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Public debates of the Englishization of education in Germany

A critical discourse analysis

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Abstract

Germany has embraced the "craze for English" relatively readily (Wächter and Maiworm 2014), increasing the use of English in education in all forms: as a foreign language, as medium of instruction, and in content and language integrated learning: a phenomenon described as *Englishization*. However, much controversy remains over the pace, manner and degree with which English is taught in Germany.

   This article investigates how the topic of Englishization in education – in the broadest sense – and in all sectors (from primary to tertiary sector) is discussed in printed German media. Using the database Nexis, a dataset comprised of 156 German language news articles on the controversies around English in the German education system was established. The dataset includes news outlets with national as well as regional coverage, and spans the period from 1 February 2000 to 23 March 2017.

   Corpus linguistics methods (frequencies, concordances) and thematic discourse analysis were used to analyse the body of the texts. The results were compared across educational sectors covered, and the level of geographical coverage of the newspaper/ source (regional, federal). The discussion considers how debates around Englishization in education vary depending on the education sector. Results are interpreted within the context of a) contested jurisdictions pertaining to language education in Germany (especially sovereignty of the 16 *Bundesländer* to determine their education policy, i.e. *Kulturhoheit*) b) tensions between institutional (school, university), individual (staff, students), national and international agendas (e.g. Bologna, the European aim of mother tongue+2 language skills) c) tensions between attitudes of protectionism (bordering on reminiscence) towards the German language on the one hand, and pragmatism and internationalism on the other.

Keywords: Englishization, German education system, language learning, Länder, discourse analysis

Introduction

Foreign languages (FLs) have traditionally been a strong focus in the German education system, a tendency greatly increased over the last two decades in the context of the spread of English as lingua franca. Overall, Germany has responded relatively enthusiastically to the challenge of internationalisation of education. This is evident, among others, in relatively high levels of English as foreign language instruction at school levels, and comparatively (to EU average) high offers of programmes delivered via English (English as medium of instruction = EMI) at university level. These *Auslandsorientierte Studiengänge* (study programmes with international focus) have increased rapidly since the 2000s, and attract mainly, but not exclusively, international students (Earls 2013; Wächter and Maiworm 2014).

The term *Englishization* is generally understood as the use of English as lingua franca where hitherto a different (regional, local, national, or foreign) language was used. This can take the form of English as Medium of Instruction (EMI) (Kirkpatrick 2011), increase of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) via English, or English supplanting other FLs. In all sectors, Germany experienced an increase of Englishizisation in all forms, as FL, content and language integrated learning (CLIL) and EMI in the last two decades. At least 95% of primary school children in Germany receive English lessons (Statistisches Bundesamt 2010) and at secondary level, 87% (Statistisches Bundesamt 2016) – alongside the popularity of English, motivation to learn other FLs declined (Busse 2017).

The 2001 German "PISA [Programme for International Student Assessment] shock", revealed lower than expected educational outcomes, at all educational levels. This contributed to an increased international outlook on education policy and favoured *Englishization*, in the hope that Germany might improve its PISA rating by modelling educational improvements on countries with better PISA results (Gruber, 2006).

However, the increase of English in education may affect other areas (sometimes more subtly), such as institutional policy, curriculum design, staffing and job satisfaction of staff (e.g. Mapesela and Hay, 2006) and timetabling decisions. The term is used in this broader sense here.

The following section offers a concise overview of the German education system (for details, see e.g. Quetz 2010; Walkenhorst 2005), and FL policies in different sectors and *Länder* (states). The subsequent section reports on empirical and conceptual studies on Englishization in different sectors, and summarises the main concerns over Englishization in education in the

academic literature. The empirical part introduces data and methods, and presents the results. The conclusion returns to the issue of the vested interests of different stakeholders (parents, teachers, students, politicians), institutions, Länder and the nation. This critical discourse study analyses the tensions between different stakeholders' interests, such as developing plurilingualism, protecting the German language, ensuring international competitiveness and improving institutional profiles etc., as played out in the media. Results reveal that, while a very wide range of concerns and arguments are represented in the media, some stakeholders receive more favourable coverage than others.

Education systems and FL teaching in Germany

The German constitution (*Grundgesetz*) does not anchor German as medium of instruction. Some small languages enjoy monitory status in border areas of Germany. Each *Land*[1] (16 in total) has constitutional jurisdiction over education (*Kulturhoheit*), leading to diversity in education systems and policies ("kaleidoscopic" (*buntscheckig*)), Quetz 2010: 170).

Primary school education usually last four years. Here, English is by far the most frequently taught FL; schools near the French border often offer French. In 2007, parents in BW mounted a successful legal battle for the right to English (as opposed to French) as FL in their children's primary schools (Quetz 2010). All Länder offer primary FLs, but not (yet) from the first school year onwards; the 66% currently receiving FL tuition is below the EU average of 82% (Eurostat 2015), but 95% of primary FL tuition is English. Some Länder offer a FL from year 1, some from year 3, and the number of lessons per week dedicated to FL varies. Curricula in different Länder may emphasise different learning goals (Drese 2007).

After primary school, students may go to one of these school types.[2]

- Hauptschule (offering basic comprehensive education, attended by 14.2%, one FL compulsory)

- Realschule (offering extended comprehensive education, attended by 27.7%, one FL compulsory, second FL often possible)

1. Länder's conventional abbreviations are used here. See http://www.giga.de/extra/ratgeber/specials/abkuerzungen-der-bundeslaender-in-deutschland-tabelle/.
2. Länder may use different nomenclatures for these schools (e.g. Mittelschule for Hauptschule in BY, Oberschule for Gymnasium in SA).

- Gymnasium (offering in-depth comprehensive education, attended by 36.7%, first and second FL compulsory)

- Gesamtschule, a comprehensive school that combines at least two of the above types, attended by 12.5%, FL requirements depends on stream attended within school) (all figures: KMK 2014: 37)

EMI and CLIL are permitted in all sectors. A comparatively high (to EU average) number of upper secondary students in Germany (60%) study two FLs (Eurostat 2017). Compulsory schooling ends when the secondary phase I (years 5–9/10 in most Länder) is completed. Secondary phase II prepares for the qualification permitting access to Higher Education. In 2008, 68% of secondary FL tuition was English (Quetz 2010) – this is likely to have increased since, given the increase of CLIL and decline of French. At secondary schools, uptake declined from 4.2% in 2012, to 3.4% in 2017 (Eurostat 2012 and 2017). FL curricula for both primary and secondary levels are formulated following the Common European Framework.

There are two bodies aiming to ensure equity and transferability of systems, qualifications and programmes across Länder. The KMK [AQ1] oversees the coordination of school education policies across the 16 Länder. A first KMK meeting on FL in 1964 (Hamburger Abkommen) [AQ2] ensured all pupils received (some) tuition in English (regardless of whatever other language may be taught), a second Hamburger Abkommen (2001) introduced primary languages from year 3, permitted the teaching of a second FL from year 6 and a third from year 8. In 2013, the KMK agreed on encouraging CLIL, and on one compulsory FL from year 7–9/10 (in practice, taught near-comprehensively from year 5). During compulsory FL teaching, a minimum of three 45-minute lessons per week are obligatory. A second FL is compulsory at Gymnasien. A third FL is always offered at Gymnasien, but tends to be compulsory only in specialist (e.g. humanistic) Gymnasien.

As a pioneer of CLIL language pedagogy (Coyle 2007; [AQ3] KMK 2014: 275), Germany has rapidly increased CLIL provision over the last decades, first in Gymnasien, and now in other secondary schools and primary schools. In all Länder, CLIL may only be offered only *alongside* traditional FL lessons, not *instead* of them (KMK 2014:127). The KMK acknowledges the dominance of English in CLIL but stresses the importance of developing variety in the offering (KMK 2013). A recent overview of CLIL provision (KMK 2013) demonstrates the increasing popularity of CLIL, and shows that despite strong English dominance, CLIL is also offered in French, Italian, Spanish and nine minority languages, with geography and/or history most frequently taught

via the FL at secondary level, and music, art and/or PE (physical education) at primary level.

At post-school levels, the Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung [AQ4] aims to ensure parity of educational policies, systems and qualifications at post-school sectors (vocational, tertiary). In 2013, the state and Länder agreed on a strategy for the internationalisation of German universities, but the committee of German Vice Chancellors (Hochschulrektorenkonferenz 2013) has no agreement on EMI policies. However, Germany's adaptation of the European credit transfer system has facilitated internationalisation, and thus encouraged EMI: in 2014, German universities offered 284 joint degrees in EMI (KMK 2014: 277). With few limitations, pre-schools and higher education (HE) institutions can decide on their policy regarding language of instruction.

