subsequently, additional studies have appeared reporting investigations of language learning strategies under EMI[38], learner autonomy strategies[39], teacher accommodation strategies to help learners[40], self-efficacy and self-regulation[41], and change of learning strategies due to EMI[42].

Setting: This study was conducted at Maastricht University, the Netherlands, in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences (FASoS), in 2015. Around half of the students at Maastricht University come from outside the Netherlands, with a higher percentage at FASoS. The main first degree (bachelor's) programmes at FASoS are European Studies (in English) and Arts and Culture / Kunst en Cultuur, a programme comprising both

[32] J.W. Judge, *Use of language learning strategies by Spanish adults for Business English*, "International Journal of English Studies" (University of Murcia), 12, 2012, pp. 37-54; T.K. Chuin – S. Kaur, *Types of language learning strategies used by tertiary English majors...*

[33] S. Evans – B. Morrison, *Meeting the challenges of English-medium higher education: The first-year experience In Hong Kong*, "English for Specific Purposes", 30, 2011, pp. 198-208.

[34] D. Fung – V. Yip, *The effects of medium of instruction on certificate-level physics on achievement and motivation to learn*, "Journal of Research in Science Teaching", 51, 2014, pp. 1219-1245. This study, however, concerns upper secondary school learners.

[35] Y.-R. Tsai – W. Tsao, *Accommodation strategies employed by non-native English-mediated instruction (EMI) teachers*, "Asia-Pacific Educational Research", 24, 2015, pp. 399-407.

[36] D.H. Kim – C. Wang – H.S. Ahn – M. Bong, *English language learners' self-efficacy profiles and relationship with self-regulated learning strategies*, "Learning and Individual Differences", 38, 2015, pp. 136-142.

[37] E. Macaro – J.H. Lee, *Teacher language background, code-switching, and English-only instruction: Does age make a difference to learner attitudes?,* "TESOL Quarterly", 47, 2013, pp. 717-742.

[38] C.M. Amerstorfer, *Investigating learner preferences in the application of language learning strategies: A comparison between two studies*, "Colloquium: New Philologies", 1, 2016, pp. 119-135; E. Macaro, *Students' strategies in response to teachers' second language explanations of lexical items*, op. cit.; A. Soruç – C. Griffiths, *English as a medium of instruction: Students' strategies*, "ELT Journal", 2017, doi:10.1093/elt/ccx017,(last accessed: October 16, 2017).

[39] F. Ding – P. Stapleton, *Walking like a toddler...*

[40] L. Jiang – L.J. Zhang – S. May, *Implementing English-medium instruction (EMI) in China: Teachers' practices and perceptions, students' learning motivation and needs*, "International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism", 2016, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2016.1231166, pp. 1-13 (last accessed: October 16, 2017).

[41] D.H. Kim – C. Wang – H.S. Ahn – M. Bong, *English language learners' self-efficacy profiles and relationship with self-regulated learning strategies*, "Learning and Individual Differences", 38, 2015, pp. 136-142.

[42] M.J. Rivero-Menéndez et al., *Motivation and learning strategies in accounting...*

an English and a Dutch variant, or track. In contrast to the marked increase in student numbers in the English variant in recent years, the number of students doing the Dutch variant has decreased sharply. In the surrounding environment, English is not the first language of the majority of the population, although it is widely spoken as a second or foreign language[43].

Population: Students in the second or third year of their bachelor's programme were invited to participate in an interview concerning how they perceived the linguistic environment of their learning and how they adapted their learning strategies to the context. It was decided to recruit two students each from four different first-language groups (French, German, Dutch and English). A further Dutch student was recruited as she gave her native language as the local dialect (Limburgs). Thus, a total of nine students were interviewed.

Three students had dual nationality, and one was bilingual from childhood (French/Dutch). All interviewees except one (British) student reported high competence[44] in at least one other language, with two indicating good competence[45] in four languages besides their mother tongue. Seven of the students had lived abroad for periods of at least three months, while two (Dutch) had not. All students had highly educated parents[46], with only one student reporting one parent (mother) having secondary education as their highest level.

