

*On Perceptions of the Socialising Effects of English-Medium
Education on Students at a Gulf Arab University with
Particular Reference to the United Arab Emirates*

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Signed: 

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This thesis would not have been possible had it not been for the support and encouragement of my wife and children.

ABSTRACT

In the context of post-9/11 calls for educational reform in the Arab-Muslim world, this study investigates a set of underlying claims and assumptions about the socialising capacities of English-medium education. Specifically, the study examines perceptions about the socialising effects of English-medium education from the standpoint of Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university. In assessing these perceptions, the study compares students' perceptions on two levels: (i) on one level, it looks into students' perceptions about the socialising effects of English-medium education in direct contrast to those of Arabic-medium education; and (ii) on another level, it contrasts the perceptions of English-medium students with those of Arabic-medium students.

The research for this thesis was carried out at an international bilingual Arab university in the United Arab Emirates. Data for the study was gathered from two data collection sources, namely student questionnaires and group interview sessions. In both instances, students' perceptions were sought on a range of contrastive issues related to a series of underlying claims and assumptions about English-medium and Arabic-medium education. Overall, 365 Arabic-speaking students from both an English-medium and Arabic-medium educational background participated in the study. Within this sample group, students were drawn from four university colleges: College of Engineering, College of Business, College of Law, and College of Shari'a and Islamic Studies.

The study's findings unveil a complex, often mixed and divided picture of students' perceptions about the socialising roles of both English-medium and Arabic-medium education. In regard to English-medium education, it finds that though there is a general acceptance of the benefits of studying the English-language, there is also to some extent an acknowledgement of the culturally alienating effects on Arab-Muslim students.

The study therefore recommends that granted the paucity of research in this area there is a need to further investigate students' perceptions from a broader range of institutional cultures in the region.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<i>page</i>
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>Abstract</i>	<i>ii</i>
CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Rationale for the Study	1
1.2 Statement of the Problem	4
1.3 Significance of the Study	5
1.4 Research Questions	7
1.5 Organisation of the Thesis	7
CHAPTER 2 - THE BACKGROUND	
2.1 The Arabian Gulf Region	9
2.1.1 The Role of Islam in the Arabian Gulf States	10
2.1.2 The Regional Identification with a Collective Sense of Gulf Arab Identity	11
2.1.3 The Role of ‘Oil’ in Regulating Gulf Arab Economies	12
2.1.4 The Demography of the Gulf Arab Region	15
2.2 Overview of the Historical and Economic Context for the Spread of English	16
2.3 Summary of Chapter Two	20
CHAPTER 3 - THE LITERATURE REVIEW	
3.1 Theories of Socialisation	21
3.2 The Socialising Role of Mass Formal Education	27
3.2.1 Structural Functionalism	29
3.2.2 Social-Conflict Theory	32
3.2.3 Hidden Curriculum	36
3.3 Socialisation in the Context of Higher Education	41
3.4 Socialisation in the Context of Second-Language Education	43
3.5 The Socialising Effects of English-Medium Education on Arab-Muslim Students	47
3.6 Summary	50

CHAPTER 4 – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1	Theoretical Perspective	52
4.1.1	Social Conflict Theory	53
4.1.2	The Critical Research Paradigm	55
4.1.3	The Interpretative Research Paradigm	57
4.2	Research Questions	59
4.3	Research Design	60
4.3.1	Selecting a Viable Research Site	60
4.3.2	Defining the Participant Population	62
4.3.3	Selecting Suitable Data Collection Tools	63
4.4	Research Methods	64
4.4.1	Profile of Selected Research Site	65
4.4.2	Profile of Target Population	65
4.4.3	Construction and Administration of Questionnaires	66
4.4.4	The Planning and Delivery of Interview Sessions	73
4.5	Methods of Data Analysis	76
4.6	Ethical Considerations	78
4.7	Limitations of the Research Methodology	79

CHAPTER 5 – RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1	Perceptions about the Societal Effects of English-Medium Education on Arab Societies	81
5.2	Perceptions about the Additive Socialising Effects of English-Medium Education on Arab Muslim Students	87
5.3	Perceptions about the Subtractive Socialising Effects of English-Medium Education on Arab Muslim Students	94
5.4	Perceptions about the Additive Socialising Effects of Arabic-Medium Education on Arab Muslim Students	97
5.5	Perceptions about the Subtractive Socialising Effects of Arabic-Medium Education on Arab Muslim Students	102

CHAPTER 6 - CONCLUSIONS

6.1	Key Findings	109
6.2	Implications of the Study	111
6.3	Recommendations of the Study	112
6.4	Suggestions for Extending the Scope of the Study	113

References	114
Appendix 1: Questionnaires (English and Arabic Versions)	122
Appendix 2: Questionnaire Data (Percentages and Raw Scores)	131
Appendix 3: Certificate of Ethical Research Approval	146

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Shortly after the dramatic events of September 11th, 2001 an extraordinary degree of political pressure began to mount on Muslim-majority nations to reform their educational curricula. At its heart was a view that educational systems in place in the Muslim world were to some extent directly culpable in motivating the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon. In June 2002, for instance, the United States Congress concurred that some of the textbooks being used in Saudi educational curricula were fostering what Concurrent House Resolution 432 described as a ‘combination of intolerance, ignorance, anti-Semitic, anti-American, and anti-Western views’ in ways that posed a ‘danger to the stability of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, the Middle East region, and global security’ (H. Con. Res. 432).

At roughly the same time, the Bush administration was in the process of formulating its National Security Strategy, and with it the controversial doctrine of ‘preventive war’. Amid these developments the ‘madrassahs’ (traditional Qur’anic schools), primarily in Pakistan and Afghanistan, almost instantly became the focus of intense media attention and were soon being widely vilified and portrayed as little more than terrorist breeding factories that posed a very serious threat to US national security. Indeed, so dismayed was the then US Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld, that he went on record as lamenting, ‘Are we capturing, killing or deterring and dissuading more terrorists every day than the madrassahs and the radical clerics are recruiting, training and deploying against us?’ (USA Today, 2003).

With such fears looming large in the corridors of power, politicians, policy advisors, and media commentators became increasingly vocal in demanding that Muslim educational curricula be restructured in ways that significantly reduced the ‘threat’ to US national security and its vital interests in the Middle East. In terms of direct action, there were

calls to cut back on the amount of religion being taught at schools, colleges, and universities and to begin introducing a 'broader, more secular based curriculum' in the Muslim world (Washington Times, 2003).

Against the backdrop of these developments, one striking formula that emerged was a call to promote 'more English and less Islam', in the belief that such a position might help in rooting out a propensity for radicalism and militancy, particularly among young disaffected men in the Arab and broader Muslim world. Writing for instance in the Washington Post, in an article entitled 'Putting English over Islam', Susan Glasser (2003) observed—much to her delight—that students in the conservative Gulf Arab state of Qatar were now 'learning less Islam and more English', and in order 'to make way for more hours of English, classes in Islamic studies and Arabic ... [were] being cut back'. Along similar lines, Anwar Iqbal reported in the Washington Times (2003) on how the Pakistani government was employing a \$255 million US reform package to 'wrest control of the country's 8,000 religious schools from the mullahs' by introducing 'such modern subjects as English from primary to secondary level'. Moreover, in an article entitled 'English as a Weapon to Fight Terror', the editorial of The Weekend Australian (2002) revealed US Government plans to encourage 'US English teachers to work in the Philippines as a force against terrorism and Muslim extremism' with the understanding that 'teaching English to more Filipinos, and promoting democracy and the rule of law, could contribute in the war on terrorism'.

Further, in 2004 the US State Department instituted what it called its 'English Access Microscholarship Program', the stated remit of which was to 'provide English-language study after school or on weekends to underprivileged youth in predominantly Muslim countries'—a programme that is now operational in over 55 countries (U.S. Department of State, 2005/2009). But perhaps most extraordinary of all was the announcement in 2007 that the British Council, a major international provider of English-language education, had decided it was 'closing its offices, libraries, and information centres in Europe' and slashing funding for European countries by 30% so that money could be 'devoted to spreading British values in Islamic countries and in particular to fund projects that steer young Muslims away from extremism' (BBC News, 2007).

What appeared to be taking shape was a gradual expansion of English-language education as part of a broader US-led public diplomacy strategy otherwise more popularly referred

to as the ‘battle for hearts and minds’ in the Muslim world. In a surprisingly frank assertion about the potential transformative capacities of English language teaching, a high level report on US public diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim world contended that

[s]uccessful public diplomacy strategies have always focused on language teaching ... Employing native and non-native teachers, texts, and classroom interaction on a daily basis, education-based diplomacy enjoys great credibility, respect, and access to broad audiences.... Little else is as effective at conveying information and shaping attitudes. In the case of English, the potential scope of this influence is enormous, comprising just about every school-age person in the world today and millions of teachers.

Taken from a report of the Advisory Group on Public Diplomacy for the Arab and Muslim world (2003), submitted to the committee on appropriations, US House of Representatives.

As I came to learn of these developments and reflect on them, the suggestion that teaching English could be even remotely associated with a neo-conservative political agenda to further a narrow set of ideological interests in the Middle East region was one that troubled me a great deal. For me as an English language teacher based in the Arabian Gulf since 1996, it set off a whole constellation of questions about the very project of English language teaching in the Muslim world. Had teaching English, I wondered, now become little more than an extension of US/UK foreign policy? Was it simply another strategic component in the struggle for hearts and minds in turbulent times? Or was it, as Julian Edge (2003) had then suggested, a necessary ingredient in the ‘pacifying process’ as soon as the tanks, troops and B-52 bombers began their retreat? Could it be, I thought, that our role, as teachers of the ‘language of the conqueror’—as one commentator (Templer, 2003) put it—implicated us as unwitting de-Islamising agents in a US-led campaign to ‘rid the world of evil’ (The White House , 2002)? In short, whose interests were we as English language teachers ultimately serving? These were just some of the intractable political and moral questions to which I continually found myself returning.

