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English Medium Instruction: Policies for Constraining Potential Language Use in the Classroom and Recruiting Instructors

İngilizce Öğretim: Sınıfta Potansiyel Dil Kullanımı ve Öğretim Elemanı İstihdam Politikaları

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Abstract

English medium instruction (EMI), has posed benefits and challenges in Higher Education Institutions (HEIs). Especially in the contexts where English is used as a foreign language, EMI universities may face two significant problems: 1) finding instructors meeting both academic and English proficiency requirements, 2) constraining potential language use in the classrooms where the majority of the students and the instructor share the same mother tongue. This study aims to unearth the policies employed by the three state EMI universities to handle these problems. Content analysis is used for the data consisting of documents and administrators' responses to an online open-ended questionnaire. The findings reveal that the primary supply for instructor demand is the local academics with EMI background and academic experiences abroad. There is no policy that directly constrains the classroom language to English, but universities make use of some indirect policy mechanisms such as including language of instruction in course evaluation forms and increasing the number of international students.

Key Words: English medium instruction, language policy, higher education institutions, instructor recruitment, use of English in the classroom

Özet

Ingilizce öğretim Yüksek Öğretim Kurumları için bazı faydalar ve zorluklar barındırmaktadır. Özellikler İngilizcenin yabanı dil olarak kullanıldığı ortamlarda İngilizce öğretim sunan üniversiteler iki önemli sorun ile karşı karşıyadır: 1) hem akademik gereklilikleri hem de İngilizce yeterlik şartını karşılayabilecek öğretim elamanları bulma, 2) öğrencilerin büyük çoğunluğunun ve öğretim elemanlarının aynı anadili paylaştığı bir ortamda sınıf içindeki potansiyel dil kullanımlarını kontrol etme. Bu çalışma İngilizce öğretim sunan üç devlet üniversitesinin bu sorunlarla baş etmek için uyguladıkları politikaları ortaya koymayı hedeflemektedir. Dokümanlar ve yöneticilerin açık uçlu anketlere verdiği cevaplardan oluşan veriler için içerik analizi yöntemi kullanılmıştır. Bulgular öğretim elemanı ihtiyacının birincil olarak İngilizce öğretim geçmişi olan ve yurt dışı akademik deneyim sahibi yerel akademisyenler ile sağlandığını ortaya koymaktadır. Sınıfta dil kullanımını doğrudan kontrol eden bir politika bulunmamaktadır ancak üniversiteler ders değerlendirme anketlerinde öğretim dilini dahil etmek ve uluslararası öğrenci sayısını artırmak gibi dolaylı politika uygulamaları kullanmaktadırlar.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İngilizce öğretim, dil politikaları, yüksek öğretim kurumları, öğretim elemanı istihdamı, sınıfta İngilizce kullanımı

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1.Introduction

Having gained power and status across the globe, English has been "acting as a crucial gatekeeper to social and economic progress" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 13) in the backdrop of its precedence as a global lingua franca. In line with this, new practices in educational settings such as European Commission's Erasmus (European Community Action Scheme for the Mobility of University Students) mobility program (1987) and Bologna Declaration (1999) have had a great impact on language and language teaching policies in many countries all over the world. An important example to such policy changes is the embracement of English-medium instruction (hereafter EMI) at Higher Education Institutions (hereafter HEIs) throughout the world (Bradford, 2013; Kırkgöz, 2014; Zhang, 2018).

The declarations in the 2004-2006 EU Action Plan state that the aim is to improve language learning and promote linguistic diversity, which is "one of the EU's defining features" (European Commission, 2004, p. 12) and suggest that HEIs are of vital importance to achieve these goals in terms of "promoting societal and individual multilingualism" (p. 20). On the other hand, despite this suggested potential for multilingualism and multiculturalism as well as the multilingual, multicultural, and international student profile, there are two controversial realities that may hinder this potential (Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2011). First, the universities in English-speaking countries are mostly monolingual. Moreover, multilingual and multicultural students in these universities are expected to adopt language and literacy practices of a certain kind. Second, English has widely become the only foreign language used as a means of instruction in these educational settings. Therefore, despite the European Commission's attempts to foster multilingualism and multiculturalism at HEIs and the fact that most of Europe is an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context, one language- the mother tongue of only one country in the EU (Ireland)- has been chosen to standardize the medium of instruction in HEIs. This means that although promoting diversity is accepted in declarations, Western language policies have mostly been "based on false either-or thinking", which means "you have to choose between languages, you cannot have both", promoting "subtractive rather than additive language learning and subtractive spread of English. . . Diversity is killed" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 665). In brief, the Bologna Process has undermined the European Union's goal of multilingualism (Costa & Coleman, 2013). Interestingly, the adoption of EMI has not been limited to Europe; it has gained power and proliferated in many HEIs. For example, in some universities in Korea, students have to take at least a few EMI courses to graduate depending on their majors (Chang, Kim, & Lee, 2017). Furthermore, many Middle Eastern countries such as Bahrain, Qatar, the United Arab Emirates and Oman have adopted EMI at all private and state colleges and universities (Al-Bakri, 2013). Similarly, there has been a striking increase in the number of universities that offer programs through English in the Asia-Pacific region (Kirkpatrick, 2014).