Interview process: Students were invited in pairs[47] to the interviews according to their first language[48]. The benefits of a pair interview (also called a couple interview) outweigh the disadvantages[49]. A disadvantage of a pair interview is that the interviewees can influence each other by steering the conversation in a specific direction. However, this disadvantage can be countered by pointed questions of the interviewer. A pair interview creates a dialogical situation that overcomes the disadvantages of the subjectivist first person's perspective and the objectivistic third person's perspective[50]. In fact, a pair interview creates a hermeneutic room for the perspective of the second person's perspective. One interviewee can metaphorically play the role of the birth helper of the other by evoking specific experiences and ideas, and the other way around. The rationale for conducting pair

[43] See A. Edwards, *English in the Netherlands: Functions, forms and attitudes*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam/Philadelphia 2016, for the position and status of English in the Netherlands.

[44] Self-reported competence: at least B2 or C1 on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages.

[45] Self-reported competence: at least B1 level.

[46] Higher vocational training or university education.

[47] The three Dutch students, i.e. including the dialect-speaking student, were interviewed together.

[48] The bilingual French/Dutch student chose French in this case on the grounds of residence in the French-speaking community in Belgium.

[49] See for some reflections on the pair or couple interview: R. Rizq, *The research couple: A psychoanalytic perspective on dilemmas in the qualitative research interview,* "European Journal of Psychotherapy and Counseling", 10, 2008, pp. 39-53; R.M. Melbr – E.Slaymaker – J. Cleland, *Recognizing and overcoming challenges of couple interview research,* "Qualitative Health Research", 23, 2013, pp. 1399-1407.

[50] H.G. Gadamer, *Wahrheit und Methode: Grundzüge einer philosophischen Hermeneutik*, Mohr Siebeck, Tübingen 1960.

interviews was therefore to allow one student to amplify the comments of his or her fellow student. All interviews were conducted with two interviewers, and the interviews lasted between 47 and 66 minutes.

Interview: The interview involved a set of semi-structured items and was organized in two parts. First, students completed a short questionnaire asking about demographic information. Then, the interviewers asked questions about the students' preferred learning styles[51] and whether their learning styles had changed as a consequence of EMI, about their individual learning strategies and whether these had changed under EMI, about their opinions concerning EMI and whether they found the learning context equal or unequal for everyone, and if so why[52]. The semi-structured interviews[53] allowed additional questions to be asked to probe answers, and allowed some variation in the order of the questions. Interviewees were informed about the purpose and goals of the study and assured that their identities would remain confidential. All interviewees signed an informed consent form.

Analysis: The interviews were recorded and subsequently transcribed. The transcription policy largely follows that of Studer, Kreiselmaier and Flubacher[54], although it deviates slightly in that the transcriptions were punctuated as appropriate for ease of reading and edited slightly to eliminate some hesitations and word repetitions. The transcriptions were analysed by searching for the interviewees' answers to the questions under learning styles and strategies and EMI. The remaining parts of the interviews were not used for this study. Software such as NVivo[55] was not used to code the transcripts.

3. *Results of the interviews*

The research was aimed at answering the question of how students perceive an effect of EMI on their learning strategies. It is important to specify that in the setting for this study, at Maastricht University learning is based on Problem-Based Learning[56]. This implies more emphasis on group sessions than on lectures. Students are supposed to be active in the

[51] P. Kirschner and J. van Merriënboer have convincingly demonstrated that there is no scientific support for learners having preferred learning styles. However, we included questions about learning styles as a way into asking about strategies that students use in specific circumstances. We are not arguing that students do actually have a preferred learning style. P.A. Kirschner – J.J.G. van Merriënboer, *Do learners really know best? Urban legends in education*, "Educational Psychologist", 48, 2013, pp. 169-183.

[52] Additional questions were asked about language policy, but these are not reported in this paper.