But, more fundamentally, what struck me most at the time was a persistent underlying claim, namely, that the very act of teaching English could, in some sense, have a significant transformative effect on Arab and Muslim students, so much so that US and UK governments and their subsidiary educational agencies were willing to invest considerable time, money and planning into this effort. On one level the suggestion that any foreign language could be endowed with such transformative potential seemed on the

surface a rather fanciful idea. Even more fanciful was the corollary that Muslim-majority languages—in particular Arabic—have an inherent capacity to promote a backward (and potentially militant) Islamic mindset (see for instance Coffman, 1995, as a modern advocate of this view). It followed therefore (so the logic seemed to suggest) that granted this unfortunate disposition, such languages are perhaps not the most ideal means of servicing the demands of a modern-educational system and thereby necessitate being replaced by English. Outrageous though all this sounded, I was also conscious that there was a long history of ascribing qualities and characteristics to national languages going back at least as far back as the heyday of European imperialism (see Pennycook, 1998). In much the same way as Thomas Carlyle had once argued that ‘Negroes’ couldn’t speak properly and therefore needed to remain enslaved, or as Ernest Renan had once claimed that ‘the Chinese language was deemed complicated and so, the Chinese man or woman was devious and needed to be kept down (Said 2003), the current day equating of Arabic with Islamic radicalism serves as a justification for the expansion of English.

However, on another level it occurred to me that there was a far more serious dimension to the underlying claims about the transformative capabilities of teaching English. It is not so much that the language itself possesses unique qualities, capacities or properties. That is to say, there is nothing inherent in for instance the structure, phonology or morphology of English—or for that matter any language—that might potentially transform language learners in significant ways. Rather it is the underlying beliefs, values, ideals, norms, principles and assumptions in which English-language education—like any other system of education—is ideologically and culturally embedded. In other words, the transformative capacity of English (if the phrase is to mean anything) resides not in its underlying linguistic structures, but in the socialising experience of English-language education. It is this very aspect of English-language education or to be more precise English-*medium* education that lies at core of the present thesis.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

In light of re-emerging beliefs, claims and assumptions underpinning the recent calls for the expansion of English-language teaching in the Muslim world, the chief purpose of the study is to investigate the potential ‘socialising effects’ of English-medium education on

Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university. By ‘socialising effects’ what is referred to here is the capacity of English-medium education (as a social process) to impart and instil a distinct set of values, beliefs, ideals, attitudes, opinions, behaviours, and assumptions that might be taken as being broadly rooted in Anglo-American culture.

Clearly, the nature of the present problem does not lend itself to a ‘hard’ scientific investigation as if one were, say, observing the pharmacological effects of a trial drug on human subjects. Instead the specific point of focus here is to try to examine and apprehend the collective perceptions and discourses of male students at a Gulf Arab university vis-à-vis their experiences and impressions of English-medium education. Thus, in the broadest sense, the study is predicated on an interpretive/constructivist approach to inquiry, whereby the main focus is on understanding and meaning.

More narrowly, there are two further dimensions of concern to the study. One dimension is to try to assess the perceived socialising effects of English-medium education in contrast to those of Arabic-medium education. The objective here is twofold: (1) to try to gauge the extent to which the perceptions of Arab-Muslims university students about Arabic-medium education are in sync with the beliefs, claims, and assumptions driving the recent calls for the expansion of English; and (2) to situate perceptions about the socialising effects of English-medium education within a broader experience of Arabic-medium education. A secondary dimension of concern here is to try to assess the perceptions of English-medium students in contrast to those of Arabic-medium students. Here the objective is to situate the perceptions of both English- and Arabic-medium students within the institutional culture of the same university, but also to try to contextualise the perceptions of English medium students within the broader context of their Arabic-speaking peers. Ultimately, the aim of the study is try to enhance understanding from the standpoint of Arab-Muslim students as opposed to, say, policy makers or social critics far removed from classroom realities in the Arab-Middle East.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Until now, the recently emerging beliefs, claims and assumptions about Muslim-majority languages and the role English might play in ‘modernising’ current educational systems in the Arab-Muslim world have eluded scrutiny, debate or comment at least insofar as the

English-speaking world is concerned. Yet there is no doubt that the implications of educational ‘reform’ measures taken up by the great powers of the day have potentially overwhelming consequences not least for local communities in the Middle East. It is hoped therefore that the present study can help to shed light on matters of importance to a wide range of interested parties: students, teachers, administrators, local communities, ministries, and geopolitical policy planners. To that end, there at least three main respects in which the study can make a significant contribution.

First, the findings of the study have an invaluable role to play in helping to formulate better informed policy decisions both at the macro- and micro-level of educational policy. Until now policy positions at the macro-level have been largely formulated from a top-down supply perspective with little, if any, appreciation of students’ concerns and aspirations. It is hoped that the present study will go some way in helping to fill that gap. At the micro-level of educational policy, in particular at the level of institutions and classrooms, it is hoped that the findings of the study can help to provide a basis for raising awareness of the broader context of education, and for negotiating policies in the best interests of students.

Second, the study raises important ethical questions that go to the heart of how we perceive the role of education in the context of a modernising, developing Arab state. Since the early 1990s, there has been a widening of interest with respect to the ‘global’ role of English in the non-English speaking world. More specifically, in terms of the Arab nation states, several questions have been raised about the efficacy of English-medium programmes currently in place at tertiary level institutions. Notably, according to the findings of the UN Arab Human Development Report (2003, p.124)

..... facility with the English language is waning across the Arab world. With the exception of a few university professors and educated individuals, real proficiency in English has ebbed, preventing many Arab researchers from publishing their research in international scientific journals. This trend also explains the wide reluctance to make presentations at scientific gatherings in English, or to participate in seminars or even Internet user groups. Paradoxically, this decline makes developing the methodologies of teaching Arabic mandatory.

Thus, it is hoped that by connecting geopolitical developments with classroom realities the study can make an important contribution to the ongoing regional debates about the role of English and Arabic at Arab universities.

Third, the study has an important role to play in raising public consciousness about the role and status of English in contemporary Arab societies. There is a long history of suspicion about the role of English (or any other dominant foreign language for that matter) in modern-day educational institutions. Understandably, discussions tend to be generalised, and at times not surprisingly emotive. It is hoped therefore that the study can initiate a more scholarly and more nuanced appreciation of the perceived socialising effects of English-medium education.

1.4 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- (i) How do Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university perceive the societal effects of English-medium education on Arab societies?
- (ii) To what extent do Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university feel that an English-medium education socialises students in distinct and noticeable ways?
- (iii) To what extent do Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university feel that an English-medium education has subtractive socialising effects on students?
- (iv) To what extent do Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university feel that an Arabic-medium education socialises students in distinct and noticeable ways?
- (v) To what extent do Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university feel that an Arabic-medium education has subtractive socialising effects on students?

1.5 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

The present thesis is comprised of six chapters. Thus far, Chapter One has provided the events, thinking and the subsequent rationale that led up to the conceptualisation of this study. The chapter has also suggested how study could make a significant contribution to knowledge.

Chapter Two profiles the socio-cultural and socio-economic context in which the study was carried out. It provides background information on the development of English-medium education at tertiary level institutions in the United Arab Emirates (and the Arabian Gulf in general).

Chapter Three is a review of the relevant literature on theories of socialisation. It begins with a broad discussion on how the concept of ‘socialisation’ has evolved and is understood in current research and theory. It then leads into a review on socialisation theories in relation to mass formal education from two sociological perspectives. Following this, the chapter provides a brief outline of ‘language socialisation’ research and how this relates to second-language education. It then concludes by discussing relevant research on the socialising effects of English-medium education on Arab-Muslim students.

Chapter Four details the methodological framework in which the study was conducted. It begins with a discussion on the theoretical perspective on which the research methodology is based. This is then followed by a justification and a detailed description of the research methods adopted, concluding eventually with an account of the limitations and ethical considerations of the study.

Chapter Five provides a detailed report and discussion of the study’s findings. These are presented under five main sections, each corresponding directly with the research questions as identified in section 1.4.

And finally, Chapter Six provides a brief overview of the study’s key findings. It also offers recommendations as to how policies (both at the macro- and micro-level) might be better formulated, as well as suggestions for extending the scope of the study.

Chapter 2

THE BACKGROUND

The purpose of the present study, as stated in the introduction, is to investigate the perceived ‘socialising effects’ of English-language education on students at a university in the United Arab Emirates. With that in mind, this chapter has two goals: (1) to provide pertinent background information on the socio-cultural and socio-economic context in which the study was carried out; and (2) to provide an overview of both the historical and economic context in which the role of English-medium education has developed in the region. To that end, the chapter is divided into two sections. Addressing the first goal, Section 2.1 situates the study within the broader context of the Arabian Gulf region though with particular reference to the United Arab Emirates. Addressing the second, Section 2.2 sketches the historical and economic factors that created the conditions for the spread of English-language education in the United Arab Emirates. It also touches on the current role and status of English at tertiary level institutions in the Arabian Gulf region.

2.1 THE ARABIAN GULF REGION¹

Located in the south-eastern corner of the Arabian Peninsula, the United Arab Emirates is one of seven Arab states that share a coastline with what is arguably the world’s most strategically important body of water, namely, the Arabian Gulf. The geopolitical significance of the area is by virtue of a single core factor—in a word, the region’s notably high concentrations of easily accessible oil and natural gas reserves. According to several authoritative estimates, two-thirds of the world’s proven energy reserves are situated here. On an average day, 15 tankers carrying 16.5 to 17 million barrels of crude oil pass through the Strait of Hormuz, the main point of entry to Gulf waters. Roughly

¹ There is controversy over the usage of the term ‘Arabian Gulf’ as opposed to the term ‘Persian Gulf’ which has official international recognition. This study adopts the former on the basis that it is this term that is widely and popularly employed by Gulf Arabs. To talk of the ‘Persian Gulf’ in reference to the Arab areas to the south-west of the Gulf region has little recognition in both popular and mainstream discourse.

speaking, this amounts to 40 percent of all seaborne traded oil or 20 percent of all oil traded worldwide (Energy Information Administration, 2008).