In addition to being a significant policy of HEIs, EMI has also attracted the attention of researchers in the field. Most of the previous research on EMI has focused on perceptions of students (Al-Bakri, 2013; Başıbek, Dolmacı, Cengiz, Bür, Dilek, & Kara, 2014; Bozdoğan & Karlıdağ, 2013; Huang, 2015; Kırkgöz, 2014; Liu, 2019; Macaro & Akıncıoğlu, 2018; Yeh, 2014), instructors (Doiz et al., 2011; Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011; Jiang, Zhang, & May, 2019; Kılıçkaya, 2006, Macaro, Akıncıoğlu, & Dearden, 2016; Yeh, 2012) and both parties (Belhiah

& Elhami, 2015; Hu, Li, & Lei, 2014; Kırkgöz, 2009b; Kim, 2011) as well as the effect of EMI on learning (Dafouz & Camacho-Miñano, 2016; Klippel, 2003; Sert, 2008). However, research on EMI instructors is scarce and limited in focus; in fact, competency areas for qualified EMI instructors have not been identified even for native speakers of English (Lasagabaster et al., 2014, cited in Macaro, Curle, Pun, An, & Dearden, 2018). Moreover, as teachers have a crucial role in achieving any educational policy including EMI, it can be claimed that finding instructors who can overcome the relevant challenges is the primary concern of the HEIs. In this sense, EMI universities look for local instructors- referring in this study to academics teaching in HEIs- with the required linguistic capabilities for running the course in English. In addition, the term 'localness' in the present research is used to explicate that the instructors are Turkish academics who are non-native speakers of English. Despite their crucial role, no research has been conducted on HEI policies regarding the recruitment of the most appropriate EMI instructors.

Another focus of the present paper is the language policy mechanisms that aim to constrain potential language use in EMI classrooms. As displayed in the Figure 1, language practices in a country are based on ideologies which are put into practice through language mechanisms that construct de facto language policy of this specific context (Shohamy, 2006). The EMI universities make use of language policy mechanisms categorized by Shohamy (2006, p. 59) as language laws as they "create de facto language practices and thereby turn ideology into practice". Once a preferred status and rights are granted to specific language(s) via language laws- medium of instruction is an example to such a status-, "most people have no choice but to comply" (Shohamy, 2006, p. 60). Therefore, the courses in EMI universities are expected to be conducted in English. However, in some contexts, although English might be "stipulated as the working language for all course-related activities, actual use of English is limited" (Jiang et al., 2019, p. 8).

Figure 1

"List of Mechanisms between Ideology and Practice" Adopted by (Shohamy, 2006,p. 58)
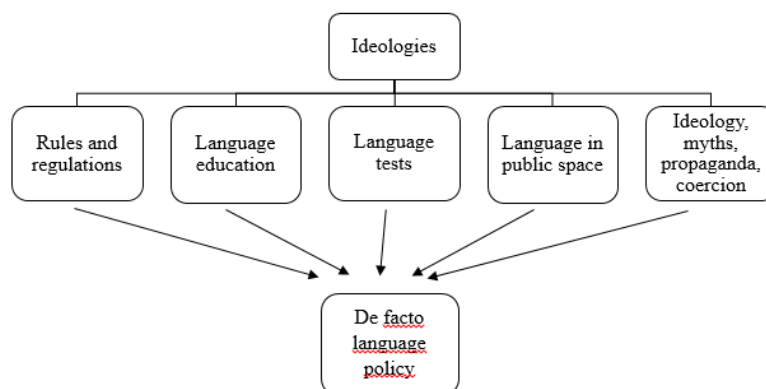
To address the above-mentioned issues, this study aims to answer the following overarching questions: 1) What are the characteristics of instructor population in Turkish state

EMI universities in terms of educational background and localness? 2) What are the instructor recruitment policies that enable these universities to meet the required instructor quality of an EMI context, 3) What language policy mechanisms aim to constrain potential language use in the EMI classroom?