In sum, German FL policy is negotiated within complex competing jurisdictions, between EU policies, interests of the state, Länder, individual institutions – and even parents, who might sue for their child's right to receive English lessons. Recent interventions by the KMK indicate a tendency towards central control, especially in HE sectors, and pedagogues call for more unified FL policies across all sectors and all Länder (Ehlich 2016).

The following section provides a brief overview of academic discussions on the issue of Englishization in the German education system, separated by education sector. These discussions will later be juxtaposed to the debates found in public media texts.

Policy-related empirical studies

Primary sector

German academic studies investigating FL learning at pre-school and primary levels focus on innovative pedagogies or neurolinguistic research (rather than policy). Regarding policy, Länder tend to reference internationali-sation and globalisation as reasons for introducing or expanding FL primary language teaching (Drese 2007: 11) – automatically advantaging English. Those familiar with language teaching at primary level in England will recognise the following issues in Germany: poor learning resources, neglect of literacy and spontaneous speech, an undemanding curriculum, poor transition to secondary school (Mindt 2016), and insufficiently qualified staff (Drese 2007). Studies evaluating learning outcomes suggest that a) an earlier start does not ultimately lead to better learning outcomes (Jaekel el al. 2017) b) immersion following the Canadian model is preferable to other forms of primary language

teaching c) primary languages offer little value-added unless a minimum of three lessons per week are taught (Kersten 2010). If issues of language choice are debated, the desirability of English is foregrounded (Drese 2007: 11), to the extent that primary FL is treated as synonymous to English (Harbich 2009).

Secondary sector

At secondary level, research centres on transition from primary, methods and assessment (see Keßler 2006); the following overview focuses on issues pertaining to policy and language selection. The popularity of CLIL in the secondary sector is partly explained by systemic advantages (no need for extra timetable slots), but also due to English competencies developed at primary level, and increased informal exposure to English. Concerns regarding CLIL relate to detrimental effects on content, and necessary levels of English (for both students and staff) to safeguard standards (Fischer and Gladrow 2010). Empirical studies tend to show that CLIL learners progress at least as well as non-CLIL learners in content-learning (Nold et al. 2008). However, given the common practice of pre-selecting CLIL participants, such results ought to be treated with caution. Nonetheless, CLIL is heralded by some as the future avenue of secondary teaching and secondary teacher training (Rischawy 2014). There is little research on the consequences of English dominance as FL in secondary schools, but Busse (2017) demonstrates a negative effect on student attitude towards other FLs, mirrored by a steady increase of English as FL at upper secondary (Eurostat 2017).

CLIL is increasingly accepted as a successful method of instruction at secondary level, as is the acceptance of English dominance, although calls for diversity exist. The university sector has seen empirical studies including reporting on student and staff concerns over EMI and CLIL, but at school level, voices of teachers and students are under-represented (Kippel 2003).

Tertiary education

The trend of EMI (labelled "International Programmes", Gundermann 2014) replacing English as foreign language occurs most noticeably in the tertiary sector (Dearden 2014). Within the topic of Englishization in education, EMI is by far the most researched but also most contested issue – seen as a challenge for all concerned (students, staff, university management). After Sweden and the Netherlands, Germany is the third highest EMI provider (highest ratio population/EMI programmes, Grundermann 2014: 5). A main reason for universities to introduce an EMI programme is to attract international students, but home students also opt for these, benefiting from substantially

lower study costs compared to Anglophone countries and from an English-medium education (Hellmann and Pätzold 2005). The international mix in German EMI Masters programmes (Gundermann 2014) is testimony to the fact that these can achieve internationalisation. Most EMI programmes are Masters, but 9% of BA studies [AQ5] and 27% of PhDs are also offered via EMI (DAAD 2014), with little obvious overlap between academic subject and EMI. In sum, a German population decline, leading to falling HE enrolment (Wächter 2003), [AQ6] the desire to internationalise universities and curricula, and the 1999 Bologna agreement, [AQ7] all contributed to Englishization at HE.

Empirical studies on experiences of EMI emphasise students' feelings of international identity (Erling and Hilgendorf 2006). Although students may express concern over lack of choice in language of tuition, or trading depth for breath (Wilkinson, 2013), positive accounts dominate. There are few German-based empirical studies on public opinions on EMI programmes (see review by Dearden 2014); to date, findings suggest a mixture of positive and negative attitudes. There is evidence of concerns among staff, e.g. over lack of training and extra work and extra cost incurred (Wilkinson 2013), over their own English language ability (Gundermann 2014), fears that EMI might "dilute" academic content (Ehlich 2000), and that both staff and students will under-develop their German academic (Schumann 2007) or vocational (Smit 2010) vocabulary. German academics are outspoken in their concerns over the loss of prestige of German as academic language, and the associated domain loss of academic German, in particular in view of the rich history of German as academic language (Fischer and Minks 2010). In 2007, academics created the Special Interest Group German as Academic Language, ADAWIS (Arbeitskreis Deutsch als Wissenschaftssprache), aiming for multilingual practices in academia overall, but demanding that undergraduates are taught via German, and that foreign students operate in German as far as possible. Academic domain loss in languages other than English is a controversial topic, in Europe and beyond (Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra 2013; Phillipson 2015). Given a) the pace of Englishization at German HE institutions, b) the fact that German has been, until recently, on an equal footing with English as academic language, and c) somewhat lower English skills among German academics than in smaller Northern European countries (Ammon 2001), a protective stance towards German – as evidenced in the creation of the group ADAWIS – is not greatly surprising (Ammon 2001, 2010).

Pedagogical visions and solutions to counter Englishization

The KMK puts great emphasis on language education and plurilingualism as a cornerstone of European education and integration (KMK 2013), a rationale echoed by many language pedagogues in Germany (Jakisch 2014; [AQ8] Quetz 2010, Vollmer 2000), but one threatened by the dominance of English, as other FLs lose popularity to the lingua franca. Some of the pedagogical concepts addressing this dilemma are briefly described in the following. Sarter (2002) argues in favour of English as first primary FL on the grounds of a) ubiquity of anglicisms surroundings the child's environment b) parental wishes c) economic needs d) guaranteed progression at secondary level, but acknowledges that reasons for starting with other languages such as French might be a) geographical proximity to France b) economic needs c) the advantage of learning a language with larger structural differences to the mother tongue ("größere strukturelle Distanz zur Ausgangssprache", 22) earlier, on the grounds that more demanding tasks should be undertaken at a younger age, facilitating native-like learning. Similarly, De Florio-Hansen argues that although English is unavoidable (2007: 2), French as first FL a) prepares learners for learning other languages better and offers better opportunities for holistic learner development (as opposed to relying on instrumental motivations to learn English). Wode (2001) advocates a hierarchical system for FL teaching in Germany to safeguard FL diversity, suggesting that languages should be learned in the following order: a global language first (English, Chinese, Spanish), then a medium-sized one, and thirdly a locally/regionally relevant one. A currently much debated model is to accept the dominance of English but build plurilingual learning on English skills acquired early (English as "gateway to languages", Schröder 2009), to exploit English knowledge to facilitate L3 [AQ9] learning, language awareness, learner strategies and intercultural communicative competencies.

A further dilemma regarding European integration and English dominance concerns the rivalry between German and English within the EU: as result of the rapid increase in the learning of English, a roughly equal number of EU citizens are estimated to speak German and English with good fluency – even after Brexit (Ginsburgh et al. 2016: 16). The German language struggles for recognition appropriate to its size, a situation that may stir protective feelings towards the language, exemplified in a 2013 incident involving the then president Joachim Gauck who proposed to "make the *de facto* EU lingua franca English also *de jure*" (Bundespräsident 2013) – a proposition met with outrage.

In sum, the German education system has embraced Englishization with remarkable speed. English dominance across all sectors and school types

is seen as categorical "(need not be justified", (*muss nicht weiter begründet werden*), Quetz 2010: 172), with institutions and individual learners often viewing English skills as de rigour in an internationally competitive market. However, critical stances are also observed (especially at HE), such as concerns over FL diversity, and protectionism towards the German language.

Aims of this study

The Englishization of Germany language education seems at crossroads between pragmatism, protectionism and the European agenda, with different stakeholders seeming interested in different agendas, demonstrated in the many tensions (e.g. between centralisation and *Kulturhoheit* of Länder, between parental demands [for more English] and Land policy) described above.

Education as a domain of Englishization can be particularly contentious for several reasons: nearly the whole population is – in some way – an affected stakeholder (e.g. past or current students, parents). Furthermore, language may serve as a key vehicle of national unity, and – within education – as upholder of standards, traditions and norms. The latter consideration is especially pertinent in Germany, as Englishization could be perceived as a threat to the proud tradition of German as an instructional and academic language. Englishization may also jar with clearly defined educational priorities, that of European citizenship and plurilingualism, as English threatens to demote other FLs. As the above review indicated, different stakeholder groups all influence FL policy, but to date, we know little of their stances on the controversial aspects of Englishization.