With the exception of Iraq, six Gulf Arab states—the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar and Kuwait—comprise a trading bloc officially known as the Cooperation Council for the Arab States of the Gulf. More commonly (and hereafter too) the bloc is referred to as the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC). Founded in 1981, in the wake of the Iran-Iraq war (1980-1988), the Council was established primarily to foster and strengthen economic and military cooperation. Subsequently, other areas of cooperation have come to include such domains as customs, tourism, legislation, scientific research and technical progress (GCC Charter, 1981). In recent years, the GCC has been engaged in the process of seeking to establish a monetary union by 2010.

Even still, aside from the common strategic and economic interests that draw the GCC states together, there are several notable features about the region that taken together confer on it a distinct character, setting it apart from its neighbours and other Arab regions and nations. Four such features are worth mentioning here: (1) the role of Islam in guiding everyday life in mainstream Gulf societies; (2) the identification with a collective Gulf Arab identity; (3) the role of oil and gas revenues in structuring Gulf economies; and (4) the peculiar demography of the GCC region. A brief account of each is in order.

2.1.1 The Role of Islam in the Arabian Gulf States

That Islam plays a hugely significant role in regulating everyday life in Gulf Arab societies is instantly noticeable even to the casual outsider. Particularly salient is the wide-spread observance of *hijab* (Islamic dress for women, especially the Muslim veil); the segregation of genders; the omnipresence of the mosque; and, not least, the daily impact of the Muslim prayer, the month of Ramadan, and the annual Hajj on local communities. As one might expect, therefore, Islam is officially sanctioned as the state religion in the constitutional arrangements of all Gulf Arab states. As emphasised in the GCC charter (1981), all member states are bound by ‘ties of special relations, common characteristics and similar systems founded on the creed of Islam’. This fact is especially reflected in state-mandated education systems, the region’s legal frameworks (in particular the shariah courts), and the ministries of *awqaf*—the official state bodies that

regulate matters of religious significance. There are of course regional variations: Saudi society is generally regarded as being relatively more conservative with far more stringent laws. In contrast, the smaller Gulf states—in particular Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates—are widely seen as being relatively more ‘liberal’ or to be more precise more accepting of ‘western’ freedoms. On the whole, though, Gulf Arabs (both at the level of the individual and the state) generally display a much stricter adherence to Islamic practices, customs, and rituals—perhaps more so than in any other comparable Muslim-majority region.

However, that said, it should be stressed here that contrary to popular stereotypes about the region the role of Islam in Gulf Arab societies is by no means absolute. The region is far from being culturally detached or isolated from the outside world as some sections of society might wish it to be or as some accounts in the global media are prone to portray it. Indeed, it is a constant refrain of conservative elements that traditional Islamic lifestyles are continually being challenged by the forces of globalisation. In particular, it is felt that the globalisation of international youth culture and alternative lifestyles are seen as ‘corrupting’ influences on traditional modes of life—not to mention the ever advancing pressures of industrialisation, modernisation, and economic liberalisation. Such tensions have a tendency to engender calls for a return to a more Islam-centred society, and not infrequently can be the source of acrimonious conflicts between traditionalist and ‘modernist’ visions of society. One prominent site where such tensions and conflicts can come to the fore is in the debate over the role and purpose of state-regulated education.

2.1.2 The Regional Identification with a Collective Sense of Gulf Arab Identity

Since the earliest calls for decolonisation of the Arab world in the early twentieth century, the concomitant rise of Arab nationalism has had a profound impact on shaping national identities from as far apart as the Atlantic Ocean to the Arabian Sea. As a sub-expression of Arab nationalism, a collective sense of Gulf Arab identity—*al-hawiyyah al-khalijiyya*—has been increasingly gaining prominence at the popular level of Gulf Arab culture, particularly since the 1980s (Barnett and Gause III, 1998, p.193). Underpinning it is a discourse in which the people of the Arabian Gulf region ‘extending from the sea to the desert’ (khalijiin) share ‘homogenous values and characteristics’ that are rooted in a common historical, social and cultural heritage (GCC Charter). Moreover, bolstering this

view is a deep identification with the complex tribal culture of Arabia that of course predates the formation of Arab nation-states and extends beyond current day national boundaries.

In contemporary Gulf Arab societies, there are at least two particularly noticeable manifestations of Gulf Arab identity. One is the very distinct variety of Arabic spoken in the Arabian Gulf region—so distinct that it would be virtually incomprehensible in for instance Morocco or Algeria. Known regionally as *al-lahja al-khalijiyya*, Gulf Arabic has evolved as a result of increasingly close social, political and developmental ties between the Gulf States (Holes, 1990). Although not closely associated with any one particular state, it exhibits features that are common to all Gulf dialects yet still unmistakably ‘Gulf’ in its basic phonological, morphological, and lexical features (Holes, 1990). More recently, the status of Gulf Arabic has been further augmented by advances in mass-communication technology, especially in view of the ever expanding number of satellite radio and television networks.

Also striking about Gulf Arab identity is the wide-scale observance of (male and female) national dress, which varies only slightly from state to state. In this sense alone, the Arabian Gulf region is sharply at variance with other Arab nations and regions, where Euro-American fashion largely prevails (Stillman, 2003). Despite the pressures of globalisation on the young in particular, Gulf Arabs continue to display a great deal of pride in their national dress. There are however signs of shifting attitudes, but it is still a long way off.

It bears mentioning, however, that despite the strong sense of collective identity projected throughout the region, Gulf Arab identity often finds itself competing with other forms of association and identification, in particular Islam, tribal loyalties, individual national identities and several cultural variants of globalisation.

2.1.3 The Role of ‘Oil’ in Regulating Gulf Arab Economies

By the 1930s, it was already a well-established fact that the Arabian Gulf region was endowed with immense deposits of oil, but it was not until the momentous OPEC oil embargo in October of 1973, when the fortunes of the region were to take a decisive turn. In a much-anticipated move to redress the balance on oil trade and secure a greater share

of profits from revenues, Muslim OPEC states dramatically increased oil prices by some 300% (Hourani, 1991). The renowned US political scientist, Robert Gilpin (1981), applauded the OPEC move and even went as far as to describe the action as ‘the greatest forced redistribution of wealth in the history of the world’ (p. 67). The socio-economic and socio-political effects of the move were indeed staggering. Almost every aspect of everyday life in the Arabian Gulf region underwent a phenomenal transformation. Peter Mansfield (1976/1985), the much-acclaimed British historian of the Middle East, describes the transition from one of the poorest regions in the world ruled by Bedouin tribal sheikhs to one of the richest with control over a major part of the world’s financial reserves as one of the ‘most extraordinary phenomena of the twentieth century’ (p. 348). But, as Albert Hourani (1991) observes, it soon became clear that what might have seemed to be a declaration of political and economic independence was in fact an ominous step towards greater dependence on the industrialised nations of the West. Far from simply being a blessing from God, oil soon proved to be what OPEC founder, Juan Pablo Pérez Alfonso, famously called the ‘devil’s excrement’, branding it as a source of waste, consumption, corruption, and interminable debt (The Economist, 2003).

Looking back on the past three decades, there is ample reason to believe that Pérez Alfonso’s prescient warnings were essentially right. A great many economic analysts (The Economist, 2003; Eifert, Gelb, & Tallroth, 2003; and others) note that despite the colossal revenue gains in the 1970s and early 1980s, oil-exporting countries in the region have significantly lagged in growth and development in comparison to resource-poor countries. According to the much-cited Arab Human Development Report 2003 (United Nations Development Programme, 2003) the overwhelming dependence on oil revenues and external oil rents as the sole or principal source of income—what political scientists call the ‘rentier mode of production’—is the single most significant factor in undermining the region’s social, political, and economic development. What is more, because of the extensive changes that were introduced—mostly during the interlude of high oil revenues in the early 1970s—the region finds it increasingly difficult these days to break away from the seemingly irreversible cycle of rentier economics (Noreng, 1997).

There are chiefly three reasons why the extreme reliance on oil revenues continues to prevail even despite widespread acknowledgment in the Arab world of the corrosive effects on the region’s development. Each of these, has direct implications for language education policy and planning in the region.

First, as Beblawi and Luciani (1987) point out, the rentier mode of managing oil revenues has been crucial in ‘buying off political consensus’ and thereby securing and strengthening the state’s legitimacy. This has been largely achieved by lavishly distributing oil revenues among the local populations mainly in the form of free or heavily subsidised housing, health care, education, and cradle-to-grave welfare projects rather than, say, opting to extract revenues from domestic sources (as is the case in most non-rentier economies). However, as many political scientists have pointed out (e.g. Noreng, 1997 p.198), one of the major effects of a distributive mode of managing oil wealth is that unlike tax-dependent states that are generally held to be directly accountable for public policy and expenditure commitments, there is virtually no compulsion or incentive in the rentier state to represent. This very often leads to characteristically weak state-society linkages with very limited opportunities for public participation in policymaking, and insufficient means for the government to gauge and respond to ongoing societal needs. As such, like other social policy initiatives, under such circumstances, language education policy and planning decisions are liable to be hit-and-miss affairs.

Second, the enormous surplus of capital generated from oil revenues permits and indeed entices governments to pursue a capital-intensive economic strategy to deliver social and economic progress in place of a more labour-intensive orientated approach; the logic being that the former offers quick and easy returns compared to the much lengthier, more demanding and somewhat riskier option of the latter (United Nations Development Programme, 2003).