[53] J. Corbin – A. Strauss, *Basics of qualitative research: Techniques and procedures for developing grounded theory*, 3rd ed., Sage Publications, Thousand Oaks CA 2008; B. DiCiccio – B.J. Crabtree, *The qualitative research interview,* "Medical Education", 40, 2006, pp. 314-321.

[54] P. Studer – F. Kreiselmaier – M-C. Flubacher, *Language planning in the European Union: A micro-level perspective*, "European Journal of Language Policy", 2, 2010, pp. 251-270.

[55] QSR International, NVivo, http://www.qsrinternational.com/(last accessed: May 12, 2017).

[56] Via a step-by-step plan, problem-based learning pre-structures how students have to proceed during the group sessions. B.J. Duch – S.E. Groh – D.E. Allen ed., *The power of problem-based learning. A practical "how to" for teaching undergraduate courses in any discipline*, Stylus, Sterling VA 2002; J.F. Barell, *Problem-based learning: An inquiry approach,* Sage, London/New Delhi 2007. For the theoretical basis of problem-based learning, see H. Schmidt, *Problem-based learning: rationale and description*, "Medical Education", 1983, 17, pp. 11-16.

group sessions. With regard to learning strategies, we distinguish language learning from content learning, though we assume that they are related[57]. According to the interviewed students, content learning strategies carry more weight than language learning strategies. The learning strategies of students are the result of agency and structure, i.e. individual preferences and Problem-Based Learning. Within the structure set by Problem-Based Learning students can choose their learning strategies.

3.1 Learning strategies

Students have different learning strategies. Their learning strategies depend on the way they prefer to process information. While some prefer to have a lecture before they start to read, others prefer to read a text before they attend a lecture. A student belonging to the latter category says:

> I'm more fond of self-study actually because I can do it on my own pace really fast really slow depending on what I'm reading. and I can really adjust my manner of learning and then to have the tutorials or lectures afterwards that's for me very clear to me like I was totally wrong here, this is a clarification, this is indeed important, so that's more like a confirmation for me which is really important[58].

Some students claim to be well-organized and others not. They indicate that they have their own strategies not to become distracted. Students emphasize that the feedback from tutors affects their learning strategies. A Dutch student said: "I ask also like a teacher to tell me what's wrong with it or what can I do better. [...] I think you can become better if only someone tells you how to become better."

[57] In essence, learning can be said to involve the same cognitive and behavioural processes whether it focuses on learning a language or learning some specific content. Skehan notes that theories of language learning strategies (e.g. R. Oxford, *Language learning strategies...*; J. M. O'Malley – A.U. Chamot, *Learning strategies in second language acquisition,* Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990) assume content learning and language learning do not differ, but the assumption ignores the role for "any specifically linguistic faculty" (p. 287) (P. Skehan, *Individual differences in second language learning*, "Studies in Second Language Acquisition", 13, 1991, pp. 275-298). A.K. Jäppinen (*Thinking and content learning of mathematics and science as cognitional development in content and language integrated learning (CLIL): Teaching through a foreign language in Finland*, "Language and Education", 2005, 19 pp. 148-169) makes a similar point in connection with CLIL (pp. 152-153). We make a similar distinction, in that we allow for the possibility of specific content learning in a domain to follow a different acquisitional path than learning linguistic knowledge. M.A.K. Halliday (*Towards a language-based theory of learning*, "Linguistic and Education", 1993, 5, pp. 93-116) argues that learning language is not a domain of human knowledge (except in linguistics), "it is the essential condition of knowing, the process by which experience *becomes* knowledge" (p. 94, author emphasis). In this light, language is different from content since it is the fundamental medium through which learning takes place.

[58] Where appropriate, the quotations from the students have been slightly edited for ease of reading to eliminate unnecessary repetition and hesitation markers. The changes do not change the meaning of what they students wanted to say.

3.2 Adaptation

Students point out that they need time to adapt to learning through another language. Not only do they have to learn to study in another language, but they also need to adapt to the academic approach. As one Dutch student says: "In the beginning it was hard to adjust but I think more people had problems even native speakers, native English speakers, to get used to an academic way of reading and writing, but now I'm really used to it."