Research questions

1. How is Englishization in education represented in public media? What themes (positive/negative) emerge in texts covering different sectors?

2. (How) do such representations differ with intended readership (newsprint with national/regional coverage?)

3. How are stakeholders represented? Do representations depending on educational sector covered?

Method

This section explains the process of establishing and analysing the text corpus.

Data **[AQ10]**
Nexis is database of published newsprint that allows searches for specific terms, in specific languages (English, German, French, Dutch, Spanish, Arabic, Portuguese), and by specific publication times. It is considered a comprehensive database for capturing commercially published texts (Hewson 2003). Therefore, six Nexis searches were undertaken on 23 April 2017 with the following search terms:

- Englisch AND Fremdsprache

- Englisch AND Unterricht

- Sprachpolitik

- Englischunterricht AND Schule

- Englisch AND Hochschule

- Englisch AND Universität

The search was refined to search for articles published in German between 1 February 2000 and 22 March 2017. This search resulted in 539 articles. 70% of these articles were duplications, because different search terms yielded the same articles. Duplications were deleted. A further 20% were texts from Swiss news publications, which were also deleted. Switzerland has seen, for some time now, a lively debate on teaching English as first FL versus a national language. A small number of texts were off-topic texts (*c*.10%), leaving 186 articles. These articles were then read in detail to ensure all were on-topic, i.e. all dealing with English in German education systems. A further 22 were rejected as being off-topic, as they either did not cover Germany, they talked about the rise of English in society generally rather than within education, or otherwise were off-topic. The remaining corpus of 156 articles is listed in Appendix I. Relevance of all data is thus guaranteed. However, responsibility for potential lack of comprehensiveness of the data within the remit of Nexis lies with the researcher: the possibility remains that further search strings might have yielded additional data.

A main limitation of this study is its restriction to print-published items only: for reasons of scope, online social media (as well as websites and bogs) were excluded. The number of texts relating to schools warranted a sub-division of corpora according to primary/secondary sector and geographical reach of

newspaper (national/regional); results from pre-school, tertiary and leisure sectors were substantially smaller. In order of size, these are the resulting seven data sets:

- articles from newspapers with regional coverage, on English in primary sector (55 texts)

- articles from newspapers with regional coverage, on English in secondary sector (37 texts)

- articles on English in pre-school sector (24 texts with six from papers with national coverage)

- articles from newspapers with national coverage on English in secondary sector or in schools generally (18 texts)

- articles from newspapers with national coverage, on English in primary sector (13 texts)

- articles on English in any tertiary sector (further education, higher education) (six texts of which two with national coverage)

- articles on English in the adult leisure learner sector (4 texts from papers with regional coverage)

Theoretical framework

This article adopts the theoretical framework of critical discourse analysis (CDA), which assumes that there is a mutual interaction between language and communities: language can create communities, but is also constrained by the community in which it is used (Fenton-Smith 2007). CDA assumes that all discourse has a stance towards the social nature of the specific issue discussed: Are they written from the perspective of those in power to change something regarding this issue, or those on the receiving end – in this case, education policy (van Dijk 1998). [AQ11] Within this framework, thematic analysis and corpus linguistics are the established methods. They are used in this study in a complementary fashion. Corpus linguistics methods permit a quantitative approach to lexical uses, and connotations of keywords used in different text corpora. Regarding thematic analysis, this study uses van Dijk's method of analysing "global structures of discourse" (van Dijk 1980: 5), which pertain to the meaning, rather than the style, of discourse. Van Dijk (1980) argues that this reflects the reader's cognitive engagement: we tend to remember what was in a text, not how it was written. Thematic analysis permits insights into implicit stances in texts (Hunston 2002), especially when comparing themes

across different corpora and text types. Both methodologically and thematically, this study thus aligns with ideology critiques of discourses on language learning and language policy found in public (e.g. de Jong 2013), [AQ12] or in social media (Hogan-Brun 2006; Phyak 2015).

Corpus Linguistics

AntConc 3.4 software was used to perform a range of analyses on each corpus. First, frequencies (counts and percentages) of chosen keywords were compared across the corpora. Next, concordance lines (i.e. words/phrases and their surrounding context) were analysed regarding negative or positive connotative implications (see Appendix 2 for sample). File View was used to locate exemplary citations of such keywords in context.

Thematic analysis

Next, themes were developed using inductive coding (Charmaz 2006). Thirty-seven codes were agreed upon by both coders, and loosely grouped into positive, negative or neutral themes (see Table 2). 50% of texts were coded double-blind. Inter-coder reliability was 95% and discrepancies were resolved consensually. Results of both corpus and thematic analysis are interpreted with respect to differences between education sectors, and texts of regional or national coverage.

Results

This section first presents the results of the corpus linguistics analysis, followed by those of the thematic analysis. The largest corpora are from regional newsprint reporting on English in schools. As the corpora vary in size, frequencies of codes and key word occurrences are given in percentage as well as number.

Corpus Linguistics analysis

Key words

Key words were selected in accordance with the following themes around Englishization in Germany, relating to (wild card* search term (with translation if appropriate) in brackets):

1. policy/politics ("Landesregierung*", "Kultusminister*", "politi*")

2. stakeholders ("eltern*", "lehrer*", "schüler*", "student*" [parents, teachers, students, parents])

3. international dimensions ("PISA", "Bologna", "international*", "Europ*")

4. foreign languages ("Französisch*", "Englisch*", "fremdprach*", "bilingual*", "pedagog*")

5. problems ("problem*", "schwierig*" [problem, difficult])

6. rationales of Englishization ("wissenschaft*", "beruf*" [science, profession]).

Table 1 shows the size of different corpora and frequencies and percentages of key words in each corpus.

Table 1. Text corpora and frequencies of key word[a]

	National Newsprint primary sector	National newsprint secondary sector/ schools generally	Regional newsprint primary sector	Regional newsprint secondary sector	Tertiary sector	Pre-School sector	Adult leisure sector	Total
Total number of texts	12	18	55	37	6	24	4	156
Total number of words	7,933	19,136	22,450	14,799	3,149	9,058	2,203	78,728
No. occurrences and % in text:								
Kultus-minister*	7	21	17	9	3	–	–	
	0.088%	**0.10%**	0.076%	0.06%	0.095%			
Landes-regierung*	3	1	3	2	–	–	–	
	0.038%	0.005%	0.013%	0.013%				
politi*	–	22	4	22	–	–	–	
		0.114%	0.017%	**0.148%**				
eltern*	6	38%	30	16	–	38	2	
	0.076%	0.199	0.134%	0.1%		**0.42%**	0.090%	
lehrer	37	51	153	49	6	22	3	
	0.46%	0.266%	**0.68%**	0.331%	0.190%	0.24%	0.136£	
schüler*	38	93	133	209	24	6	6	
	0.478%	0.486%	0.651%	**1.141%**	0.762%	0.0662%	0.272%	
student*	–	3	–	4	7	–	–	
		0.0156%		0.027%	**0.222%**			

	National Newsprint primary sector	National newsprint secondary sector/ schools generally	Regional newsprint primary sector	Regional newsprint secondary sector	Tertiary sector	Pre-School sector	Adult leisure sector	Total
pädagogi*	10	5	12	8	–	5	–	
	0.126%	0.026%	0.053%	0.054%		0.055%		
wissenschaft*	15	62	7	20	22	10	–	
	0.190%	0.32%	0.031%	0.135%	**0.70%**	0.11%		
Französisch	38	48	20	35	1	4	1	
	0.48%	0.25%	0.089%	0.23%	0.031%	0.044%	0.045%	
Englisch	155	328	440	257	41	178	35	
	1.95%	1.71%	1.96%	1.74%	1.30%	**1.97%**	1.59%	
bilingual*	23	5	22	109	4	10	–	
	0.29%	0.026%	0.098%	**0.734%**	0.127%	0.11%		
Fremdsprach*	55	98	139	93	14	47	6	
	0.688%	0.512%	0.619%	0.628%	0.44%	0.518%	0.272%	
Bologna	–	1	–	–	2	–	–	
		0.005%			**0.090%**			
PISA	–	3	2	1	–	3	–	
		0.016%	0.009%	0.007%		**0.033%**		
international*	2	19	4	9	21	1	1	
	0.025%	0.099%	0.018%	0.060%	**0.67%**	0.011%	0.045%	
global*	15	15	3	2	–	–	–	
	0.190%	0.078%	0.013%	0.013%22				
Europ*	7	47	3	4	3	6	–	
	0.088%	**0.245%**	0.013%	0.027%	0.095%	0.066%		
beruf*	2	22	6	17	18	2	–	
	0.025%	0.11%	0.026%	0.115%	**0.57%**	0.022%		
problem*	3	10	14	3	1	5	4	
	0.038%	0.052%	0.062%	0.02%	0.031%	0.055%	**0.181%**	
schwierig*	2	8	7	3	–	2	–	
	0.025%	**0.041%**	0.031%	0.02%		0.022%		

Note: [a] Occurrences (raw) and percentages of frequencies of key words for each corpus are given below. The highest percentage use of a key word is given in bold.