One of the inevitable outcomes of a capital-intensive strategy (and perhaps the most salient) is the extreme reliance on hiring foreign expertise, which tends to be mostly Western or Western orientated. Also, it often proves to be costly and tends to advocate policy changes that (a) conflict with local interests; and (b) are seldom absorbed locally (United Nations Development Programme, 2003). More broadly, as the AHDR 2003 points out, the heavy reliance on foreign expertise has long-term detrimental effects on region’s independence and development. In particular, the demand and possibilities for the production of local knowledge are severely stifled (United Nations Development Programme, 2003); potential local experts are instantly rendered obsolete; and the general social value of Arab social scientists, educators, and language specialists is substantially reduced. All this tends to produce artificial social hierarchies between Westerners and

Arabs in terms of knowledge and expertise, and eventually perpetuates the Arab brain drain (United Nations Development Programme, 2003). More perniciously, a ‘rentier mentality’ sets in, orientated towards spending and acquisition (United Nations Development Programme, 2003) where the onus is placed almost entirely on foreign experts to work out crucial far reaching policy initiatives. In such a climate, government agencies become easily prone to international speculators and unwittingly give rise to a virulent self-serving mercenary culture. This, as we shall see later, has been particularly evident in the lucrative ‘ELT sector’ of the Arabian Gulf states.

Third, the ever rising demand for oil in the world—more recently as a result of the expanding economies in China and India—places huge insurmountable political pressures on major oil-producing economies in the region to continue to sustain the current rentier mode of production with all its attendant social effects; not to mention of course the enormous financial stakes of US/UK energy corporations, the extremely lucrative trade in military hardware, substantial investments in construction projects and treasury securities. In light of these global dimensions, Noreng (1997) persuasively argues that

[the] choice of a different economic strategy, with a higher priority given to agriculture and labour intensive manufacturing, using mass education as the principal tool would have required a different political environment. Clearly, this would not have been in the interest of foreign powers, because it would have led to a reduced dependence upon oil revenues and consequently, perhaps, to lower oil exports...a stronger effort in mass education could have led to less malleable political systems and a reduced scope for foreign influence and manipulation. (p. 199)

2.1.4 The Demography of the Arabian Gulf Region

The extreme reliance on the region’s eleven million expatriate workers is undoubtedly one of the most striking features of contemporary Gulf Arab societies is. In the United Arab Emirates alone, expatriates comprise almost 80% of the total population.

Dating back to the early 1970s, the demography of the Arabian Gulf states is a direct consequence of the rentier mode of managing the region’s oil and gas revenues. One of its major effects on the region is an over-skewed, two-tier labour structure: on the one hand is the dependence on an overinflated expatriate labour force mostly employed in the private sector, and on the other is the vastly overgrown public sector largely occupied by Gulf nationals and often in a low employment capacity (The Economist, 2002; Eifert et

al., 2003). Since the early 1990s, governments in the region have sought to correct this imbalance by enacting a set of ‘nationalisation’ policies (locally known as Saudisation, Emiratisation, Omanisation, Qatarisation etc.). The chief goal of these policies has been to try to increase representation of Gulf nationals in both the public and private sector, with a view to proportionally decreasing the reliance on expatriate workers. As one means of pursuing this goal, governments have invested substantially on tertiary level education, in particular English-medium education. Underpinning the logic is the view that Gulf Arab nationals need to acquire the necessary knowledge and skills in order to manage the modern infrastructure of the region and thereby reduce the reliance on foreign expertise. In the past ten years, the Arabian Gulf has witnessed something of a boom in tertiary level institutions—in many cases involving US/UK universities setting up local branches in the region. This investment has been given a further shot in the arm as a result of the events of 9/11. With initially fewer Gulf Arab students pursuing higher education in otherwise much sought after institutions in the US and UK, demand for regional alternatives and solutions has proportionally grown. Moreover, the soaring oil revenues—particularly in recent years—have also helped to sustain growth in the region’s tertiary sector.

2.2 OVERVIEW OF HISTORICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT FOR THE SPREAD OF ENGLISH -LANGUAGE EDUCATION

In their brief historical introduction on the origins of English for Specific Purposes, Hutchinson and Waters (1987) note that the oil crises of the 1970s vastly accelerated the development of the ELT profession and helped usher in a new uncharted era in the teaching of English as an international language. English, they observe, suddenly became big business and commercial pressures began to exert an extraordinary influence (Hutchinson & Waters, 1987). No longer simply a foreign language for casual study or a pastime to satisfy a personal linguistic curiosity, English was now destined to become a highly lucrative international commodity with an annual turnover in 2004 of over \$9.6 billion (Language Travel Magazine, 2004). More pertinently, with respect to the Arabian Gulf, English is today the de facto language of the sciences, technology, business and media studies at almost every major tertiary institution in the region. The factors that have

helped bring this about have their root in a very specific political and economic climate that emerged in the 1970s.

As revenues for the Arab oil-producing states soared in the wake of the OPEC price hikes of the 1970s, the region suddenly found itself embracing a ‘consumerist’ strategy of development, and by extension undergoing increasing economic penetration on the part of the great industrial powers. As if inevitably, western curiosities of every conceivable sort—not least state-of-the-art technologies and expertise—began pouring into the region. Awash now with limitless oil wealth and the seemingly endless opportunities it presented, the Arabian Gulf states slowly found themselves embarking on an ambitious socio-economic experiment: to expedite the region’s transition towards a new ‘modern’ era with all the trappings and amenities of the industrialised nations of the West. Within this political and economic climate, there emerged an urgency to develop and train an entire national workforce to participate in the region’s mass project of ‘modernisation’. It was largely in this context that the potential usefulness of English came to the fore. Soon English was widely becoming identified as a powerful tool in facilitating the region’s course to a new chapter of oil-based modernisation.

From the rentier perspective, the economic arguments for expanding English, at least on the surface, seemed plausible enough. The urgency of rapid modernisation demanded instant results, and rather than relying on locally-produced solutions to language policy issues, which all seemed to require a much lengthier labour-intensive approach to social development, the expansion of English appeared to provide relatively quicker and easier returns. All that seemed necessary was to seek and hire the right sort of language teachers (i.e. sensitive to Arab–Islamic customs and values), to purchase the usual ELT paraphernalia and they could start introducing the language right away. The alternatives, however, of say Arabisation, mass translation or bilingual education all somehow seemed to be highly complex and long drawn out affairs that for the time being at least were best shelved to be pursued later once a certain degree of modernisation had set in.

So long as the major oil producers were able to maintain a constant supply of oil from the region and guarantee a certain degree of economic openness, English seemed to display a remarkable propensity to spread both rapidly and extensively. And indeed as English took root in the region, it soon began to penetrate not only—as one might expect—into the domains of state-mandated educational structures, but into almost every major public and

private sector institution in the region: the military, healthcare sector, oil industry, aviation industry, telecommunications sector and so forth were all as a matter of routine required to learn English as part of the region's drive towards modernisation.

Predictably, an extraordinary influx of ESL instructors, teacher trainers, ELT textbook publishers, and language course providers shortly followed while thousands of Gulf Arab students were awarded lavish scholarships to study English in Britain, Australia Canada, and the United States. As the phenomenal expansion of English translated into huge windfalls for the ELT industry, it all of a sudden became sharply evident to the key players (e.g., British Council, ETS, Longman, Cambridge University Press, Oxford University Press, etc.) that 'English' had appropriated an unwittingly powerful stake in the future development of the entire region. Ironically, in many ways the *modus operandi* of the ELT industry soon began to resemble that of an oil cartel than say an educational service provider. Heavily centralised and firmly rooted in the core English-speaking countries of the West, it exclusively determined which language components got taught, which approaches were best, what the language learner was required to do, which textbooks were appropriate and so forth as if local and regional Arab populations had virtually no idea at all. The widely discredited notion elsewhere of the 'inferior' non-native speaking teacher of English seemed to be of little consequence to the ELT industry here except of course to severely undermine the competitiveness of Arab teachers of English in a rapidly ascending market. And to make matters even worse, ESL teachers of Egyptian, Palestinian, Jordanian, and Sudanese descent were (and continue to be) routinely stigmatized for supposedly peddling antiquated or outmoded methods of language teaching based around a bland series of rote-learning and memorisation techniques.

It was now of course becoming clear that an increasingly assertive, self-serving mercenary culture had set in that relied largely for its survival on weak state-society linkages, and as a direct consequence the absence of any meaningful structures for delivering transparency and accountability. Eventually the lion's share of the most lucrative sectors of the ELT industry was wrested and set aside for the 'native-speaker'. To date—it is fair to say—a discriminatory two-tier system of language-education pervades in the Arabian Gulf region based almost entirely around a series of social privileges (e.g., native-speaker privilege, White privilege, American privilege, British privilege, etc.) where on the one hand a community of largely white, Western, 'native

speakers' of English is employed in the lucrative tertiary sector and on the other is a vast corps of bilingual Arab teachers of English who work in the substantially underinvested secondary and primary school systems. The following extract from a job advertisement posted by a prestigious Gulf university rather grimly represents the region's current two-tier ESL instructor system:

EFL Lecturer Positions

APPLICANTS MUST BE MALE, NATIVE ENGLISH SPEAKERS WITH A FIRST DEGREE FROM AN ANGLOPHONIC UNIVERSITY

We are interested in recruiting well-qualified, committed and experienced teachers of EFL/ESL/EAP to teach in the Orientation English Program (OEP), a well-established structured 20-hour-per-week pre-university intensive course in English for academic purposes.

The ELC at ***** currently employs over 90 faculty (American, Australian, British, Canadian, Irish, New Zealanders and South African) and is expanding.

[The name of the institution has been omitted] (Dave's ESL Café, 2002)

As one might possibly glean from the advertisement, English is firmly established as the de facto medium of instruction of almost all tertiary and technical education in the Arabian Gulf region.

In recent years the situation shows no signs of abating. As Coffman (2003) observes American and British style universities continue in the region to expand at an ever increasing rate. As mentioned earlier this partly as a result of a recent decline in the number of Gulf Arabs opting to study in the United States since the 9/11 attacks and the soaring oil revenues of 2008. But at the same time deep and troubling reservations are also beginning to emerge about whether the extreme reliance on English has culminated in any appreciable benefits for the region. According the much cited Arab Human Development Report (United Nations Development Programme, 2003) 'facility with the English language is waning across the Arab world' and '[w]ith the exception of a few university professors and educated individuals, real proficiency in English has ebbed'.