1.1. Benefits and Challenges of EMI

The existing research on students' and instructors' perceptions of EMI has revealed findings addressing both benefits and challenges. It was underscored in the previous studies that EMI promotes student and instructor motivation, (Doiz et al., 2011), access to materials and resources (Doiz et al., 2011; Kırkgöz, 2014; Macaro et al., 2018), student and instructor mobility (Bradford, 2013; Dearden & Akıncıoğlu, 2016; Doiz et. Al., 2011; Macaro et al., 2018; Zhang, 2018), internationalization of the HEI (Al-Bakri, 2013; Bradford, 2013; Chang et al., 2017; Dearden & Akıncıoğlu, 2016; Doiz et al., 2011; Kırkgöz, 2014; Macaro & Akıncıoğlu, 2018; Macaro et al., 2018; Poon, 2013; Zhang, 2018), better job opportunities (Bradford, 2013; Doiz et al., 2011; Hernandez-Nanclares & Jimenez-Munoz, 2017; Kırkgöz, 2014), higher university ranking and qualified local workforce (Bradford, 2013), and developed English proficiency (Bradford, 2013; Kırkgöz, 2014; Sert, 2008). In spite of many advantages, EMI also poses some challenges, such as detrimental effects on local language and academic culture (Al-Bakri, 2013; Ammar, Ali, Fawad, & Qasım, 2015; Bradford, 2013; Hunt, 2012), limited qualified instructors (Bradford, 2013), students' and lecturers' insufficient English language competence, (Chang et al., 2017; Costa & Coleman, 2013; Jiang et al., 2019), and instructor workload and demotivation (Bradford, 2013; Doiz et al., 2011; Macaro et al., 2018).

1.2. EMI in Turkish Higher Education

Considered as a key factor for internationalization and modernity, EMI has also received a lot of popularity and attention in HEIs in Turkey. The history of EMI in Turkey dates back to 1863 with the foundation of an American EMI secondary school (British Council, 2015), followed by the first national EMI secondary school in 1953, the first state EMI university in 1956, and the first private EMI university in 1984. In the 1980s, discussions were held to establish a consistent and well-designed language policy for EMI, which led to the introduction of two important language policy acts in 1983 and 1984 (Kırkgöz, 2009a). The universities in Turkey have been categorized into three groups based on the practices regarding the language of instruction: EMI universities (where the medium of instruction is only English for all the courses in all departments), partial EMI universities (where the medium of instruction is English in some departments and Turkish in others), TMI (where the medium of instruction is only Turkish).

In 1995, only two of the 53 state universities and all three private universities were offering EMI. In 1996, due to the growing demand for EMI, the Turkish Council of Higher Education (CoHE) requested the departments at universities to determine their medium of instruction as Turkish or English, with a list of criteria (Kırkgöz, 2009a). One of these criteria was having a sufficient number of content instructors who were able to offer courses in a foreign language (i.e., mainly English). As for instructor recruitment criteria in EMI universities, CoHE defines a general framework; however, the universities may have different applications according to their needs and priorities as long as they stay within this framework (Official

Gazette, 2016). In 2017, 77.6 % of the Turkish state universities did not offer EMI courses, meaning that most of the EMI courses are offered in private institutions (Taquini, Finardi, & Amorim, 2017). Currently, three public and seven private universities are EMI-only. On the other hand, according to a report published by the British Council (2015) titled The State of English in Higher Education in Turkey, giving exact numbers regarding the medium of instruction is difficult as it can vary in many ways.

According to the report (2015, p. 118), although the majority of the instructors were proficient enough to teach in English, two problems that hinder departments to meet current requirements or expand their EMI programs were detected:

1.   There is a shortage of academics with the necessary levels of English proficiency to teach their specialist subjects.

2.   The teaching styles of most EMI academics fail to accommodate the language problems of their students.

2. Methodology

Having an exploratory stance, this study aims to identify the instructor profiles in the three state EMI universities in Turkey, unearth the policies that are used in these universities to hire qualified instructors and to constrain potential language use in the classroom. Since there are three state EMI universities in Turkey, each university is considered as an individual case that reflects a part of the common policies. In this sense, our research can be considered as an instrumental case study in which the "researcher is interested in understanding something more than just a particular case . . . studying the particular case only as a means to some larger goal" (Fraenkel &Wallen, 2006, p. 431). Parallel with the research goals, the study in based upon qualitative data. Basically, two sources of data were used: 1) external official documents of the three state EMI universities and 2) elaborated responses of administrators (Vice President, Assistant to the President, Dean and Vice Dean) of these universities to seven open-ended questions in an online questionnaire. Although the study has a qualitative nature, quantitative approach to data analysis was also adopted when necessary. Therefore, content analysis was used as it allows both numerical and verbal description of coded data (Krippendorf, 2004).