Although there is integrated content and language learning at Maastricht University, students concentrate more on learning the content than the language. One French student, for instance, did not expect the curriculum to pay so much attention to language skills:

> I would say that the approach to Maastricht's thinking is that the English level is my responsibility and the content study's their responsibility, but I didn't think that I would be pushed towards learning the language here, and I was actually quite surprised when we had the first language skills course where Research and Writing, there was a lot actually about how you write in English, and that I didn't quite expect. I was expecting everybody was supposed to come with already his English luggage.

A Dutch student adds: "[I] notice at some times that my progress itself in the language sometimes stops, yeah because we're really more focused on the content than the language." According to a French student, EMI did not change his content learning:

> It hasn't changed the way I learned the content, it has changed the way I approach the language. So the contents I pretty much assimilate the same way, but the way I approach the language has changed a lot, so now that I study political sciences my vocabulary, my English skills are centred around this field as well, whereas when I was in France much less so. My politics, my thinking about politics would have been maybe in French and that's shifted. [...] The way of approaching the content doesn't change, but the way – which language you use to resonate about it changes. So, it's very topical. I think of family in French and I think of politics, political science in English, but then again I think of French politics maybe in French.

In an EMIsetting, it is important to distinguish between the spoken and the written language. In the context of the PBL system at Maastricht University it is important to point out that students are expected to participate actively in the group sessions, while for the exams the written language is relevant. A British student elaborates on the difference:

> I definitely think language and written language are two very different things when you're studying here. Some of the written language might be very good and they'll understand it on paper but you hear them speak and they just don't get the little inconsistencies, I mean with writing English of course there's variations in spelling of words, still if you understand the basics, you're going to be able to write a paper, but language-wise it's different, [...] friends who aren't you know native English speakers say oh we really don't speak up because it's not our native tongue so.

3.3 Impact on first language

Several students pointed out that EMI has an effect on their mothertongue. A French student asserts that

> I would have a harder time going back to French content, so for example if I start writing a paper again, I'm not sure I could deal with French sources, academic sources, much less easier because I just know the codes of what I need. I very quickly in English now see in academic articles or what not, I can scan through it and see certain words that are in my interest and that I pick out and that I use, and maybe in French I'm less used to handing those codes, this information. [...] Let's say if I have an academic article in front of me I know if it's in English I can very quickly see which paragraph says what, and without reading the whole text, because I've taken on the ability in English a little bit to scan through it, and I know that the last sentence says it all basically in the paragraph, whereas in French I'm not sure I'm able to – to quickly scan through a text and know what it's about.

For a Dutch student taking the Dutch track but who has to attend lectures in English and to read texts in English, it is a disadvantage: "I notice my Dutch gets worse because we're doing so much in English and I have to write in Dutch."

Students who do the Dutch variant of the Arts and Culture programme do not apparently have it easy. The lectures and group sessions are largely in English, but they have to write their papers in Dutch. In contrast to the monolingual character of the English variant of the programme, students who do the Dutch variant must be *de facto* bilingual. Therefore, students who do the Dutch variant have to invest more time in translating. A student who is in the Dutch variant of the programme says:

> For me it takes a lot of time because I have to translate a lot of words and stuff, and I need to make my papers and my exams in Dutch, so I also have to translate into Dutch and learn in Dutch, while the tutorials and lectures are in English. [...]So sometimes it's hard because you have to translate it, sometimes also twice because the tutorials are in English again.

She and another Dutch student underline that searching in a dictionary is time-consuming. A German student confirms that for a non-native speaker, learning under EMI generally will take up a great deal of time: "I need more time I'm a slow reader anyway and if I then read in another language, of course it takes more time, and time in Maastricht is a bit precious."