The reasons for this striking anomaly, despite huge levels of investment in English-medium education over a period now of three decades, are manifold, but there are perhaps two salient factors that provide a strong indication of why English language learning in the region has been mostly unsuccessful.

First, as Syed (2003) argues, there still exist no definitive locally-produced approaches to ELT that meet current language learning needs of the region. The reliance on imported pedagogies with a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach to the region have proven be a failure. The use, for instance, of culturally alienating and Islamically inappropriate instructional materials, methods, and approaches is still very much the order of the day.

Second, it is fair to say that many of the region’s key decision (and policy) makers in education are Anglo-Western practitioners that often lack a rudimentary knowledge of the region’s history, culture and traditions and perhaps more significantly a basic understanding of the Arabic language.

Moreover, there are also concerns that the disproportionate investment in English-medium education in the region has also led to worrying levels of underdevelopment in the use of Arabic to meet the ongoing challenges of modernisation. The AHDR (United Nations Development Programme, 2003) for instance warns, rather despairingly, of a glaring crisis facing Arabic which it largely attributes to the marked absence of language policy at national level, underdevelopment in the Arabisation of the sciences, a chronic deficiency in translation, and the significant lack of appropriate research and development projects—all areas that have suffered from acute neglect and underinvestment, as well as also being the source of alarming distortions in first language proficiency. In sum, there is almost a sense these days that the curse of the ‘devil’s excrement’ has severely hampered not only the possibilities of reaping the much-touted benefits of learning English but also more importantly of developing effective Arabic language policy and planning initiatives to cope with the challenges of industrialisation, modernisation, and globalisation.

2.3 SUMMARY OF CHAPTER TWO

The region has a shared history rooted in 'Islam and a collective Gulf Arab identity. The region’s oil and gas reserves play a pivotal role in the region’s strategic importance to the major industrial powers of the world, and also in determining a particular form of social development. English-language education is firmly embedded in the historical and socio-economic context of the region’s rise to prominence since the 1970s. There are growing and ongoing concerns about the efficacy of English-language programs at tertiary level education.

Chapter 3

THE LITERATURE REVIEW

As might be readily inferred from the title of the dissertation, the core construct from which the present study takes its lead is the idea of ‘socialisation’. With it at the heart of the study’s theoretical framework, this chapter reviews relevant literature on theories of ‘socialisation’. Section 1 begins with an overview of theories of socialisation as they relate broadly to society in general. The aim here is to give a sense of how the term has developed and how it is widely and currently understood. Section 2 reviews the relevance of socialisation theories within the context of mass formal education. More narrowly, section 3 provides an overview of literature on the relationship between language and socialisation and how this might relate to English-medium and/or second-language education. Last, section 4 reviews potentially relevant literature on the socialising effects of English-language education on Arab-Muslim university students.

3.1 THEORIES OF SOCIALISATION

Not only does the term ‘socialisation’ and its various cognates have a long history in the social sciences, it also enjoys wide-ranging currency in such disparate fields as sociology, psychology, anthropology, criminology, and of course—for the purposes of the present study—education. As noted by Clausen (1968, p.21), the earliest usage of the term can be traced back to the Oxford dictionary of 1828 where it is defined simply as ‘to render social, to make fit for living in society’. In sociology texts, the term begins to appear with some frequency in the mid-1890s though not quite, as Clausen (1968) maintains, in the modern sociological sense. One noteworthy example is in an 1896 paper by Ross on ‘social control’ in which he refers to socialisation as ‘the moulding of the individual’s feelings and desires to suit the needs of the group’ (cited by Clausen, p.22). Another instance is in a work by Giddings appositely entitled the ‘Theory of Socialization’ (1897) for whom ‘consciousness of kind’ as he terms it is the chief socialising force (cited by

Clausen, p.23). But nowhere in these seminal texts, observes Clausen, does Giddings or his contemporaries attempt to characterise the nature of the ‘socialisation apparatus’; nor is there any undertaking to try to examine the major features of socialisation as a continuing process. Indeed, as typically reflected by the work of Giddings and others of his milieu, early conceptual usage of the term is largely confined to discussions on the bases of harmonious social relationships and the preservation and unity of human groups (Clausen, 1968, p.23).

As a fully-fledged theoretical construct, it is generally agreed in the relevant literature that the term begins its trajectory in the late 1930s and early 1940s (see for instance Clausen, 1968; Danziger, 1971, White 1977; White and Mufti, 1979; and Williams, 1983). In one of the earliest and most influential textbooks on sociology, Ogburn and Nimkoff (1940, p.1) define socialisation as the ‘process whereby the individual is converted into the person’. At roughly the same time, Dollard (1939, p.60) writing in the *American Journal of Sociology* describes socialisation as ‘the process of training a human animal from birth on for social participation in his [or her] group’. Along very similar lines, Child (1943, p.18) refers to socialisation as ‘the process by which society moulds its offspring into the patterns prescribed by its culture’. A decade later, in a literature review of socialisation research, Child (1954, p.655) elaborates a little further noting that socialisation is a broad term

... for the whole process by which an individual born with behavioural potentialities of enormously wide range, is led to develop actual behaviour which is confined within a much narrower range—the range of what is customary and acceptable for him according to the standards of his group.

Up until at least the 1950s, it is possible to discern two prevailing strands of thought underpinning theories of socialisation. Though not strictly related, both often find themselves converging in analysis, theory and research. One strand, rooted in the theoretical tradition of structural functionalism (more on this later), is widely taken as being the conventional view of socialisation. For proponents of this view, socialisation is perceived as a necessary process that fosters social harmony, the continuity of human societies, and the maintenance of social order—all of which are achieved more or less successfully by the transmission of cultural norms and values from one generation to another. Notably, the chief social institution that is believed to drive the process is the family, with the mother—or to be more precise the primary caregiver—being the main

agent of socialisation (see for instance Parsons, 1955). Accordingly, the most important stage in the process is deemed to be the period of personal development during infancy and early childhood—a period often referred to in the literature as the ‘primary phase of socialisation’ (for more on this, see Berger and Luckman, 1971, p.150). Following this, the individual’s passage through formal structures of education is considered to be the next crucial stage in the individual’s development, after which at some point ‘full socialisation’ is believed to have occurred and set in (White and Mufti, 1979, p.6). However, taken together, this conventional view—if we may call it that—is frequently critiqued on the grounds that it assumes a crude characterisation of the nature of modern society. Indeed, as opponents often point out, there is almost a suggestion that societies are little more than static social realities locked into a process of perpetual self-reproduction, the end product of which is the production of ‘carbon copies of their parents’ (White, 1977, p.3).

The other prevailing strand is what might be characterised as a strongly determinist view whereby socialisation is perceived as a unidirectional process of converting the individual into a person as though he or she were highly impressionable, if not, malleable and passive agents in an inevitable and irreversible programme of social engineering. As Danziger (1971, p.14) puts it, it is a view of socialisation that ‘posits society as the goal-setter and active principle, leaving the individual as something that is worked upon, more or less successfully’. Significantly, it stresses the ‘dominance of society over the desires of the individual’ (White and Mufti, 1979, p.6) while ignoring or downplaying the ‘possibility of conflict between the socialiser and the learner being unresolved or resolved in favour of the learner’ (White, 1977, p.5). In sum, it’s a view of socialisation that overemphasises the plasticity and passivity of the individual, so much so that it fails to account for the individual’s own potential in shaping his or her own social experiences. It should be stressed right away that the operative word here is ‘overemphasise’ since it is surely by no means controversial to suggest that individuals are to some extent malleable and passive agents most of all during the earliest stages of social development.

Both conceptual strands, as White (1977, p.2) notes, persist up to and throughout the 1960s. In an important handbook on socialisation research there are hints of the prevailing conventional view of socialisation, in which Goslin (1969, p.2) introduces the concept of socialisation as

... the process by which individuals acquire the knowledge, skills and dispositions that enable them to participate as more or less effective members of groups and the society.

In similar, yet slightly more forceful language, Brim (1966) too, like many of his predecessors, holds that that the ‘function of socialisation is to transform the human raw material of society into good working members’. However, White (1977) observes that though a ‘heavily determinist view of socialisation’ stressing the conservative function of preserving society continues to hold sway throughout much of the 1960s, there are signs that an alternative view of socialisation is gradually taking shape, not least with the publication of a much-cited article by Denis Wrong (1961) in which he argues that

... [s]ocialisation may mean two quite distinct things; when they are confused an over-socialised view of man [sic.] is the result. On the one hand socialisation means the transmission of the culture, the particular culture of the society an individual enters at birth; on the other hand the term is used to mean the process of becoming human, in acquiring uniquely human attributes from interaction with others. All men [sic.] are socialised in the latter sense but this does not mean that they have been *completely moulded* by the particular norms and values of their culture.

Although somewhat slow in its initial impact on theories of socialisation, Wrong’s characterisation of the ‘over-socialised’ view of the individual is significant. White (1977, p.3) describes it as a ‘penetrating criticism’ of the conventional sociological view of socialisation. What emerges subsequently—particularly so in the 1970s—is a much more nuanced view of socialisation admitting a broader spectrum of individual variability and a much wider range of socialising agents and factors.

Drawing significantly on ‘symbolic interaction theory’, the ‘new’ alternative view of socialisation rejects the theoretical framework of structural functionalism and its tendency to ‘heavy’ determinism. Instead, it emphasises the importance of personal agency and reflexivity, namely, that individuals in effect make conscious and meaningful adaptations to their social surroundings. At the heart of symbolic interaction theory—inspired by the work of George Hebert Mead (1863-1931)—are three interrelated principles, each of which bears directly on how the socialisation process is alternatively conceptualised:

- (i) ‘that human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that these things have for them’;

- (ii) 'that the meaning of such things is derived from, and arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows'; and
- (iii) 'that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he [or she] encounters' (Blumer, 1969. p.2).