2.1. Participants

Using English as a medium of instruction poses some challenges to the universities in Turkey. Specifically, finding native or foreign instructors is a financial burden to the universities who aim to find English-speaking faculty. Private universities charge tuition fee from students, and therefore own a larger budget to hire instructors from all over the world. On the other hand, state universities have a quota to recruit foreign instructors and a relatively limited budget managed by the regulations of the Higher Education Council. In Turkey, there exist only three state universities which offer full English medium instruction in all programs. These universities were included in the sampling of the present study because they have relatively limited financial opportunities compared to their private counterparts to hire a native or foreign instructor, which makes them more likely to recruit local instructors with the required qualifications. Two of these universities (U2 and U3) are very large, comprising of many schools and departments with a crowded population of instructors. On the other hand, U1 is

relatively new and small with very limited number of schools, departments, and instructors. The numbers of schools, departments and instructors in each university are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1.

The Number of Schools, Departments and Instructors

	Number of schools	Number of departments	Number of instructors
U1	5	28	77
U2	4	61	474
U3	5	37	846

In the present study, homogenous sampling, "in which all of the members possess a certain trait or characteristic" (Fraenkel & Wallen, 2006, p. 431) has been used. In order to gain a deeper perspective regarding policies of instructor recruitment and constraints in terms of potential language use in EMI classrooms, an open-ended questionnaire was given to seven administrators with at least three years of administrative experience and information about the language policies and regulations in these universities. The aim was to understand the overall policies of these universities; therefore, rather than focusing on certain departments and collecting data from these department heads, we collected data from managers who are more likely to be policy makers, such as Assistant to the Rector, Dean, Vice Dean, Chairperson, Director of School of Foreign Languages. In addition, some of these participants had experience in more than one of these managerial positions, which provided them with opportunities to obtain substantial information about policies. For ethical considerations, participants were informed about the research, and participation was on voluntary basis.

As administrative responsibilities of the participants led to limitations in time and scheduling, instead of semi-structured interviews, an online open-ended questionnaire was used. Detailed information about the participants is presented in the table below.

Table 2.

Demographic Information and Administrative Positions of the Participants

	Age	Gender	Academic Title	Administrative Roles	University
P1	50	F	Professor	*Dean	U3
P2	57	F	Professor	*Assistant to the Rector *Vice Dean	U3
P3	54	M	Professor	*Dean *Chairperson	U3
P4	40	M	Assistant Professor	*Vice Dean	U2
P5	56	F	Professor	*Vice Rector *Director of School of Foreign Languages	U2
P6	51	M	Professor	*Vice Dean *Chairperson *Dean	U1
P7	35	M	Assistant Professor	*Vice Dean	U1

2.2. Documents

Document analysis was employed for data triangulation along with other data collection tools (Bowen, 2009). More specifically, external official documents, which are defined as "materials produced by organization for public consumption: newsletters, news releases, year books, the notes sent home, the public statements of philosophy, advertisements for the open-house programs, brochures and pamphlets" (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998, p. 137) were selected and investigated.

The following set of parameters was used to avoid "biased selectivity" (Yin, 1994, p. 80, cited in Bowen, 2009) in document selection process: 1) documents about instructor recruitment and educational backgrounds of the current instructors and 2) documents for getting feedback about language constraints regarding potential use of English in the classroom. Based on these criteria, the following documents were selected: regulations of the three EMI universities regarding instructor recruitment and promotion, internal organizational development reports (e.g., BOUN, 2017), CVs, statistical reports provided in Higher Education Information Management System, and student evaluation forms. University 2 (U2) published a report about the academic background of the instructors in 2017. As such a document was not accessible for University 1 (U1) and University 3 (U3), the CVs of the current instructors were investigated and coded to obtain a numerical dataset about their background. When the CVs were not accessible on the university websites, other academic websites were searched to find the information. If the CV was not found anywhere, this instructor was not coded.

Only the BA and PhD degrees, which were obtained from the CVs of the instructors, were tallied as some instructors may have received a joint degree for MA and PhD. In some Turkish universities, a number of departments may offer EMI while the general instructional language of the university is Turkish. Since EMI is not taken as a general policy in those universities, these EMI departments may change their policies about the language of instruction in time. Therefore, it is difficult to identify whether these departments offered EMI at the time when the instructors received their degrees. As such changes in the language of instruction are challenging to track, the instructors were put into two major groups in terms of the language of instruction during their higher education studies: 1) full EMI universities and 2) department-based EMI or full TMI universities. The recent versions of documents were reached through online search.