3.4 Three linguistic asymmetries

The research shows that a university like Maastricht University that embraces EMI has to deal with linguistic asymmetries. Our study focusesmainly on the micro-level, that is at the level of the individual. Here different asymmetries arise. The first linguistic asymmetry on the micro-level is between students with good and those with less good or even insufficient

language skills. In the words of a student who does the Dutch variant of the Arts and Culture programme: "I find it really difficult to say something in English and mostly in tutorials I have to think a lot when I want to say something or which words I need to use. Most of the time I'm just thinking about it and somebody started talking and says what I wanted to say."A British studentunderlines that he does not have the hindrances of non-native speakers: "No hindrances really, the benefits again would just be presentations and a bit less of a load on my mind." Another British student acknowledges that non-native speakers think that they have an advantage:

> Just the presentations, and hindrances I guess I could say a lot of people expect me my level of English to be really high, I mean I speak quite well and people have commented on that, but then they say 'oh [...]could you grade a paper for me or something', and then the grade they get oh that's not great, 'you were probably better off me not checking it' but, you know I do see mistakes and I do see sentences that don't work very well, but still – it's like if you speak very well, they definitely expect you to be the best in English, but that's not always the case.

Apparently insufficient command of the English language is a reason to stop with a study in an EMI setting. One student says: "Especially in European Studies there were people who were so bad at English that they couldn't cope with the fact that they had to do everything in English and therefore they just had to drop out."

The second linguistic asymmetry on a micro-level partly corresponds to the previous one, and relates to the difference between native and non-native speakers. A Dutch student says: "During our tutorial we have three British boys in our class. [...] I can tell that my vocabulary is slightly less than theirs, obviously because it's their mother tongue and they know all the words."Interestingly, one of the French students emphasizes that it can be a benefit not to be a native speaker:

> in an international environment it's better to have a more let's say – classical English, so something that is not influenced by colloquial accents or dialects, so you can actually see for example in some tutorials the British people are the ones who are not – we will ask them to repeat themselves because we don't understand their accent, whereas we come from an international school, we have internalized different accents which actually form an English which is quite smooth.

In comparison to the native English speakers who do not master a foreign language, non-natives have the advantage of being able to read literature in their own language as well as English, as one German student remarks: "The advantage is that you can also read German literature."

The third linguistic asymmetry is between those who speak only or mainly their mother tongue and those who almost constantly have to speak another language. Several students indicate that studying in an EMI setting implies that they have difficulties to speak or write in their mother tongue. For instance, a German student states:

> I notice lately that my German suffers from speaking too much English because sometimes I'm talking to people in German and I just get that English words come to my head, certain words or concepts especially when it's more academic. I think more in English. That's what we call in Germany Denglish, this mix of German and English where you just have some English words get into your sentences.

A Dutch student says: "What I notice for instance if I have to explain to a Dutch person my essay that I've written in English, I'm reading in English, I'm talking in English all day, I cannot find the Dutch words anymore."

3.5 Discrimination

On the macro-level linguistic asymmetries entail discriminatory perceptions about a language and a language policy that accords a superior position to one language. A French student suggests that English has a better status than French:

> The main advantages of English are the social ones, the communicative ones, not really the scholarly ones. Let's say, I mean, obviously having a degree in English will be easily recognized around Europe, whereas if you have a French degree in let's say history, history of the Italian republic or something, it will – you have to prove to a German university that your degree is relevant to the university, for example, whereas if you have an English-language degree I think it's much easier.

Sometimes students have general views about differences between languages. They reveal such discriminatory perceptions when they say or suppose that one language is more complicated than the other. According to a German student, German is more complicated than English:

> I think English is a lot simpler, especially when you read academic texts, yeah I have the feeling that some German scholars [..] make their language, their sentences unnecessarily complicated. I read for example Habermas in English and in German and I actually get more in English than I get in German. So, I think that reading is actually easier when you learn in English than when you learn it in German.

A French student depicts the difference between his mother tongue and English similarly:

> When it comes to writing, English is very useful to actually expressing ideas because they have these combinations of words which you can combine and make express a concept whereas in France, in French you would actually have to write a whole sentence to express what you can express in two words in English. So it's actually a useful language in terms of simplicity.

As one German student notes, many books are translated in English, because it is the *lingua franca*[59], a point also made by the French and English interviewees[60]. However, translations have consequences. The German student emphasizes that "something is always lost in translation."