Collocates for the above words were examined to ascertain in which context they tend to appear, and how connotative patterns may differ between corpora. The following section presents the results of this analysis. For each theme, sample citations are given, to illustrate negative, positive (occasionally neutral) connotations [translation in brackets]:

Words related to policy ("Kulturminister*", "Länderregierung", "politi*") appear more in text with national coverage, with dominantly negative connotations:

"Wenn man nach einem halben Jahr schon weiche Knie bekommt, kann man keine Reformen machen", meint Hirning mit Blick auf die unentschlossene **Landesregierung**.

[If you get wobbly knees [about primary languages policy] after only 6 months you can't undertake effective reforms, so Herr Hirning on the subject of the indecisive Land Government.] (*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 15 May 2006)

unless a Land is portrayed as pioneer of bilingual policy:

Die schwarz-gelbe **Landesregierung** in Nordrhein-Westfalen hat den Englisch-Unterricht mit dem begonnenen Schuljahr 2008/2009 verpflichtend eingeführt.

[The Conservative-Liberal coalition in Nordrhein-Westfalen has introduced compulsory English lesson [in the primary sector] from the school year 2008/2009 onwards.] (*Die Welt*, 29 August 2008)

At national level, FLs policy often receives negative coverage:

Das Europäische Jahr der Sprachen ist vorbei: Wo bleiben die neuen Konzepte für das Lernen von **Fremdsprachen.**

[The European year of languages has finished: where are the new concepts for language learning?] (Berliner Zeitung, 2 January 2002)

Words related to stakeholders (teachers, parents, students, children), occur most in texts concerned with the primary sector, and, unsurprisingly, "eltern*" (parents) the most in pre-school texts. Reports on teachers are mixed, with frequent mention of good pedagogy, but also concerns about poor English:

"An manchen Grundschulen gibt es im Kollegium aber nur ein oder zwei Lehrer, *die gut genug Englisch sprechen, um mit den Kindern sinnvoll zu arbeiten", bedauert Lang.*

[In some primary schools, there are unfortunately only one or two teachers, who speak enough English to work with the children in a meaningful way.] (*Aar Bote*, 6 March 2009).

Parents and pupils are mentioned in mostly positive connotations, with parents often described as the dynamic force driving English tuition:

Das Angebot kam auf **Eltern**wunsch zu Stande. Eigentlich vorgesehen ist ein fremdsprachlicher Unterricht an den Grundschulen erst für die Klassen 3 und 4. Das neue Angebot soll die von vielen **Eltern** beklagte Lücke zwischen Englisch-Kursen im Kindergarten und den höheren Grundschulklassen schliessen.

[The programme came into existence due parental wishes. Normally, FL classes are planned only from year 3 and 4 onwards, so the new programme closes the –by parents, much maligned – gap in English lessons between nursery and upper primary.] (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 04 April 2003)

Die Idee für den frühen Englisch-Unterricht stammt von den **Eltern** der **Schüler**.

[The idea for early English lessons came from the parents.] (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13 July 2005).

and (school) students are portrayed as enjoying innovative pedagogies:

Hier lernen die **Schüler** mit Herz und Hand.

[Here, children learn with their heart and their hands.] (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 17 December 2003)

If parents are described as voicing concerns, it is always in the context of English not being taught (early) enough: parents are presented as embracing the "the earlier the better" belief:

Wer wie früher erst in der fünften Klasse die ersten englischen Vokabeln lernt, fürchten auch viele Eltern, wird später auf dem globalen **Jobmarkt** hoffnungslos abgehängt.

[Many parents fear that if those who learn English only from year 5 onwards will be utterly disadvantaged on the job market later.] (*Der Spiegel*, 26 November 2001)

Words related to international dimensions ("Europ*", "international*", "global*") appear near-exclusively in texts with national coverage. No negative connotations of the word "Europe" were found:

Die Zukunft des Deutschen liegt darin, sich in einem vielsprachigen **Europa** und einem mehrsprachigen Deutschland zu behaupten.

[The future of Germany rests in its ability to asserts itself in a multilingual Europe and Germany] (*Die Welt*, 11 March 00) **[AQ23]**

The words "Bologna" and "PISA" occur surprising infrequently; If PISA is mentioned, then it is in a negative connotation (e.g. "shock", "poor results"), and used as rationale for introducing English early:

Gemäß dem nach dem „**Pisa**"-Studien-Schock landläufigen Motto: Kinder lernen früh am besten, also sollen sie und bitte möglichst reichlich!

[According to the motto – popular since the Pisa Shock – children learn better the younger they are – so they should learn lots then!] (*Rheinische Post*, 27 January 2009)

Regarding words related to FLs and FL pedagogy generally, language tuition receives very positive coverage in texts reporting on pre-school and primary institutions:

genauso aber scheint die Muttersprache von der **Fremdsprache** zu profitieren, und zwar selbst dann, wenn der Unterricht in den ersten Jahren ausschliesslich in der Zweitsprache stattfindet.

[likewise, the mother tongue seems to profit from FL, even if the lessons are entirely in the second language.] (*Die Zeit* online, 18 November 2015)

"Bilingual*" is most thematised in texts from regional papers, and reporting on secondary schools, always in positive or neutral stances:

Vom Angebot sollen in erster Linie die Schüler profitieren, aber nicht nur sie. Die Schule will mit dem **bilingualen** Unterricht ihr Profil stärken.

[Students are to benefit especially, but not just them. The school aims to raise its profile with the bilingual strand.] (*Stuttgarter Zeitung*, 15 May 2016)

Similarly, English is most mentioned in texts reporting on (new) bilingual strands in specific primary/pre-school institutions: here, no negative connotations were found in the reporting.

The controversies regarding English versus French (see above) are found most in texts reporting on primary languages.

[W]ährend im Hinterland in mehr als 2000 Grundschulen bald ein "gudmorning" und "gudbei" erschallt, heisst es in 470 Schulen entlang der 180 Kilometer langen Rheingrenze zu **Frankreich** statt dessen "bongschur madam" oder "orewoar misjör". **Besorgte Eltern** wollten diese **vermeintliche Benachteiligung** ihrer Kinder gerichtlich stoppen lassen.

[While, in the Hinterland, more than 2000 primary school children will say "Good morning" and "Good bye", 470 schools along the 180 km French border will teach "Bonjour Madame" and "Au Revoir Monsieur". Parents, concerned over purported disadvantages, are seeking to legally stop this.] (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 13 July 2005)

Generally, the linguistic diversity debate is centred in newsprint with national coverage:

Das Vorhaben der baden-württembergischen Landesregierung, an den Gymnasien in Grenznahe verpflichtenden **Französisch**unterricht einzuführen, ruft wachsenden Widerstand hervor.

[The plan of the BW Land government to introduce compulsory French in Gymnasien near the French boarder is met with increasing resistance.] (*TAZ*, 16 March 2007)

Words suggesting difficulties ("schwierig*", "problem*") appear most frequently in texts relating to the adult leisure market – however, closer analysis reveals that such terms occur in negation, refuting the notion that learning languages in adulthood is difficult:

Anhand von praxisnahen Themen aus dem Alltag ist das Erlernen der Sprache auch für Erwachsene kein **Problem.**

[Thanks to a choice of topics covering daily life, learning the language is no problem for adults either.] (*Rheinische Post*, 17 September 2011)

The same applies to purported difficulties for young learners:

Die Aussprache **schwieriger** Wörter falle dadurch [Lieder and Reime] leichter.

[Pronunciation of difficult words becomes easier using songs and rhymes, so it is reported.] (*Frankfurter Rundschau*, 23 December 2003)

Scientific evidence e.g. on cognitive linguistics is also used to refute notions of problems in early FL learning:

"Kinder können ohne **Schwierigkeit** mehrere Sprachen zugleich lernen", erklärt Wolfgang Klein, Direktor am Max-Planck-Institut für Psycholinguistik.

["Children can learn several languages without difficulty", explains Wolfgang Klein, Director of the Max Planck institute of Psycholinguistics.] (*Der Spiegel*, 26 November 2001)

Problems *are* mentioned in relation to lack of research evidence, and lack of joined-up education policy:

"Das **Problem** ist, dass noch gar nicht evaluiert ist, wie Englisch bisher in den Klassen drei und vier angekommen ist", so die Schulleiterin, so dass man nicht abschätzen könne, welchen Effekt man damit erziele.