2.3. Open-ended questionnaire

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the policies investigated, we administered an open-ended questionnaire to a purposefully selected group of administrators from these universities. The questionnaire was developed in two phases: Listing all the potential questions and choosing the best ones through discussions. Finally, seven major questions were created, some of which were supported with further sub-questions to stimulate relevant participant responses (e.g., What are the criteria of your institution while recruiting an instructor who will meet the required standards to teach content in English? Please explain.).

2.4. Data Analysis

Before the analysis, data sources were arranged in accordance with the research questions at hand and put into three groups: data for instructor profile, recruitment policies, and policies constraining potential language use in the classroom. Figure 2 presents the data categories.

Figure 2

Data Categories
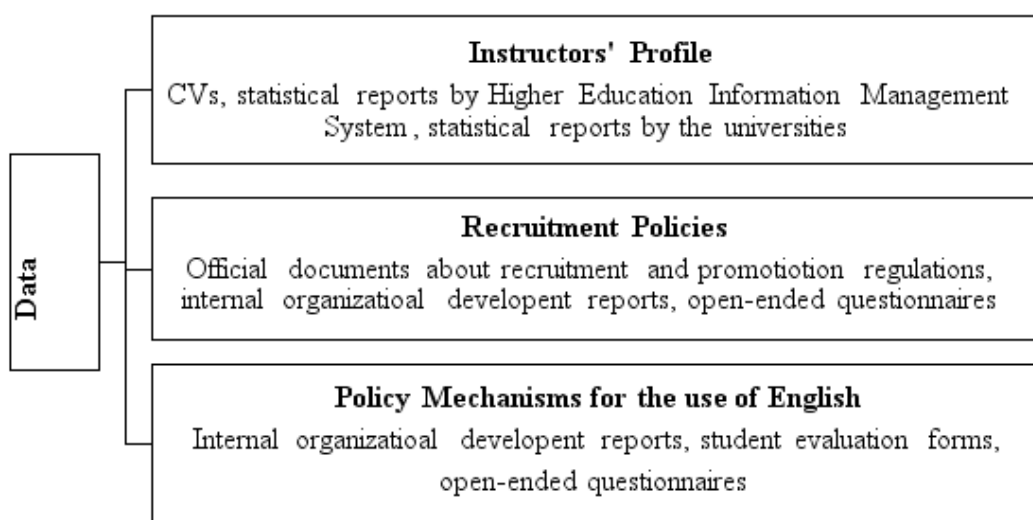
For the first group of data, instructors' profile, statistical reports were examined by the researchers to identify and elicit information about instructor profile. Data about instructors' educational background obtained from CVs were coded (tallied) on a table showing the medium of instruction in BA and PhD degrees. Descriptive statistics (frequency and percentage) were run for the data.

The second and the third groups of data, recruitment policies and policies constraining potential language use in the classroom, were coded through a top-down approach as the researchers started with a provisional coding in the analyses. In provisional coding, the researchers have "anticipated categories or types of responses/actions that may arise in the data yet to be collected" (Saldaña, 2012, p.120). Research questions that guide the study and researchers' prior experiences as well as their knowledge about the topic at hand are among the factors that set the ground for these assumptions. In the first step of analysis, by means of provisional coding, the data were put under two codes which were based upon the present research questions as recruitment policies and policies constraining potential language use. Descriptive coding was used in the second step in order to identify the themes that emerge under each main code. Each researcher coded the data individually, and then they had a discussion session to reach a consensus on the coding and finalize the analysis. These codes were further reported in sentences in the results session in order to make them clear to the readership.

The data, which is qualitative in nature, were analyzed through content analysis. Coding was conducted by two researchers who had experience in these universities and could provide insider perspective to the analysis. Researcher 1 had BA, MA and PhD degrees in one of these three universities. She also worked as a research assistant in this university for 13 years,

so she was able to witness some procedures with regard to instructor recruitment and implications to manage the use of English in the classroom. This experience also led her to obtain a good understanding of the official documents related to EMI policies. Therefore, she is quite knowledgeable about the system both as a student and as a faculty member. Researcher 2 received her PhD degree in one of these universities, which means she has first-hand experience of the policy implications as a student in the system. Both researchers had personal contact with some of the faculty working in these three universities and learned a lot about the EMI policies from colleagues through informal exchange of experiences.

3. Findings

3.1. Instructor Profile in Turkish State EMI Universities

According to the reports by Higher Education Information Management System in Turkey, the total number of Turkish and foreign instructors in assistant professor, associate professor, and professor positions in the three universities are as tabulated in Table 3. Only the full time instructors at these positions are included in the study. As clearly seen in the table, the number of Turkish instructors teaching through EMI is ten times higher than that of foreign instructors.