The student following the Dutch variant of the Arts and Culture programme does not find it fair that she has to do so much in English: "I'm in the Dutch track and they're not offering me the Dutch things and [...] I think okay it's really good also to learn English and to do it in English, but they have to say that to me beforehand." It should be noted that, at the time of this study, the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences offered a Dutch variant, which implied to the students that all the courses would be in Dutch, which was not the case. This suggests a failure to honour implied commitments[61]. The Faculty has since changed its course information for students taking the Dutch variant.

Integrating Content and Language in Higher Education[62] (ICLHE) is an approach that aims to promote the learning of both the content and the language at the same time together. However, in the EMI setting at Maastricht University, the focus is on the content and not the language. That might be the reason why some students would like extra courses on the English language. One Dutch student comments: "I would really enjoy having an English class just to study English and not in English." A student who studied one year of European Studies and switched to Arts and Culture pleads for an extra language course:

> I did a year of European Studies and I think they were more helpful in giving you the tools [...] how you write your English and how you speak your English and what is appropriate and what is not, and I think compared to Arts and Culture, they want to help you improving your writing skills, but they're not so much focused on good English, than I think in European Studies, so I think it would be helpful to focus more on teaching the language.

The EMI setting at Maastricht University is generally seen as positive. The costs do not outweigh the benefits. Various students see EMI as an enrichment. A German student says about EMI: "I think it's one of the main motivations for many students to come here." And a Dutch student states:

> Everyone can communicate with each other, we can still become friends even though we're still not speaking the same mother tongue whatsoever, and later on with work it's of course a big advantage, also in life it's so nice that you can communicate with

[59] "I believe that it's more and more the *lingua franca*" (French student). All the faculties at Maastricht University offer EMI courses.

[60] Interestingly, not by the Dutch students.

[61] This may be a factor in the decline in the numbers of students wishing to follow the Dutch variant (see section 2, setting).

[62] See for example R. Wilkinson ed., *Integrating content and language: Meeting the challenge of a multilingual higher education*, Universitair Pers Maastricht, Maastricht 2004.

> other people which otherwise would not have been possible but only because you try to learn the language as good, well as possible.

In contrast to both voices, a French student emphasizes that the enrichment EMI offers is at the same time accompanied by an impoverishment:

> it's a bit dual for me because I see it as an enrichment of my English here because it's mostly English I use, but [...] it's always related to the other language which becomes impoverished, a little bit. I do feel that you could have two or three languages perfectly mastered, but I feel that the more I study in English here, the more I lose in my French capacity, a little bit. So for example the fact that I was trained to reflect on political sciences in English, [...] the little I had in such reflection in French was taken away because now [...] the easy way would be to take English language for that.

4. *Discussion and conclusion*

This study shows that students perceive their learning strategies to be affected by characteristics of the student's agency and the educational setting. This fits in with findings elsewhere about learning strategies[63] where the learning strategy choice depends on the nature of the task at hand, the autonomous motivation of the learner[64], and the educational context. The main conclusion suggests that EMI stimulates all our respondents, except the English-native speakers, to modify their perceived learning strategies[65]. This finding concurs with previous research where students report having changed their strategies or adopted new ones, perhaps at the explicit instigation of teachers[66]. Ding and Stapleton have shown that students switch their focus from linguistic form to strategies for content learning[67]. For non-native speakers of English, overcoming linguistic asymmetries is a necessary condition for content learning. However, the fact that the programme is taught through English does not present additional problems for some students who persevere with their previously successful learning strategies. Dafouz and colleagues have observed some effects on learning strategies but they relate these to the nature of the discipline. They found no significant difference between studying in English and in Spanish within

[63] For example, M. Baeten – E. Kyndt – K. Struyven – F. Dochy, *Using student-centred learning environments to stimulate deep approaches to learning: Factors encouraging or discouraging their effectiveness*, "Educational Research Review", 2010, 5, pp. 243-260; E. Kyndt – F. Dochy – K. Struyven – E. Cascellar, *The direct and indirect effect of motivation for learning on students' approaches to learning through perceptions of workload and task complexity*, "Higher Education Research and Development", 30, 2011, pp. 135-150.