["The problem is that we have not evaluated yet how much English pupils un year 3 and 4 actually learn", said the head teacher, "so that we cannot know what effect we have had."] (*Rheinische Post*, 27 January 2009)

Problematisch sei, dass die Lehrkräfte nicht ausreichend Möglichkeit gehabt haben, sich auf den Einsatz bei den Erstklässlern vorzubereiten und fortzubilden.

[It is reported as problematic that teachers don't have enough opportunity to prepare and train for teaching year 1s.] (*Rheinische Post*, 27 January 2009)

Finally, professional advancement, often given as a rationale for Englishization, is most cited in texts reporting on tertiary education:

Je mehr Sprachkenntnisse vorhanden sind, desto besser die **beruflichen** Aussichten. [...] Wer in die **Jobwelt**[3] einsteigt, sollte auf jeden Fall Englisch beherrschen – "die lingua franca der Neuzeit".

[The more language skills you have, the better the job prospects [...] If you want to enter the job market, you certainly need to know English – the lingua franca of our times.] (*Die Welt*, 22 November 2003)

In sum, the corpus linguistics analysis suggests the following tendencies:

- positive portrayals of:
    - stakeholders at local level (parents, teachers, students)
    - English for younger children (the younger=better doctrine)
    - innovative pedagogies to facilitate new forms of English in education

- negative portrayals of policy makers and influencers

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3. The search *job** yielded 5 results only and was not added to key words for that reason.

- an unquestioned poll-position of English as FL, with little evidence of concerns over FLs diversity.

These results will be triangulated with the following thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis

Using inductive coding, a coding system was jointly devised by two coders and reified in a process of constant comparison with the data (Table 2).

Table 2.   Codes for thematic analysis

Neutral themes	code	Negative themes	code	Positive themes	code
Report on English learning event	N1	Pedagogical challenges of CLIC [AQ13] and EMI	NE1	Importance of English generally	P1
Report on new EMI programme in tertiary sector	N2	Extra work for teachers (e.g. CLIL, EMI)	NE2	Students profit from different FLs simultaneously	P2
Report on bilingual strand in Gymnasium	N3	Detriment of English to German language	NE3	Cognitive and social benefits of language learning	P3
Report on bilingual strand in Realschule	N4	German domain loss and prestige loss	NE4	Innovative pedagogy	P4
Report on bilingual strand in other secondary schools	N5	Poor English of staff	NE5	Importance of English professionally	P5
Report on bilingual strand in primary and pre-primary sector	N6	Challenges for students (poor English, more work)	NE6	Demand by students	P6
Diversity of languages offered (FLs other than English)	N7	Students confuse different L2s [AQ14]	NE7	Demand by parents	P7
		Primary English causing problems at secondary level	NE8	Internationalisation of content	P8
		Controversy: French versus English	NE9	Internationalisation of student body	P9
		English supresses other FLs	NE10	Good English of students	P10
		Call for different first FL to English	NE11	Positive effect of English on German	P11
		Problems re moving between Länder	NE12	Primary English as rationale for bilingual strand at secondary	P12
		Organisational challenges (staffing, timetabling, curriculum)	NE13	International qualifications	P13
		Extra cost for institutions	NE14	Publicity and profiling for institution	P14
				Politicians demand more bilingual strands	P15
				Demand for English in teaching institution	P16

Higher Education

Codes labelled "neutral" were mostly applied to reports of a new bilingual/ EMI policy at a specific institution (and thus often carrying a slight positive connotation). Negative codes refer, for example, to little training for staff, extra workload, costs, the dominance of English over other FLs etc. Positive codes cover issues relating to rationales for Englishization (e.g. internationalisation, professional advantages) as well as good pedagogical practice. To do justice to differences in corpora and text size, any theme mentioned in a text was counted once; repetitions of the same theme within one text were not counted. Frequencies and percentages of codes per corpus are presented in Table 3.

Table 3. Code frequencies in different corpora

Code	Regional newsprint: primary sector	National newsprint: primary sector	National newsprint: secondary sector	Regional newsprint: secondary sector	Pre-school sector	Tertiary sector	Leisure sector
Neutral codes							
N1	10			4	4		2
	3%			2%	2%		
N2						5	
N3				18			
				10%			
N4			1	12			
			1%	7%			
N5				2			
				1%			
N6	44	11	3	1	19		
	15%	13%	3%	1%	12%		
N7			7	11			
			8%	6%			
Negative codes							
NE1	21	6	2	5	5	1	
	6%	6%	2%	3%	3%		
NE2	10	3	1	2			
	3%	3%	1%	1%			
NE3	3	1	3		2	1	
	1%	1%	3%		1%		
NE4	1	1	3			2	
		1%	3%				

Code	Regional newsprint: primary sector	National newsprint: primary sector	National newsprint: secondary sector	Regional newsprint: secondary sector	Pre-school sector	Tertiary sector	Leisure sector
NE5	5	3	4	2		2	
	2%	3%	5%	1%			
NE6	16	7	4	9		1	
	5%	8%	5%	5%			
NE7	7	1	1	7	1		
	2%	1%	1%	4%	1%		
NE8	9	1	1				
	3%	1%	1%				
NE9		1	2				
		1%	2%				
NE10	3	3	4				
	1%	3%	5%				
NE11		1	1				
		1%	1%				
NE12	1			1			
				1%			
NE13	22	5	5	11	11		
	7%	5%	6%	6%	7%		
NE14	3	1			9	1	
	1%	1%			6%		
Positive codes							
P1	4	5	8	8	8	3	
	1%	5%	10%	4%	6%		
P2	3	5	6	11			
	1%	5%	7%	6%			
P3	24	5	4	4	16		3
	8%	5%	5%	2%	11%		
P4	44	8	8	31	21		4
	16%	9%	10%	17%	14%		
P5	2	3	4	7	2	6	
		3%	5%	4%	2%		
P6	16	5		8	1	4	2
	5%	5%		4%	1%		
P7	13	1	4	2	9		2
	4%	1%	5%	1%	6%		

Code	Regional newsprint: primary sector	National newsprint: primary sector	National newsprint: secondary sector	Regional newsprint: secondary sector	Pre-school sector	Tertiary sector	Leisure sector
P8						2	
P9			1			2	
			1%				
P10	25	3	3	10	9		
	8%	3%	3%	5%	6%		
P11	2			2			
				1%			
P12	8	1	1	4			
	3%	1%	1%	2%			
P13	1		1	2		1	
			1%	1%			
P14	2			3	12		1
				2%	8%		
P15	5	5		1	3		
	2%	5%			2%		
P16	4	1		4	9	2	1
	1%	1%		2%	6%		
	298	87	84	182	150	34	15

Note: Percentages of codes occurrences per corpus are given below raw numbers, rounded to the next full number, and therefore do not always add up to 100. Given the small corpora, no percentages are given for the tertiary and leisure sector texts.

The following section reports on the thematic analysis, giving sample citations of codes if appropriate.

Primary sector: texts from newsprint with national coverage

In this corpus, about half of codes are positive, and *c.*35% negative. The challenges of teaching young learners, such as poor literacy, sacrificing content when teaching via CLIL, staffing and timetabling problems, receive more attention. Nonetheless, ease of learning and innovative pedagogical practices are also foregrounded. The importance of English as lingua franca receives more coverage than in regional texts, and demand by parents and students, and positive spin-offs for the learning of other languages are all discussed. In short, the range of both positive and negative arguments for Englishization is far greater than in the corresponding regional corpus.

Secondary schools: texts from newsprint with regional coverage:
As in the primary-regional corpus, many texts advertise an institution's new CLIL or EMI policy. With 54% positive themes, this corpus stands out as strong advocate of successful CLIL pedagogy (17%), but positive effects on learning other FLs (6%) are also highlighted. The most frequent negative topics are organisational challenges (6%) but the danger of students confusing different FLS poor learning outcomes also receives some cover.

Secondary sectors: texts from newsprint with national coverage
Both the wider spread of topics, and greater discussion of problems (35%), are shared with the characteristics of the primary national corpus: texts with national coverage have more critical stances, and engage more deeply with pedagogical challenges of Englishization in the context of our increasingly globalised world.

Pre-school
Texts reporting on pre-school English dominantly mention positive themes (two thirds). Innovative pedagogy (14%) and the cognitive benefits and ease of early learning (11%) are the most cited arguments for English.

"Die Fähigkeit, neue Sprachen ohne Probleme aufzunehmen, nimmt mit dem Alter von sieben Jahren rapide ab", erklärt Wehrmann.