Table 3.

The Number of Turkish and Foreign Instructors

	Turkish	**Foreign**	**Total**
U1	72	5	77
U2	434	40	474
U3	776	60	836

As for the educational background of the EMI instructors, data from instructors' CVs were used. It was found that the total number of instructors holding a BA degree from an EMI university in Turkey is recognizably higher (f=893) than the ones from abroad (f=70) or the ones from a full TMI or partial EMI university (f=241). In contrast, the majority of the instructors took their PhD from a university abroad (f=849) or from a Turkish full EMI university (f=307) whereas the number of instructors with a PhD degree from a full TMI or partial EMI university is much lower (f=75). In Table 4, detailed information about the instructors' educational background is illustrated.

Table 4.

Educational Background of the Instructors

	Degree from a full EMI* university		**Degree from a department-based EMI or full TMI** university**		**Degree from a university abroad with EMI**	
	BA	PhD	BA	PhD	BA	PhD
	F	F	F	F	f	f
U1	15	21	25	12	4	38
U2	294	85	111	34	32	318
U3	584	201	105	29	34	493
Total	893	307	241	75	70	849

*EMI=English Medium Instruction; **TMI= Turkish Medium Instruction

3.2. Instructor Recruitment Policies

Results obtained from the documents, as illustrated in Table 5, indicates that all three universities use two main criteria for instructor recruitment: 1) a satisfactory score from a standardized English proficiency exam and 2) a successful academic demo presentation in front of the jury members so that they could evaluate the instructor's English proficiency, which is necessary for effective classroom interaction in an EMI context. In addition, applicants to U1 and U3 are to either hold a PhD from an internationally reputable university or have research experience in such a university if the PhD degree is from Turkey. Finally, only U1 prioritizes experience abroad.

Table 5.

Regulations for Instructor Recruitment in the Documents

	U1	U2	U3
Experience abroad is given priority in applications.	✓		
The applicant should either a) have a PhD degree from an internationally recognized university or b) if the PhD degree is from a Turkish university, the applicant should be engaged in a research project in an internationally recognized university or institution abroad for at least two semesters and get a success degree at the end.	✓		✓
The applicants should get a satisfactory score from an English proficiency exam (either done by the university or an international one).	✓	✓	✓
The applicants give a demo seminar for the evaluation of his/her capabilities of instruction and interaction in English.	✓	✓	✓

Table 6 displays the responses of the administrators in the President's and Dean's Offices of the three universities to the items regarding instructor recruitment in the open-ended questionnaire (e.g., What are the criteria of your institution while recruiting an instructor who will meet the required standards to teach content in English?; What difficulties do you face in finding local (Turkish) instructors meeting the required standards to teach content in English?; What qualifications make a candidate the most eligible for EMI instructor positions in your university?; Are there any specific criteria for recruiting instructors to different departments?) Most of the administrators have also pointed out that English proficiency exams, demo presentation for the jury, and PhD from an EMI university were the criteria for instructor recruitment.

Table 6.

Administrators' Accounts of Regulations for Instructor Recruitment

Themes	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	Total
Getting a satisfactory score from an international proficiency exam or a written exam given by university	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	6
Doing micro teaching or giving a presentation in English, which is observed and evaluated by the jury		✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	5

Holding a PhD degree from an EMI university	✓	✓	✓	✓	4
Being a native speaker of English (much preferable)			✓	✓	2
Having experience abroad (getting PhD degree or being a part of a project)	✓ ✓		✓		3

In order to understand the regulations regarding instructor recruitment in state EMI universities better, it is necessary to explore the challenges that these universities should take into account when they comply with these regulations. In this regard, P4 from U2 highlights the difficulty in finding instructors proficient in English. She claims that being a native speaker of English is not their priority, but they look for participants who hold a PhD degree from abroad or an EMI university in Turkey. She also adds that finding graduates of Turkish EMI is difficult because they are scarce in number. P4 explains the policies in her institution in the following excerpt:

> We especially expect them to have a PhD from abroad or at least one of the EMI universities in English. Quality of the institution they received their academic degrees is also important. Being a native speaker is not that important…. Not many academics are trained in English in Turkey. And because of our in-breeding policy, we do not recruit people who do not have any experience outside U2 University. So that means U2 graduates need to have experiences outside. The best group of students who are trained in English try to go abroad for preparing towards an academic career (i.e. PhD), but once they are abroad, promising candidates find good opportunities for an academic career abroad. This narrows down our target group. Some of the candidates applying for positions at our university are not fluent in English, not as fluent as we expect from our instructors. (P4)