Thus for proponents of symbolic interaction theory, all individuals are effectively 'socialised' in the course of perpetually interpreting, constructing and reconstructing the social meanings that arise in their everyday social experiences—on the assumption that 'all socialisation is contextual in that it occurs in some social situation' (Gecas, 1981 p.167). Moreover, language inevitably plays 'a major if not *the* major role' in this process (Ochs, 1986, p.3) since it is primarily through the medium of language in which social interactions take place and meanings are subsequently 'handled' and 'modified' (more on this later). Granted all this, a number of significant implications for a theory of socialisation follow.

First, and most importantly, individuals are not simply passive and malleable agents moulded by the overwhelming influences of a 'static' society (Maccoby, 2007, p.13). Rather they are—within varying degrees of individual variability—active participants in the socialisation process possessed with interpretive and constructive capacities that enable them to make conscious and meaningful adaptations to their social environment.

Second, it follows that socialisation is by no means a one-way process (Grusec and Hastings, 2007, p.1). Instead, for symbolic interactionists, a much more complex—multidirectional—process is at play, encompassing the social interactions of a potentially wide range of social actors within, needless to say, a system of varying degrees of influence and control.

Third, in sharp contrast to the conventional sociological view, it follows further that 'socialisation' does not simply wind up with the conclusion of formal education. On the contrary, symbolic interactionists perceive the socialisation process as an ongoing 'cumulative' process (White, 1977, p.5) that in effect traverses the entire life span of the individual (Grusec and Hastings, 2007, p.2).

Last, there is no doubt that as a social institution the family is a powerful socialising agent with deep and lasting socialising effects on the individual (Maccoby, 2007, p.14). Also

widely acknowledged is the enduring socialising influence of formal education, particularly on school-aged children. But it is also evident in light of the dramatic shifts of the 20th century that have occurred at the level of demography, urbanization and industrialization, the economy, medicine, technology, politics, and the law (Settersten 2002, p.4) that the individual is subject to an increasingly broad and complex array of socialising experiences, factors and agents including for instance a wider variety of social peers, work colleagues, religious leaders, cultural, political and religious institutions, the media, the Internet, international youth culture, and alternative lifestyles choices (Grusec and Hastings, 2007, p.2).

Clearly, a symbolic interactionist perspective offers a much richer and more profound understanding of the socialisation process. However, it should be stressed at this point that though the conventional sociological view of socialisation is often presented in the literature in contradistinction to the symbolic interactionist perspective, strictly speaking both positions are not mutually exclusive. In fact, there is in effect much scope for accommodating both views. Indeed, as Settersten (2002, p.14) rightly points out

... both approaches seem essential to building an adequate view of socialization. Regardless of whether our focus is on adaptation or conformity or on the construction of identity, we must recognize that human experiences occur in social contexts—some organized and formal, and others less so.

It is also worth stating here that socialisation theories of both orientations have shown a remarkable propensity for withstanding the test of time. Although the initial explosion of interest in socialisation theories—much of which was generated in the 1960s and 1970s—subsided in the 1980s and 1990s, in recent years there are signs of a noticeable resurgence (see for instance Grusec & Hastings, 2007 and Settersten & Owens, 2002). It bears noting however that little has been added in the way of theory that might help to further enhance our understanding of the socialisation process.

According for instance to the recently published *Handbook of Socialization: Theory and Research* (Grusec and Hastings, 2007)—arguably among one of the most exhaustive treatments to date on the subject—the volume’s editors broadly define socialisation as referring to ‘the way in which individuals are assisted in becoming members of one or more social groups’ (Grusec and Hastings, 2007, p.1). In particular, this, they add, includes ‘the acquisition of rules, roles, standards, and values across the social, emotional,

cognitive, and personal domains' 2007, p. 1). Writing in the same volume, Maccoby (2007, p.13), an influential and long-time scholar in the area, defines socialisation as

... the processes whereby naïve individuals are taught the skills, behavior patterns, values, and motivations needed for competent functioning in the culture in which the child is growing up. Paramount among these are the social skills, social understandings, and emotional maturity needed for interaction with other individuals to fit in with the social dyads and larger groups.

However, insofar as research into areas of socialisation is concerned there has been much more sustained activity since the 1970s albeit as Settersten (2002, p15) observes with a disproportionate bias towards certain aspects of the field. He writes

While inquiry into adult development, aging, and the life course has grown exponentially in the past few decades, most scholarship on socialization remains focused on children and adolescents—and on socialization within family, followed by peer groups and school environments. We commonly claim socialization as a "lifelong process" of continuity and change, yet theory and research on human development rarely treats it as such.

On that final note here, it is hoped that the present study will go some way to filling part of the gap to which Settersten (2002) draws our attention.

3.2 The Socialising Role of Mass Formal Education

There can be no doubt that prolonged exposure to formal structures of education plays a hugely significant role in the socialisation process of the individual. But it is also worth keeping in mind that in the course of modern social history, the emergence of mass formal education is in effect a relatively recent phenomenon (see for instance Meyer, Ramirez and Soysal, 1992; Hurn 1993, p.71; Soysal and Strang, 1989; Ramirez and Boli 1987; and Boli, Ramirez and Meyer, 1985; Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p.151).

Until the impact of industrialisation in the nineteenth century on the societies of Western Europe and North America, for the vast majority of the populations socialisation arrangements had been largely restricted to the confines of the family and the local community (Hurn, 1993, p.74). A major focus of family socialisation had been the task of preparing children for occupational roles in a system of apprenticeship (ibid.). Through the system, parents and or other adults in the local community would pass on the

necessary training in one of many specialised crafts—a process that would be more or less sustained from one generation to another. Beyond this, very little in the way of formal instruction existed or indeed was deemed necessary except for a minority. The only major cultural institution outside the family was the church, which sought to inculcate the accepted spiritual values and attitudes (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p.156). Thus to all intents and purposes, the values, norms, knowledge, and skills needed to participate effectively in the adult social world were almost entirely acquired through the family and the traditional structures of community life. In short, as Bowles and Gintis (1976, p.156) put it rather succinctly ‘production and reproduction were unified in a single institution—the family’.

However, as the pressures of industrialisation gradually encroached on rural communities particularly around the mid-nineteenth century, the social foundations of the apprenticeship system began to weaken. Increasingly, the rise of new technologies posed a serious challenge to the livelihoods of families and communities—not least of farmers and artisans. Eventually, unable to withstand the impact of industrialisation, a great many traditional occupations were effectively destroyed. The early industrial revolution in textile production, for instance, had the almost immediate effect of rendering obsolete the crafts of thousands of spinners and weavers (Hurn, 1993, p.74). Small shopkeepers and farmers were competed out of business. And the cottage industry and artisan production practically came to a halt (Bowles and Gintis (1976, p.157).

In the meantime, as the pace of industrialisation intensified in the major cities, particularly with respect to the expansion of the factory system, a whole new set of occupations was created thus precipitating the large-scale migrations of the mid-nineteenth century. A major effect of these social upheavals was a gradual breakdown in traditional patterns of socialisation (Hurn, 1993, p.74). That is to say, the family—and the community as a whole—found themselves increasingly incapable of providing the essential knowledge, skills, behaviours and norms to enable subsequent generations to function efficiently in an ever more complex society. It might also be argued here that an analogous breakdown in socialisation patterns also took place in Gulf Arab societies in the wake of the OPEC oil boom of the 1970s—a period, as discussed in the chapter two, of immense social upheaval for the Arabian Gulf region.

It is within this transitional context—during the dramatic shifts towards increased

industrialisation and urbanisation—that the expansion and formalisation of mass education emerged in Western Europe, North America and elsewhere. How precisely this came about is a matter of much debate. Not surprisingly, the relevant literature is replete with several theoretical arguments that seek to account not only for the rise of mass formal education in the nineteenth century, but also its continuing role as a central feature of the modern nation state as we know it today (Meyer et al, 1992, p.129). For our purposes, the aim here is not to enter into lengthy historical treatments on the origins of modern-day state-educational systems. Rather it is to consider the emergence of mass formal education as a major agent of socialisation, and more narrowly its projected socialising effects on the individual. To that end, two theoretical orientations merit special attention here, namely, structural functionalism and social conflict-theory.

3.2.1 Structural-Functionalism

As a macro-level theory of society, structural-functionalism is widely attributed to the ‘organic analogy’ of Herbert Spencer (1898), the nineteenth century British social theorist. Like many of his contemporaries, Spencer theorised that society is in many respects an organic system much like that for instance of the human body. Comprised of different parts—the heart, brain, lungs, liver, kidneys, and so on—the human body is an interdependent system. Each part plays a specifically ordained role in the maintenance of human life. Accordingly, when all parts are able to fulfil their designated roles, the system is sustained within its normal healthy state of equilibrium. Conversely, if one of the parts fails to function adequately enough, the system as a whole is adversely affected until a natural balance is restored.

Following from Spencer’s organic analogy, structural-functionalism is predicated on the perception of society as a highly integrated system comprised of interacting and self-regulating parts (Parsons, 1951; Turner and Maryanski, 1979). Each of these interdependent parts—the family, the educational system, the economy, the armed forces, the healthcare sector and so on—is perceived as performing a vital function in the maintenance of a stable and harmonious society. In the event that dysfunctions arise in society, the component parts readjust and reorganise until a natural state of equilibrium is restored to the system. (Wallace and Wolf, 1999, p.18) Notably, a key feature in the structural-functionalist view is the assumption that there is broad social agreement or

consensus about the general usefulness of the overall structure of society (Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997, p.13). Further, it is by virtue of this perceived collective consent that social order is established and maintained.