["The ability to absorb new languages without problems is much reduced at age 7", explained Wehrmann.] (*TAZ*, 13 August 2000) **[AQ15]**

Institutions seem keen to use the publicity for personal profiling (12%), and negative themes (*c.*18%) relate to organisational challenges such as finding good teachers. Parents and pupils are portrayed as wanting English for their youngsters:

"Die Eltern haben das Angebot [des frühen Englischunterrichts] mit Begeisterung aufgenommen", berichtet Hortleiterin Bärbel Menthe-Wirtz.

["The parents welcome the offer of early English lessons with enthusiasm", so the nursery director Bärbel Menthe-Wirtz.] (Frankfurter Rundschau 11 February 2009). **[AQ16]**

Primary Sector: texts from newsprint with regional coverage
Nearly all texts report on a new bilingual strand in a school – evidence that schools use media as promotional platform. Around 50% of themes are positive, stressing the importance of English (16%), and innovative pedagogy.

Ginger, die Handpuppe, die kein Wort Deutsch, nur Englisch spricht, tritt jetzt auch

in den Eingangsklassen der Grundschulen ihren Dienst an. Der Kobold steht für einen spielerischen Zugang zur Weltsprache Number one.

[Ginger, the hand puppet who does not speak a word of German, reports ready for service in year 1s of the primary schools. The goblin facilitates the playful learning of the world's most important language.] (*Rheinische Post* 16 January 2009)

Cognitive benefits and the ease with which the students learn are also prominent themes:

Außerdem förderten Sprachen das analytisch-logische Denken. Studien hätten gezeigt, dass mittelfristig die Fähigkeit der Wahrnehmung und Verarbeitung steige.

[In addition, it is reported that languages support logical and analytical thinking. Studies have shown that that, in the longer term, processing and perception increase.] (*Main Spitze*, 20 December 2012)

Negative themes occur to in around 30% of cases, and tend to focus on pedagogical challenges, such as the difficulty for less able students (*Rheinische Post*, 7 February 2009) or extra work for teachers (*Rheinische Post*, 14 September 2006).

Given the low number of texts covering the tertiary and leisure sectors, trends are given indicatively only.

Tertiary sector

Although texts on English at university level have few negative themes, concerns are expressed over poor English of staff, prestige or domain loss of German, institutional cost and problems for students. Rationales justifying EMI dominate in this corpus, the most common being the importance of English for professional purposes (*c.*18%), followed by demand by students (12%), importance of English generally and internationalisation.

Leisure sector

All codes are positive (e.g. stressing role of English as lingua franca) or neutral, and mostly concern innovative pedagogy, but also mention the social benefits for older learners.

Das Erlernen einer neuen Sprache ist für ältere Menschen nicht nur ein hervorragendes "Gehirnjogging", Englisch-Kenntnisse sind oft unumgänglich.

[For older people, learning a new language is not only ideal "brain jogging", it is often necessary.] (*Rheinische Post*, 17 September 2011)

In sum, texts with national coverage cite more negative themes than texts with regional coverage. These texts also refer to a wide range of arguments, for and against Englishization, and express concerns over the strain on students,

and organisational challenges such as timetabling and staffing, FL diversity and detrimental effects on the German language. Pedagogical visions such as European integration, or using English as a vehicle for further language learning do appear, albeit rarely. Figure 1 illustrates the *relative* distribution (as percentage of all theme occurrences counted per corpus) of negative, positive and neutral themes across the five larger corpora. Given the small number of texts, tertiary and leisure corpora are left out.

Insert figure 1 about here

Articles with regional coverage prominently report on new pedagogies to facilitate or accelerate Englishization, and schools use this press coverage for self-promotion. "The younger the better" doctrine is a further strong theme in these texts, evidenced by both thematic and corpus analysis.

In sharp contrast to academic debates on Englishization in Germany, the media coverage of Englishization in German education includes little coverage of themes pertaining to domain loss of German, concerns over FL diversity, pedagogical concepts such as "English as gateway to FLs", the European aim of 1+2, or European education and international citizenship, except in a few highbrow articles (*Die Zeit*, 1 October 2000 and 27 October 2016).

Conclusion

The CDA approach adopted in this study assumes that topic representations are never completely neutral, especially if the topic is controversial, as in this case. Our analysis revealed that the representations of Englishization in education found here are somewhat constrained by the intended readership of the media in question. An example of this is the positive way the regional press reports on Englishization events in their schools. An important target readership of such articles are the parents whose schools experience such Englishization. On the other hand, texts can also shape and re-model representations, and thus influence stakeholders' views. The (few) detailed and nuanced discussions of Englishization (mainly in "Feature" articles) may serve as examples of the latter (e.g. *Die Zeit* articles, *Aachener Zeitung*, 28 March 09). Overall, we observe stark differences between academic and media discourses on Englishization. Academic discourses focus on FL education to foster European citizenship and plurilingualism, express concerns about diversity of FLs, and put forward pedagogical solutions, such as using English as a vehicle to achieve plurilingualism. Media discussions, by contrast, hardly concern themselves with the issue of diversity. Problems, if discussed, tend to focus on insufficient quality or quantity of English teaching. Concerning rationales for learning FLs, media discussions focus on instrumental benefits, such as globalisation and advantages in the job market: rationales which favour English as FL.

Which stakeholders, then, are portrayed as keenest on the "stampede towards English" (Van Parijs 2011: 21) in these texts? Parents are portrayed not only as embracing "the younger the better" doctrine, but also as being keen advocates of English skills for their children's professional future. In similarly positive stances, schools – primary and secondary alike – are portrayed as advocates of international education and European integration via English. The conundrum that the very reliance on English reduces competencies in diverse FLs is not discussed. If parents are portrayed as having problems with Englishization, they are of an operational nature: not enough teacher training, lessons or teachers. The *lack* of English is described as their main concern. The positive portrayal of Englishization is a general feature of articles from the regional press. In this manner, parents, as the key targeted readership, find positive stances towards Englishization reinforced. In contrast, articles with national coverage debate issues of more a conceptual nature, such as domain loss of German, or diversity of languages, even if such themes are not very prominent. Students and teachers, for their part, are portrayed as either endorsing, or at the least, coping well with the "stampede", with some exception around EMI teaching,

where occasional concerns over teaching quality and levels of English are voiced. Pedagogical visions trying to accommodate both English dominance and FL diversity, such as using English as gateway to languages, receive little attention, despite their official EU endorsement ("[Englischunterricht nutzen, um] Grundlagen für das Fremdsprachenlernen insgesamt legen" [use English lessons to create foundations for learning languages generally], Eurydice 2006: 76).

Of all stakeholders, policy makers receive the worst coverage, portrayed as either inert, or restraining the "stampede towards English" by insisting on FL diversity – hence going against parental wishes. As such, negative media portrayals of politicians and bureaucrats is common. In this case, however, policy makers face the challenging task of reconciling the somewhat diverse interests of European educational aims, global citizenship, the *Kulturhoheit* of each Land, preferences of individual educational institutions, parents and students. Whatever policy direction is taken, some stakeholders will be dissatisfied. Generally, the preferences of different stakeholders represent the conflicting demands within Germany. On the one hand, Englishization is considered necessary for the nation's economic and political future, even by academics with sceptical stances towards it (Ammon 2001). On the other, German has a proud tradition as world and academic language, and puts great resources into German lessons for all newcomers to the country, including all Erasmus students (Earls 2013). At HE level, all international students must engage in at least some study of German, and some EMI programmes are designed as "from English to German" models, with tuition progressively offered via German. Earls (2013) suggests that the apparent enthusiasm for EMI might disguise a way of using a global trend to promote national interests, in this case the German language. Concomitantly, we observe that recently, the KMK, rather than individual Länder, have taken active steps towards centralised FL policies. German FL policy makers, both at national and federal level, share the pronounced interest in protecting EU plurilingualism and diversity of languages, via English competencies. Globalisation may have pushed Germany towards Englishization, but recent policy initiatives suggest that policy makers attempt to use Englishization as a vehicle towards plurilingualism, and internationalisation as a vehicle to promote the German language. In this manner, the politicians' voices found in our media texts share academics' *proactive* stances towards Englishization: both explore how to best utilise Englishization for their agendas. In contrast, parents (and to a lesser extent, students) are portrayed as having a *reactive* stance towards Englishization: keeping up with the (perceived) global demands is imperative. Clearly,

more transparent dialogues between these stakeholders could only help in a move towards a shared proactive stance.