U2 and U3 are located in metropolitan cities in Turkey which is appealing for more instructors with the required qualifications. However, for U1, which is located in a relatively smaller city, faculty recruitment becomes more complicated because they have problems in finding quality instructors who are motivated to live in this city. P6 states that they have a demanding policy for recruitments:

> . . . all applicants are asked to give a seminar in English and demonstrate his/her skills to teach in English language. In addition, all applicants need to have rather high scores from standardized tests of English language competency. . . . We simply experience difficulties in finding instructors. Few people have the necessary level of English in our territory. (P6)

Indeed, finding EMI graduates cannot solve the problem at all because lack of daily practice in English limit these instructors' communication skills, and in time their proficiency decreases gradually. This issue is explained by P3 as "even in time the lack of enough practice in everyday life further leads into a lesser degree of competence in teaching".

3.3. Policies for Constraining Potential Language Use in the Classroom

In order to circumscribe the use of English in the classroom, the universities state the following strategies in their policy reports: 1) improving students' English proficiency before they start their BA education through high-quality English instruction at foundation English programs, 2) providing high-quality academic English courses at undergraduate level, and 3) using course evaluation forms to check their needs about English proficiency (U1 and U2) and the instructors' use of English in classes, especially in terms of the quality of communication and frequency of English use (U1 and U3). In addition, the following strategies are stated in the documents of one university only: 1) increasing the number of international instructors and students to create an environment that necessitates the use of English (U1), 2) providing instructors with in-service training on EMI to increase their awareness and improve their application skills to teach students who are nonnative speakers of English (U1), and 3) founding study groups to increase the quality of EMI (U3). In Table 7, strategies to constrain the use of English as the medium of instruction in the documents of each university are presented.

Table 7.

Regulations for Constraining the Use of English in the Classroom as Provided in the Documents

	U1	U2	U3
Students get a qualified preparatory education and they have to pass the proficiency exam or provide a required score from a national or international English exam accepted by the university.	✓	✓	✓
There are service English courses offered at BA level to increase interactional skills of the students.	✓	✓	✓
An English Medium Instruction Study Group is founded to improve the quality of EMI.			✓
In student evaluation forms, the students give feedback about EMI classroom practices.	✓*	✓**	✓***
An intercultural context is created by increasing the number of foreign instructors and international students.	✓		
Instructors are provided with in-service training about teaching students who are nonnative speakers of English.	✓		

* (U1) 'How often did the instructor use Turkish during lectures?'
** (U2) 'My level of English to follow the course:
    Excellent/Very Good/Good/Adequate/Inadequate'
*** (U3) 'How often did the instructor use Turkish during class
sessions?' and 'The instructor communicated in English effectively.'

Additionally, responses to the open-ended questionnaire (e.g., What language policy mechanisms does the university use to constrain the use of English by instructors and students in the classroom?; Does the university provide in-service training for instructors to conform to the mechanisms?), presented in Table 8 below, indicate that the administrators regard course evaluation forms, international students, and in-service support system as the strategies used to maximize the use of English in the classroom. In brief, results show that university policies favor pure EMI classrooms; however, they prefer indirect methods to control instructors and students in this regard. For example, as stated by P5 "In the course evaluation forms (in which the students evaluate the course at the end of the semester), students indicate whether the

instructor used Turkish or not. Also, having international students in the class encourages the instructor to use English." Also, being identified as an EMI university is expected to be a motivation for using English in the classroom as P4 from U2 states: "I tell my students that . . . University is publicly announcing that the medium of education is English and that I find it very unethical to carry out my classes in Turkish (that we have to own our institutional promise). This is a convincing argument for many students".

Table 8.

Administrators' Accounts of Constraining the Use of English in the Classroom

Themes	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	Total
Using student evaluation forms		✓	✓			✓	✓	4
Having international students (registered or exchange)		✓		✓	✓			3
Being identified as an EMI university (which motivates students and teachers to use English in classroom)				✓				1
In-service support system to increase the quality of teaching in English		✓					✓	2

4. Discussion and Conclusion

EMI in HEIs has been a challenging policy especially in non-European Expanding Circle countries as hiring qualified EMI instructors with adequate levels of English proficiency may be arduous in such settings. Researchers from different countries have indicated that the recruitment of qualified local and foreign instructors that will teach in English is difficult (Ammar et al., 2015; Bradford, 2013; British Council, 2015; Tsuneyoshi, 2005, cited in Bradford, 2013). Compared to foreign instructors, local instructors seem to be more eligible for these universities. Our results also showed that Turkish instructors in state EMI universities outnumber the foreign instructors ten times. This finding is substantiating Costa and Coleman's (2013) study conducted in Italian context, which shows that 90% of content lecturers are Italian native speakers. Policy documents and managers' responses indicated that in order to find instructors with sufficient command of English as well as the field expertise, the universities seek for applicants who have a graduate degree or a kind of research experience abroad at PhD or post-doctoral level. Similar results have been reported by other researchers in that instructors teaching at EMI universities have conducted research or earned degrees abroad (Dearden & Macaro, 2016; Lassegard, 2006).