Thus, for proponents of a structural-functionalist view of society, the rise of mass formal education in the nineteenth century can be largely accounted for in terms of its projected role in the maintenance of social order (Durkheim, 1956, Parsons, 1959). Indeed, as structural-functionalists are prone to argue, the expansion of mass education was simply speaking a necessary and rational response to the breakdown in traditional patterns of socialisation at a time of dramatic social upheavals (Hurn, 1993, p.74). As Clausen (1968, p.155) explains it, industrialisation and urbanisation demanded high levels of literacy and technical knowledge that could not be handled adequately enough by the family unit, and thereby necessitated some other form of instrumentality or institution—namely mass education. Or indeed as Burton Clark (cited in Hurn, 1993, p.75) sums it up:

Work itself became complicated and specialized under the advancing techniques of production and distribution, and with this the educational ‘threshold’ of employment was progressively raised. The worker needed longer systematic instruction, although at first this amounted for most only to reading, writing and arithmetic of the simplest kind.

Moreover, inasmuch as there was a perceived pressing need to impart the necessary technical knowledge and skills to a new generation of students and workers, there was also—so structural-functionalists argue—a no less urgent need to try to foster a minimal degree of moral and cultural consensus in a society torn apart by industrialisation (Hurn, 1993, p.78). That is to say, at a time of immense social turbulence there was a systemic demand to try to forge a culturally and socially diverse body of people into a unified polity in the broader interest of restoring social order. In this sense, mass education directly appropriated some of the traditional socialisation responsibilities that until now and had been largely the preserve of the family unit. In so doing, the institution of education also assumed the role of an instrument of state social control. One of the earliest proponents of this view, namely, of the homogenising and controlling function of education, is the eminent French sociologist Émile Durkheim (1956, p.70) who at the turn of the nineteenth century wrote:

Society can survive only if there exists among its members a sufficient degree of homogeneity; education perpetuates and reinforces the homogeneity by fixing in

the child, from the beginning, the essential similarities that collective life demands.

Quite what is entailed in fostering Durkheim's idea of cultural and moral homogeneity varies of course from nation to nation. But what is consistently true in almost every modern-day state-educational system is its deliberate role in transmitting the dominant culture of the adult world to the young (Hurn, 1993, p.4).

This very aspect of the socialising function of mass education was subsequently taken up and refined by Talcott Parsons, by far the most influential exponent of structural functionalism, who argued that mass formal education fosters in effect two types of commitment: on the one hand a commitment to broad social values and on the other a commitment to specific types of roles to be played in adult social life (Parsons, 1959, p.298). Moreover, as summarised by Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford (1997, p. 249), Parsons maintained that

... in learning to play predetermined social roles, men and women preserve the common culture, find a place in a network of interrelated roles, discover an organized way of satisfying and developing personal needs and establish a base from which they can react to new situations confronting themselves in particular or the species in general.

Thus, to sum up the structural-functionalist perspective in the context of contemporary industrial societies, it is possible to discern two broadly identifiable social functions that are served by formal structures of mass education. On the one hand, mass education is seen to function as an efficient and rational device for allocating occupations in a highly differentiated society that is increasingly dependent on knowledge for economic growth (Hurn, 1993, p.43). In this sense, mass education is believed to be a major agent of social mobility to the extent that it supposedly helps to foster a meritocratic society (ibid. p.45). On the other hand, mass education functions as a major agency of socialisation tasked with the role of inculcating the young with the appropriate ideals, values and norms of the dominant culture of adult society (Schwartz, 1975, p.94). This is sought on two levels: on one level, mass education is perceived as instilling the broad social values that develop a sense of civic responsibility and social cohesion (Durkheim, 1956); and on another level, education seeks to internalise in the young the commitments and capacities for successful performance in the future adult roles that individuals are allocated (Parsons, (1959, p.297).

In concluding here, it is opportune to point out that though structural-functionalism continues to hold sway in sociological analyses (Newman, 2002, p.34), its influence has waned significantly particularly since the 1960s (Hurn, 1993, p.50). One of the major factors in its decline can be attributed to the rise of social-conflict theory—the focus of the following section.

3.2.2 Social-Conflict Theory

As an alternative macro-level theory of society, social-conflict theory is often described in the relevant literature as a neo-Marxist perspective of education. This can, however, be construed as a misleading attribution since strictly speaking Karl Marx had relatively little to say about the societal role of education. Furthermore, not all variants of social-conflict theory are inspired by Marxist ideology. Take for instance the non-Marxist analyses of Randall Collins (1979) and John Meyer (1977) both of whom have been hugely influential within this theoretical orientation. It also bears mentioning by way of introduction that though social-conflict theory is frequently presented in the literature as the antithesis of structural-functionalism, the two are not in every respect mutually exclusive (Dahrendorf, 1959, p.157). Indeed, in one very significant sense, social-conflict theory concurs with structural-functionalism to the extent that both acknowledge a close structural relationship between mass formal education and society as a whole (Hurn, 1993, p.56). However, before looking a little more closely at some of the core tenets of social-conflict theory and how they relate to mass formal education, it is worthwhile considering some of the perceived inadequacies of the structural-functionalist perspective.

To begin with, the main contention that social-conflict theorists have with structural-functionalism relates to its basic imagery vis-à-vis modern society. That is to say, they reject outright the perception of society as a harmonious system comprised of interdependent parts each working collectively to sustain overall order and stability. Instead, conflict theorists are quick to point out that in actual fact modern industrialised societies are seldom harmonious. Rather, on closer analysis they are fraught with inequalities, divisions and injustices that are deliberately built into the overall structure of the system (Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford, 1997, p.14). Thus, structural-functionalist depictions of modern society as harmonious, fair, just or meritocratic are likely to be dismissed as at best naïve idealism and at worst vulgar propaganda.

A further area of contention has to do with assumptions about how social order is established and maintained in a modern-industrialised society. In sharp contrast to the structural-functionalist position, social-conflict theorists reject the notion that social order arises from the societal pursuit of harmony (Newman, 2002, p.34). On the contrary, conflict theorists maintain that social order is largely contingent on the coercive power of dominant groups—particularly so in their capacity to impose their political and ideological ideals and values on the ordinary masses of the population. Or, to quote Ralf Dahrendorf, a leading authority on class divisions in modern-industrialised society, ‘coherence and order in society are founded on force and constraint ... on the domination of some and the subjection of others’ (Dahrendorf, 1959, p.157).

Following on from this, social-conflict theorists dispute vehemently the functionalist supposition that modern society is held together on the basis of collective consent and widely shared values (Dahrendorf, 1959, p.157). To be sure, consent, they maintain, is never absolute and seldom so broadly shared. Thus, a conflict-theory critique is likely to point out that because modern society is by nature highly differentiated and highly stratified, it is in effect comprised multiple social groups with widely ranging and often competing interests. Yet, in crucial respects, it is primarily the interests and aspirations of dominant elites that drive society and determine its fundamental character and structure (Hurn, 1993, p.86)

Thus to state matters now in more affirmative terms, social-conflict theory can be taken as any theory or collection of theories that emphasise the role of struggle and conflict in society. Of particular interest to social-conflict theorists is the structural relationship between the power of dominant social groups and the unequal distribution of wealth and privilege. Or to put it in other terms, conflict-theorists are driven by an overriding concern to understand how it is that society benefits some (the haves), while at the same time depriving others (the have-nots).

Since Karl Marx is widely acknowledged as the initiator of social-conflict theory (as we understand it in its modern historical sense) much of the earlier focus within this theoretical orientation has centred on economic inequalities, poverty, and class conflict. Yet, subsequent extensions to social-conflict theory have significantly broadened its scope to include a much wider range of social issues and themes—in particular race, ethnicity, gender, and age. Moreover, the impact on a wide array of social science

disciplines has been significant and long lasting—not to mention the emergence of a vast body of literature within the sociology of education. However, in keeping with the broad aims of the present study, our concern here is to consider how social-conflict theorists account for the rise of mass education—a major agent of socialisation—and more to the point, how and to what ends pupils and students are believed to be socialised.

Granted these considerations, it is worth noting, as Hurn (1993, p.81) observes, that since the 1970s several revisionist critics—primarily of a neo-Marxist inclination—have offered a set of alternative historical accounts as to how mass formal education developed in the nineteenth century, and how it emerged subsequently as an enduring feature of the modern nation-state. By far the most influential to date, and one that is supported by a substantial body of empirical evidence (Hurn, 1993, p.82), is doubtless the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976). There are several points in their analysis that contest the conventional structural-functionalist account of the historical origins of mass formal education. For our purposes, two points deserve attention here.

First, Bowles and Gintis (1976, p.151) reject the view that the emergence of mass education was merely a natural and rational response at seeking to resolve the nineteenth-century crisis in traditional patterns of socialisation. More specifically, they argue that the motivations behind plans to expand and formalise education were not simply a matter of imparting technical training to enable the young to function effectively in the project of industrialisation (*ibid.* p.168). Rather, as Bowles and Gintis (1976, p.131) maintain, the motivations had much more to do with controlling, moulding and subordinating future generations of factory workers. That is to say, what mattered was not so much a skilled, knowledgeable and literate workforce, but one that was stable, industrious and compliant (Hurn, 1993, p.89). Thus schools, they argue, paid particular attention to inculcating behaviours, attitudes, and values like reliability, punctuality, docility and respect for authority (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p.42).

Second, Bowles and Gintis (1976) dispute the Durkheimian justification, namely, that mass education emerged as a necessary means of forging a moral unity based on common values and ideals. Accordingly, they reject the position that one of the key motivations behind the expansion of formal education was a need to socialise the young in the mainstream culture of modern society in the broader interest of social order and social cohesion. Instead, Bowles and Gintis (1976, p.157) argue that the interests that drove the

expansion of mass education were not those of the mass of the population, but more cynically those of ‘an ascendant and self-conscious capitalist class’ who were more concerned about inculcating a narrow set of self-serving loyalties.