In 2005, Hilgendorf suggested that Germany might gradually move from Kachru's *expanding* circle to *outer* circle i.e. from using English as lingua franca to using English routinely for education, governance, culture etc. Currently, there are few signs that Germany is moving in this direction. For instance, we must not confound the (advanced) state of Englishization in HE with a willingness to abandon German as dominant academic language in German HE. The propensity of teaching German as FL at HE, activities of ADAWIS, the high percentage of students studying several FL, and a strong educational focus on plurilingualism, all help to mitigate English dominance. The fact that German HE institutions are restricted in levying fees for international students (Wilkinson 2013) may also help curb ever-increasing offers of EMI programmes. If German HE institutions do indeed utilise Englishization as a way to improve international study experiences, for both home and international students, it would be a further example of a national answer to a global challenge, along with the vision of "plurilingualism via English", the European aim of 1+2 FL, and the EMI programmes moving "from English to German". The challenge, now, is to get all stakeholders to share these visions.

Limitation

This article has analysed texts from commercially available printed media in Germany only; future studies might investigate how experiences of Englishization in education are debated in a variety of online media, including those contacting texts produced by stakeholders themselves (e.g. mumsnet, student sites, teacher forums), especially given the dearth of empirical studies on student and teacher experiences in school sectors.

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Résumé

L'Allemagne a adopté assez volontiers "l'engouement pour l'anglais" (Wächter and Maiworm, 2014) en augmentant l'utilisation de l'anglais dans l'éducation sous toutes ses formes: langue étrangère, langue d'enseignement et apprentissage intégré du contenu et du langage : phénomène qu'on appelle l'anglicisation Cependant, il reste beaucoup de controverses sur le rythme, la manière et le degré d'enseignement de l'anglais en Allemagne.

Cet article étudie comment le sujet de l'anglicisation dans l'éducation – au sens le plus large – et dans tous les secteurs (du primaire au tertiaire) est abordé dans les médias imprimés allemands. En utilisant la base de données Nexis, un ensemble de données comprenant 156 articles en allemand a été établi, portant sur les controverses autour de l'anglais dans le système éducatif allemand. L'ensemble de données comprend des organes d'information avec une couverture nationale et régionale, et s'étend du 1 Janvier 2000 au 23 Mars 2017.

Les méthodes de linguistique de corpus (fréquences, concordances) et l'analyse du discours thématique ont été utilisées pour analyser le corps des textes. Les résultats ont été comparés dans l'ensemble du secteur éducatif couvert et le niveau de couverture géographique de la source du journal (régional, fédéral). La discussion examine comment les débats autour de l'anglicisation dans l'éducation varient selon le secteur de l'éducation. Les résultats sont interprétés dans le contexte a) des juridictions contestées relatives à l'éducation linguistique en Allemagne (notamment la souveraineté des 16 Bundesländer pour déterminer leur politique éducative, c.-à-d. Kulturhoheit) b) tensions institutionnelles (école, université), individuelles (personnel, étudiants) c) les tensions entre les attitudes de protectionnisme (à la limite de la réminiscence) envers la langue allemande d'une part, et le pragmatisme et l'internationalisme de l'autre.

Mots clés: Anglicisation, système d'éducation allemand, apprentissage des langues, Länder, analyse du discours

Appendix: Data text body

Title	Date	Publication	Rubric (for news outlets with national coverage) OR Land (for news outlets with regional coverage)[a]	Length in words
National newsprint: Articles on Primary sector				
I am ball spieling	4/5/04	*Der Spiegel*	Education	1,337
Erste Fremdsprache hilft bei der zweiten	7/4/09	*Der Spiegel online*	Feature	387
Fremdsprachen Unterricht ab Klasse 1	22/6/09	*Die Welt*	Home affairs	781
Englisch ab der 1.Klasse	1/2/09	*Die Welt*	Education	979
Holtedipolter	26/11/01	*Der Spiegel*	Education	843
Kinder profitieren vom frühen Unterricht	8/4/09	*Der Tagesspiegel*	Knowledge	97
Say it in broken English	13/3/03	*Der Spiegel online*	Quote of the day	289
Fremdsprachenpflicht	29/8/08	*Die Welt*	Home affairs	860
NRW Aktuell	6/7/05	*taz*	Education	93
Deutschkenntnisse entscheiden	1/3/06	*Die Welt*	Home affairs	495
Kunst des Stammelns	31/3/08	*Der Spiegel*	Education	1,551
Muttersprache scheint von der Fremdsprache zu profitieren	18/11/15	*Die Zeit online*	Knowledge	1,621
National newsprint: articles on Secondary sector / schools generally				
Ist Deutsch noch zu retten?	1/10/00	*Die Zeit*	Feature	3,589
Deutsch hat Zukunft	11/3/00	*Die Welt*	Feature	1,767
Für viele Eltern gibt es nur English	20/12/13	*Stuttgarter Nachrichten*	Current Affairs	888
Englisch oder Französisch?	23/1/07	Die Welt	Home affairs	348
Badener wollen nicht Französisch lernen	16/3/07	taz	Home affairs	423
Widerworte	28/9/04	Frankfurter Rundschau	Commentary	552
Eine Sprache erobert die Klassenzimmer	28/7/07	Stuttgarter Rundschau	Politics	575
Eltern: Reform erschwert Bildungsweg	12/5/04	Stuttgarter Zeitung	Area news	374
Pflicht und Kür	22/11/03	Die Welt	Commentary	1,515
Parole Mehrsprachigkeit	2/1/02	Berliner Zeitung	Feuilleton	1,362
Die Zukunft spricht Englisch	25/10/01	Stern	Economy	2,556
Deutschlandvergleich	28/10/16	Die Welt online	Politics	272
Englischniveau ziemlich mau	5/11/13	Die Welt online	Economy	823
Do you speak English?	27/10/16	Die Zeit	Education	2,227

Title	Date	Publication	Rubric (for news outlets with national coverage) OR Land (for news outlets with regional coverage)[a]	Length in words
Triumph und Tristesse	29/10/16	Aar Bote	News	720
Do you spiek English?	14/2/15	Die Welt	Finance	1,353
Weg von der Gießkanne	25/10/16	Der Tagesspiegel	Knowledge	1,164
Frühen Fremdsprachenunterricht bundesweit auf Prüfstand stellen	4/1/17	OTS Deutschland	Opinion	640
Articles on tertiary and vocational sector				
Pejorative Konnotation: Deutsch ist einfach und genial	5/1/15	Die Zeit	Commentary	1,314
Weinwirtschaft nur in Englisch	29/3/14	Wiesbadener Tagesblatt	Regional News	177
Einsame Spitze	29/3/14	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	784
Fremdsprache fürs Berufsleben	4/2/16	Rheinische Post	NRW	242
Fremdsprachenkenntnisse von großer Bedeutung	5/2/16	Aachener Zeitung	NRW	576
Englisch ohne Scheu	17/1/14	Südwest Presse	BW	730
Regional newsprint: Articles on Secondary sector				
Besonderes English für Realschüler	13/2/15	Rheinische Post	NRW	528
Abitur in zwei Sprachen	22/10/08	Reheinische Post	NRW	1,310
An der Hauptschule Biologie auf Englisch	8/6/09	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	605
Goethe Gymnasium	12/1/07	Frankfurter Rundschau	BW	432
Hermann-Butzer-Schule führt bilingualen Unterricht ein	30/5/09	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	654
Manchmal Vokabelsalat	15/5/06	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	1,143
Englisch Nummer eins	15/5/09	Stuttgarter Nachrichten	BW	537
Main Taunus-Schule	5/3/03	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	301
Wettbewerb statt Streit	25/7/07	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	441
Gerhard-Hauptmann-Schule	23/1/07	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	232
Fachunterricht auf Englisch	20/12/05	Frankfurer Rundschau	HE	141
Erdkunde in Englisch	30/6/05	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	564
Peter Petersen Schule	21/1/04	Frankfurer Rundschau	HE	208
Englisch in der Fünften	12/2/03	Frankfurer Rundschau	HE	265
Geography statt Erdkunde	23/9/03	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	498
Noch mehr Unterricht auf Englisch	4/5/06	Rheinische Zeitung	NRW	339
Mit Lego ins Finale	1/7/09	Aachener Zeitung	NRW	308
Made in DDR	29/10/16	Mitteldeutsche Zeitung	SA	526
Englisch ist mehr als Shakespeare	27/2/14	Aachener Zeitung	NRW	561