[64] In our study, we characterize our respondents' perceptions of the student's 'personality' as student agency. This chimes in with the factors comprising personality that promote deep learning (e.g. openness to experience, conscientiousness, extraversion) in Baeten *et al.*, *Using student-centred learning*, p. 251.

[65] The English students speak of "adapting to the level of the other students".

[66] See for example J.W. Judge, *Use of language learning strategies by Spanish adults in business English*.

[67] F. Ding – P. Stapleton, *Walking like a toddler...*

the same discipline[68]. Costa and Mariotti also found no significant difference between English- and Italian-medium instruction strategies[69]. A comparative study among EMI accounting students by Rivero-Menéndez and colleagues[70] reported greater effort, time-study management techniques, perseverance with reading academic literature, and the setting of organizational goals more than comparable students on an equivalent Spanish-medium study programme. The differences were statistically significant. Our study lends support to the conclusion that for well-motivated advanced students with highly proficient language ability[71], EMI is not likely to present additional challenges. For these students, content learning is paramount and strategies for content learningprevail over language learning strategies[72]. Another reason may be that the benefits of learning in an EMI context outweigh the costs. The benefits include perceived increased job opportunities and the pleasure of studying in an international environment[73]. The costs mainly concern the additional time necessary and the extra effort required.

Universities would be wise to address linguistic asymmetries, including the three types identified in our study. The first type lies between students with good and those with less good or even insufficient language skills. This type of asymmetry increases the difficulty for some students to contribute to group sessions or to write academic papers. The second type is between native and non-native speakers, whereby native speakers of English are perceived to accrue an advantage, because English is the *de facto lingua franca*[74]. The third linguistic asymmetry we identified is between those who speak primarily their mother tongue and those who constantly have to speak another language, not only in studying but also socially. Students whose mother tongue is not English report difficulties speaking or writing in their mother tongue, because it suffers from the persistent use of English. In addition to these three types of linguistic asymmetry on a micro-level, there are also asymmetries on a

[68] E. Dafouz – M. Camacho – E. Urquia, *'Surely they can't do as well': A comparison of business students' academic performance in English-medium and Spanish-as-first-language-medium programmes*, "Language and Education", 28, 2014, http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2013.808661(last accessed: June 17, 2017).

[69] F. Costa – C. Mariotti, *Differences in content presentation and learning outcomes in English-medium instruction (EMI) vs. Italian-medium instruction (IMI) contexts*, in *Integrating content and language in higher education*, J. Valcke – R. Wilkinson ed., Peter Lang, Frankfurt 2017, pp. 187-204.

[70] M.J. Rivero-Menéndez et al., *Motivation and learning strategies in accounting...*

[71] See K. Lueg – R. Lueg, *Why do students choose English as a medium of instruction? A Bourdieusian perspective on the study strategies of non-native English speakers*, "Academy of Management Learning and Education", 14, 2015, pp. 5-30. Lueg and Lueg show that for management education, perceived higher English proficiency is related to higher social background, which in turn increases the likelihood of choosing an EMI programme. For such students EMI functions as social and symbolic capital.

[72] M.J. Rivero-Menéndez et al., *Motivation and learning strategies in accounting...* See also F. Ding – P. Stapleton, *Walking like a toddler...*

[73] K. Lueg – R. Lueg, *Why do students choose English as a medium of instruction?...* Lueg and Lueg demonstrate that students opt against EMI if they perceive barriers to EMI (e.g. risk of lower grades, inability to understand content), and that 'lower strata' students perceive the barriers as greater than they actually are.

[74] Holden criticizes the perception of English as a *lingua franca*, from quite a contrary perspective to Phillipson. See N. Holden, *English in the multilingual European economic space*, in *Investigating English in Europe: Contexts and agendas*, A. Linn ed., De Gruyter Mouton, Boston/Berlin 2016 (English in Europe, 6), pp. 40-50.

macro-level. The latter entail discriminatory perceptions about a language and a language policy that privileges a language[75]. In the academic world nowadays, English has a higher status than French or German[76].