Instructors' educational backgrounds demonstrate that aforementioned recruitment policies have led to the development of a homogenous instructor population in these universities. Interestingly, although the policy descriptions do not include any requirement regarding the BA background of the potential applicants, the results obtained from instructors' CVs indicate that the majority of the instructors teaching at Turkish state EMI universities (893 out of 1204) have received their BA degrees from a Turkish EMI university. This indicates a tacit side effect of the recruitment policies by these universities in that EMI graduates are more eligible for these universities. In other words, graduates from a TMI university are less likely

to be recruited by them. One explanation for the occurrence of this consequence could be the linguistics capital of candidates with BA degrees from EMI universities. That is, Turkish EMI university graduates have the potential to pursue their MA or PhD studies in other countries because they can use their linguistic capital increased in BA level to make academic investments at graduate level. This situation might put them one step further in their academic career and help them find a position at an EMI university when they come back to Turkey. It is also stated by one of the participants in this study, P4 from U2, that "the best group of students who are trained in English try to go abroad for preparing towards an academic career (i.e., PhD)."

In terms of instructors' graduate studies (i.e., PhD), it was found that they obtained graduate degrees either from abroad or from a Turkish EMI university. More specifically, the majority of the instructors, 849 out of 1231, had graduate degrees from abroad, especially from the English speaking countries. Having pursued their graduate education in English-speaking countries, instructors become more proficient in using English for educational purposes. Moreover, regarding the educational backgrounds of EMI instructors, Bradford (2013) concludes that because EMI programs in Japan follow an American/international model (i.e., interactive, seminar-style classes), such programs require more instructors equipped to teach this way. This raises an issue of the relationship between EMI instructors and educational culture. In other words, instructors who received their education through EMI are more eligible to teach through EMI not only due to the concerns related to English proficiency, but also ones regarding the implementation of Western classroom practices, which are used frequently at EMI universities. Therefore, to fulfil this demand, many Turkish instructors are given scholarships by the government to pursue their postgraduate education in an English-speaking country, and many native-English instructors are hired (Kırkgöz, 2009a).

The fact that local instructors with EMI background and students speak the same L1 is an important factor to be taken into consideration in the policies. On one hand, instructors can benefit from the shared L1 in order to teach difficult and complex content, which might facilitate learning. On the other hand, it generates the potential problem of overreliance on L1. The fact that the instructors and students share the same L1 poses the risk of switching into the mother tongue to avoid or overcome communication problems, or simply because they prefer their mother tongue, as also concluded by Probyn (2001). In fact, this switch might become a problem especially if there is a substantial number of international students in an EMI classroom whose first language is not the same as the one of the majority (Macaro, 2019). Our results have revealed that none of the three universities have an overt control mechanism or sanction for the use of Turkish in the classroom, and "they trust the instructors to use English" (P5). Instead, they simply prefer indirect control mechanisms. For example, they include an item in the course evaluation forms regarding the instructor's use of English during instruction, which, in turn, aims to promote the use of English by instructors and students. In addition, three of the administrators (P2, P4, P5) highlighted that having international students in class encourages the teacher to use English. Universities increase the number of international students, which would create a natural need for the use of English in the classroom as the shared lingua franca. Furthermore, all three universities constantly support students' English proficiency development to increase their potential to use English in the classroom. Such indirect

mechanisms are preferred as university policies because a mandatory implementation could create offense, and these institutions regard having a liberal educational context as the basic criterion of their educational system.

Based upon the findings regarding the current EMI policies at universities, some pedagogical implications are worth mentioning. The majority of the instructors are graduates of local EMI universities and L2 users of English in a foreign language context. They also have limited language practice opportunities outside the classroom. Therefore, it is suggested that these instructors be supported by means of language development courses offered as carefully planned in-service training. Although the universities aim to encourage maximum use of English in classroom interactions, they do not have any direct policies to control it. They should develop policies to define the frame for the use of English as a medium of instruction in classrooms and announce them to the faculty and the students. This would bring a standard to EMI practices in the classroom settings.

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