Title	Date	Publication	Rubric (for news outlets with national coverage) OR Land (for news outlets with regional coverage)[a]	Length in words
Förderschule statt England Austausch	6/11/13	Rheinische Post	NRW	534
Russisch soll schuld sein?	3/1/13	Rheinische Post	SA	806
Zweisprachiges Lernen an der Realschule	3/11/16	Mitteldeutsche Zeitung	NRW	493
Bilingual zum Schulabschluss	23/2/16	Frankfurter Neue Presse	HE	602
Sagen wir's auf Englisch!	13/9/13	Kölner Stadtanzeiger	NRW	194
Bessere Chancen in der Berufswelt	29/7/16	Schwarzwälder Bote	BW	273
Sprachwissenschaftler entdecken unterschiedliche Strukturen	11/2/15	Nürnberer Zeitung	BY (Knowledge)	1,033
Schulpartner in Schottland	22/9/16	Sächsische Zeitung	SA	731
Neues Gymnasium informiert	2/3/17	Nürnberger Zeitung	BY	192
Bilingualer Unterricht für OHG Schüler	17/11/12	Rheinische Post	NRW	101
Anschaulichkeit und Lebensnähe	2/11/12	Main Spitze	HE	501
Städtisches Gymnasium führt Ganztag ein	8/2/17	Aachener Nachrichten	NRW	581
English führt in die Welt hinaus	29/11/14	Stuttgarter Nachrichten	BW	499
Marie-Curie-Gymnasium hat bilingualen Abitur-Jahrgang	1/6/16	Neuss Grevenbroicher Zeitung	NRW	436
Sprachbegabte Schülerinnen	14/1/16	Allgemeine Zeitung	RP	251
Geschichte und Bio auf Englisch	3/9/12	Rheinishe Zeitung	NRW	479
Englische Zurufe beim Basketball	3/2/16	Allgemeine Zeitung	RP	415
Fit in zwei Sprachen	15/5/12	Kölner Stadtanzeiger	NRW	467
Regional newsprint: articles on Primary sector				
Senk ju för lörning	26/2/16	Tagesspiegel Berlin	BE (Opinion)	575
Bonschur Madam	5/9/03	Agence Presse	BW	640
Erstklässler lernen Englisch	13/7/05	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	340
Heute Harry Potter im Englisch Camp	28/9/08	Rheinische Post	NRW	292
Gymnasiallehrer gegen Englisch	12/8/08	Reinische Post	NRW	252
Kinder schreiben nach Berwick	19/8/08	Rheinische Post	NRW	519
Englisch auf dem Stundenplan	28/3/09	Aachner Zeitung	NRW	820
Kinder frühzeitig mit Englisch vertraut machen	27/1/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	290
Ginger will nur Englisch sprechen	23/1/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	515
Die ersten Worte auf Englisch	7/3/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	526
Fehlschlag oder gute Vorarbeit?	6/3/09	Aar Bote	HE	763

Title	Date	Publication	Rubric (for news outlets with national coverage) OR Land (for news outlets with regional coverage)[a]	Length in words
Puppenleichtes Englisch	28/8/08	Rheinische Post	NRW	542
Good morning und guten Morgen	27/1/09	General Anzeiger	NRW	595
Von sehr gut bis ungenügend	31/1/09	Stuttgarter Nachrichten	BW	774
Englisch und Französisch für ABC schützen	16/5/00	Berliner Zeitung	BE	498
Mit Trudy ist Englisch kinderleicht	11/6/09	General Anzeiger	NRW	502
Verband kritisiert Grundschulenglisch	24/3/09	Stuttgarter Nachrichten	BW	246
Grundschüler sollen Fremdsprachen lernen	29/3/04	General Anzeiger	RP	680
Englisch für Dötzchen	9/3/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	436
Unterricht auf Englisch	31/8/09	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	653
SPD gegen späten Start	27/7/02	General Anzeiger	NRW	293
Deutsch kaum gesprochen	17/12/03	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	422
Let's go talking in English	16/9/06	Rheinische Post	NRW	555
Good morning Mr Mole	10/2/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	450
Englisch für Erstklässler	26/1/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	561
Streitpunkt Englisch	27/1/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	497
Erst wird geredet, dann gesungen	27/4/03	General Anzeiger	NRW	559
Englisch ab der 1.Klasse	04/04/03	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	392
Englisch in allen Grundschulen	26/9/06	General Anzeiger	NRW	77
Erstklässler können Englisch	19/1/01	Berliner Zeitung Lichtenberg	BE	107
Erstklässler lernen spielerisch	14/1/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	108
Erstklassisches Englisch	7/2/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	497
Tütü auf Englisch	14/9/06	Rheinische Post	NRW	367
Englischlehrer informieren	14/3/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	152
Ab heute in NRW	26/1/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	77
Wer hat die Computermaus gestohlen?	28/2/09	General Anzeiger	NRW	343
Erstklässler beginnen Schultag mit Good Morning	5/09/03	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	588
Mit der Marmelade kommt der Wortschatz	17/3/07	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	390
Gymnasiallehrer gegen Englisch	12/8/08	Rheinische Post	NRW	252
Ritter kommt zweisprachig	31/3/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	309
Erstklässler singen Englisch	7/2/09	Rheinische Post	NRW	444
Von Anfang an zwei Sprachen	2/10/09	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	492

Title	Date	Publication	Rubric (for news outlets with national coverage) OR Land (for news outlets with regional coverage)[a]	Length in words
Vom Apfel zum apple	3/3/05	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	672
Englisch auf dem Stundenplan	29/3/09	Aachener Zeitung	NRW	820
Englisch auf dem Prüfstand	29/12/16	Schwarzwälder Bote	BW	618
Erstklassisches Englisch	1/7/15	Sächsische Zeitung	SA	750
Yes we can!	24/7/14	Gelnhäuser Tageblatt	HE	409
Mit alles Sinnen	26/7/14	Gelnhäuser Tageblatt	HE	220
Nun kann sich Bela mit Henry unterhalten	19/6/12	Kölner Stadtanzeiger	NRW	743
Englischunterricht bringt Erstklässlern keinen Vorteil	6/10/14	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	153
Englischunterricht mit halbem Herzen	26/2/16	Tagesspielgel Berlin	BE (Opinion)	204
English lernen mit Eddy	5/4/12	Kreis Anzeiger Hessen	HE	442
Einige verwenden Worte, die es gar nicht gibt	6/11/00	Berliner Zeitung	BE	727
Mit 'Gruffalo' ordentlich gepunktet	29/6/13	Mitteldeutsche Zeitung	SA	514
Ohne bewusstes Lernen	13/12/12	Mainz Spitze	HE	510
Articles on Pre-Primary sector				
CDU will Englischunterricht schon im Kindergarten	3/10/15	Rheinische Post	NRW	285
Kleinkinder lernen Englisch	13/12/13	Kölnische Rundschau	NRW	114
Leistungsdruck verpönt	11/2/09	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	538
Tierisch gute Lehrer	1/10/09	Aachener Zeitung	NRW	574
Cole Kids	30/3/04	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	567
Playschool	21/9/07	Rheinische Post	NRW	471
English for Kita kids	23/8/00	taz	BE	504
Frühes Sprachenlernen	22/12/08	General Anzeiger	NRW	208
Kinder wollen kommunizieren	29/8/08	Frankfurter Rundschau	National news	362
Englisch lernen in der Kita	28/2/06	Frankfurter Rundschau	HE	400
Einzigartig in Zehlendorf	12/10/01	Die Welt-Berlin	BE	383
Waldburg lernt Englisch	7/11/06	Rheinische Post	NRW	455
Englisch spielend lernen	11/3/16	Frankfurter Neue Presse	HE	132
English in der Kita	12/9/13	Aachener Zeitung	NRW	752
Englisch für Kids	30/8/13	Rheinische Post	NRW	406
We are Glückspilze	4/2/15	Mitteldeutsche Zeitung	SA	636
35 neue U3 Plätze	17/11/12	Generalanzeiger Bonn	NRW	528

Title	Date	Publication	Rubric (for news outlets with national coverage) OR Land (for news outlets with regional coverage)[a]	Length in words
Knirpse können auch Englisch	12/9/13	Mitteldeutsche Zeitung	SA	638
Kinder lernen Englisch und Spanisch	8/3/12	Rheinische Post	NRW	154
Kinder lernen Englisch	22/7/11	Mitteldeutsche Zeitung	SA	283
Spielerisch die fremde Sprache entdecken	24/11/05	Stuttgarter Zeitung	BW	492
Bei Yes kräftig nicken	6/8/05	General Anzeiger	NRW	628
Spielerisch lernen	9/12/02	IT Business		200
Polyglott im Kindergarten	26/2/06	Frankfurter Rundschau	Knowledge	350
Adult leisure language learning				
Senioren lernen Englisch	17/11/11	Rheinische Post	NRW	466
Man braucht's fast überall	13/3/15	Mitteldeutsche Zeitung	SA	1,003
Kaffee in WG Atmosphäre	10/12/08	Main Taunus Kurier	HE	472
Sprachurlaub im Taunus	17/2/17	Usinger Neue Presse	HE	465

[a] Land abbreviation see http://www.giga.de/extra/ratgeber/specials/abkuerzungen-der-bundeslaender-in-deutschland-tabelle/