Our study has focused on the perceptions of students, both of their learning strategies and of the linguistic asymmetries they experience[77]. It would be valuable to conduct observational and experimental studies of learning in EMI to elucidate whether the perceived use of learning strategies matches what students do in practice, whether the linguistic asymmetries perceived are in fact present in the learning context and how they might have an additive or detrimental effect on learning.

We note that research on learning strategies in EMI has only recently begun, and that results reported so far are limited, disparate, and lack clarity to allow generalization. We can only reiterate the call by Macaro[78] for more research into areas such as how classroom interaction changes under EMI, as well as the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic effect of both the first language of the learners and their English. EMI in higher education will generate contexts where students from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds learn together with teachers who may or may not share the same background. Such contexts offer plentiful contingencies for overt and tacit linguistic asymmetries, which highlights the need for the study of learning strategies under EMI to take linguistic asymmetries into account.

This exploratory study has been fruitful because it provides a thick description of the respondents' experiences and feelings[79] in response to the research question, which a survey would not. However, one cannot generalize the results. Nevertheless, they are a stepping stone to designing new research. The qualitative data provide new perspectives for quantitative research on linguistic inequalities. The interviewees also pinpointed aspects of EMI that deserve further research. For instance, the linguistic asymmetries that lead to some students stopping studying through EMI because they lack the necessary

[75] R. Phillipson, *English as threat or opportunity in European higher education*, in *English-medium instruction in European higher education*, S. Dimova – A.K. Hultgren – C. Jensen ed., De Gruyter Mouton, Boston/Berlin, 2015 (English in Europe, 3), pp. 19-42. The use of English is not "neutral", p. 26.

[76] See for example U. Ammon, *English as a language of science*, in *Investigating English in Europe: Contexts and agendas*, A. Linn ed., De Gruyter Mouton, Boston/Berlin 2016 (English in Europe, 6), pp. 34-39; see also U. Ammon, *Deutsch als Wissenschaftssprache: Wie lange noch?* in *English in academia: Catalyst or barrier?* C. Gnutzmann ed., Gunter Narr, Tübingen 2008, pp. 25-43.

[77] H. Z. Waring – S.C. Creider –C.Box, *Explaining vocabulary in the second language classroom: A conversation analytic account*, "Learning, Culture and Social Interaction", 2, 2013, pp 249-264; S. Kurhila, *Correction in talk between native and non-native speaker,* "Journal of Pragmatics", 33, 2001, pp 1083-1110; P.H. Nelde, *Maintaining multilingualism in Europe: Propositions for a European language policy,* in *Maintaining minority languages in transnational contexts,* A. Pauwels – J. Winter – J. Lo Bianco ed., Palgrave Macmillan, Basingstoke 2007 pp. 59-77.

[78] Macaro's suggestions are on pp. 417-18 in A.D. Cohen – C. Griffiths, *Revisiting LLS research 40 years later*.

[79] M.D. Rahman, *The advantages and disadvantages of using qualitative and quantitative approaches and methods in language 'testing and assessment' research: A literature review*, "Journal of Education and Learning", 2017, 6, pp. 102-112.

language skills or because they lack academic competences[80] would be good starting points for new research. This might also be relevant for the language policy of universities. These linguistic asymmetries arise at both a micro and a macro level and epitomize discussions about linguistic justice.

[80] This partly depends on the uneven level of "secondary school leaving qualifications". The European Union prohibits discrimination on grounds of nationality, religion, gender, etc., but there would be no obstacle to a university establishing non-discriminatory higher entry standards, providing they meet national requirements. See European Parliament, Committee on Culture and Education, *Higher education entrance qualifications and exams in Europe: A comparison*, 2014, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/RegData/etudes/etudes/join/2014/529057/IPOL-CULT_ET%282014%29529057_EN.pdf, (last accessed: May 23, 2017).

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