Both points in their historical analysis lead directly into a rich body of literature on how social-conflict theorists view the contemporary role of mass education. Though the literature reflects a wide spectrum of theoretical views, there is broad agreement among social-conflict theorists that far from engendering meritocratic progress in society, modern state-educational systems in effect legitimate and perpetuate inequalities (Hurn, 1993, p56). A great many concur that the inequalities inherent in educational institutions are essentially a deliberate reproduction of inequalities in broader society. This widely accepted view is commonly referred to in the literature as the ‘correspondence principle’ (see Morrow and Torres, 1995, p.141 for review of correspondence theories). In expounding their application of the principle, Bowles and Gintis (1976, p.131) argue that

... [t]he educational system helps to integrate youth into the economic system... through a structural correspondence between its social relations and those of production. The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the work place, but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-representation, self-image, and social-class identifications which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy.

Along similar lines, Danziger (1971, p.121) maintains that

... the school system presents the child with a simulated model of the bureaucratic society in which he [or she] will have to take his [or her] place as an adult and it does this not only as a form of training or preparation, but in order to gauge the child’s ability to adopt to the demands of such a social system.

It follows therefore, that is, if we accept the correspondence principle, that the socialisation process in state-educational institutions is a much more restricted affair than is assumed to be the case from a functionalist perspective. Indeed, arguing from a social class perspective, Bowles and Gintis (1976, p.132) hold that

... [t]he differential socialization patterns of schools attended by students of different social classes do not arise by accident. Rather, they reflect the fact that the educational objectives and expectations of administrators, teachers, and parents (as well as the responsiveness of students to various patterns of teaching and control) differ for students of different classes.

It might appear at this point that structural-functionalism and social-conflict theory are predicated on irreconcilable theoretical positions. It is certainly the case that much of the literature—particularly within the sociology of education—often presents the two as polar opposites. However, as Hurn (1993, p.97) correctly observes, each view is in itself fundamentally flawed to the extent that it provides an ‘overdetermined’ analysis of the societal role of educational institutions and their attendant socialising effects. Concurring, Meighan and Siraj-Blatchford (1997, p.15) note that in effect both perspectives overlap a great deal, so much so that in formulating a more adequate view social theorists often find themselves drawing on both. Indeed, it could be argued that in many respects the differences between the two positions are not strictly speaking of a qualitative nature, but rather a matter of focus and emphasis. That is to say, plausibly one could quite comfortably embrace elements of a structural-functionalist perspective and at the same time commit oneself to a belief in, say, the coercive effects of corporatism on educational institutions. Moreover, as Dahrendorf (1959, p.159) rightly notes, in crucial respects the differences relate more closely to the nature of the problem and more broadly the focus of the inquiry. With that in mind, he rather eloquently points out that

... [T]here are sociological problems for the explanation of which [structural functionalism] provides adequate assumptions; there are other problems which can be explained only in terms of [social-conflict theory]; there are, finally, problems for which both theories appear adequate. For sociological analysis, society is Janus-headed, and its two faces are equivalent aspects of the same reality.

Certainly one construct in the sociology of education that has been informed by both perspectives is the concept of ‘hidden curriculum’. In the following section, we shall see how this relates to the socialising role of educational institutions.

3.2.3 Hidden Curriculum

Beyond the role of imparting knowledge and cognitive skills, there is broad agreement—among functionalists and conflict theorists alike—that educational institutions also set about trying to inculcate a distinct set of values, ideals, behaviours, and attitudes. To some extent, much of this is often explicitly stated as comprising the official curriculum of, say, a given institution, ministry or organisation. Thus according, for instance, to

official documentation for the National Curriculum of England, Wales and Northern Ireland, desirable values vis-à-vis British society are stated as follows:

We value truth, freedom, justice, human rights, the rule of law and collective effort for the common good. In particular, we value families as sources of love and support for all their members, and as the basis of a society in which people care for others.

Statement of Values
National Forum for Values in Education and the Community
National Curriculum Online
May, 1997

However, in tandem with efforts to deliver the formal aspects of the official curriculum, it is broadly acknowledged that students also imbibe an alternative and often contradictory set of values, ideals and behaviours through what is commonly referred to in the literature as the ‘hidden curriculum’ (Jackson, 1968; Dreeben, 1968; Snyder, 1973; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Anyon, 1980; Reid, 1986; Bergenhenegouwen, 1987; Portelli, 1993; Margolis et al 2001). As Reid (1986) explains it:

Curriculum refers to *all* of the things that are learnt in school. In addition to the ‘official curriculum’ this includes the ‘hidden curriculum’, a concept that refers to all of those socialising practices that are not included in the official curriculum but that contribute towards the reproduction of our culture (e.g. boys being sent to do some photocopying, girls to wash the cup).

Perhaps the earliest documented recognition of the workings of a ‘hidden curriculum’—at least in the English-speaking world—is that of John Dewey (1859-1952), the renowned American educational reformer. In his notable book, *Experience and Education*, Dewey (1938, p.49) writes

Collateral learning in the way of formation of enduring attitudes, of likes and dislikes, may be and often is much more important than the spelling lesson or lesson in geography or history that is learned.

However, as a widely employed term—in the sense implied here—it is generally attributed to Philip W. Jackson in his book, *Life in Classrooms* (1968, p.10-30). Arguing within a functionalist paradigm, for Jackson the hidden curriculum is characterised by three main features, which students must come to terms with, if they are to ensure a satisfactory progression through school life (ibid. p.10).

First, observes Jackson, students must learn to adapt to the crowded nature of classrooms (ibid. p.11-19). This, he explains, entails the necessary acquisition of a specific set of skills: learning to wait quietly; exercising restraint; coping with delays; tolerating the denial of personal desires; being neat and punctual; accepting physical restrictions on freedom of movement; dealing with interruptions; and other such skills (ibid. p.11-19). Second, students must learn to adapt to the evaluative reality of schools (ibid. p.19-28). This too, argues Jackson, requires mastery of certain aspects of school life: adapting to a climate of continuous testing; accepting the ongoing judgements of the teacher; coping with public appraisals of teachers and peers; dealing with public praising and scolding; adjusting to the teacher's emotional dispositions; and others (ibid. p.19-28). Third, students must become accustomed to the unequal power dynamics of the classroom (ibid. p.28-33). That is to say, they must learn how to adapt to teacher authority and how to comply with his or her wishes. Specifically, this may encompass such skills as adjusting to the impersonality and narrowness of the teacher-student relationship; accepting the prescriptive and restrictive authority of teachers; acknowledging the punitive capacity of teachers; seeking the teacher's favour; and conducting oneself courteously (ibid. p.28-33).

Expounding further, Jackson (1968, p.34) postulates that the extent to which students master the hidden curriculum—its main features and composite skills—determines overall academic success, so much so that in several respects the importance of the hidden curriculum supersedes that of the official curriculum. Indeed, Jackson (1968, p.34) notes that

... many of the rewards and punishments that sound as if they are being dispensed on the basis of academic success or failure are really more closely related to the mastery of the hidden curriculum.

To summarise here, two points in Jackson's analysis are worthy of special attention. First, by virtue of being interconnected to a system of rewards, punishments and inducements, the hidden curriculum effectively constitutes a powerful channel of socialisation. Second, because of the primacy of the hidden curriculum over the official curriculum, what matters ultimately in the course of student life is not so much academic achievement or pedagogic considerations, but conformity to institutional expectations (Jackson, 1968, p.34).

Writing at roughly the same time as Jackson, Robert Dreeben (1968) also deliberates extensively on the workings of the hidden curriculum. There is much overlap in their respective analyses. Indeed, in more or less the same vein, Dreeben (1968, p.147) concludes that schools effectively teach students ‘to form transient social relationships, submerge much of their personal identity, and accept the legitimacy of categorical treatment’. But unlike Jackson, Dreeben (1968) is much more explicit in positioning his work within a structural-functionalist framework. For Dreeben, the inadequacy of the family unit—particularly on an affective level—necessitates the role of the hidden curriculum in inculcating the appropriate values, ideals and behaviours for institutional adjustment and instilling an enduring sense of duty. In both analyses, the influence of Émile Durkheim is unmistakable particularly within a Durkheimian framework of social order and moral consensus. Tracing this back to the writings of Durkheim (1961, p.148), one can discern in them hints of the perceived socialising function of the hidden curriculum:

[T]here is a whole system of rules in the school that predetermine the child’s conduct. He must come to class regularly, he must arrive at a specified time and with an appropriate bearing and attitude. He must not disrupt things in class. He must have learned his lessons, done his homework, and have done so reasonably well, etc. There are, therefore, a host of obligations that the child is required to shoulder. Together they constitute the discipline of the school. It is through the practice of school discipline that we can inculcate the spirit of discipline in the child.

But at no point in the analyses of Jackson, Dreeben or indeed Durkheim is there the suggestion that the essentially coercive features of the hidden curriculum are perhaps in some way structurally linked to broader struggles and conflicts in society. In that vein, social-conflict theorists—as one might expect—have extended the theoretical boundaries of the hidden curriculum in several important directions. Notably though, most, if not all, concur that the subordinating nature of the hidden curriculum is not simply a functional component in the maintenance of social order, but rather, as Apple and King (1977, p.34) put it, a means of ‘preserving the existing social privilege, interests, and knowledge of one element of the population at the expense of less powerful groups’.

For Bowles and Gintis (1976)—arguing within their framework of the ‘correspondence principle’—the purpose behind the hidden curriculum is unmistakable, namely, ‘to reproduce the social relations of production’ (p.130). Or, more specifically, to ‘attune

young people to a set of social relationships similar to those of the workplace' (p.131). Thus, they argue, it is necessary, in the interests of business elites, for the educational system to try to teach people to be properly subordinate, passive, and docile—at least insofar as the vast majority of the population is concerned. But for more privileged sections of society, other priorities and considerations come into play, and for that matter a distinctly separate set of socialisation patterns is brought to bear on students (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, p.132). Indeed, as Bowles and Gintis (p.42) point out

... schools do different things to different children. Boys and girls, blacks and whites, rich and poor are treated differently. Affluent suburban schools, working-class schools, and ghetto schools all exhibit a distinctive pattern of sanctions and rewards..... In important ways, colleges are different [compared with high-schools]; and community colleges exhibit social relations of education which differ sharply from those of elite four-year institutions.

Significantly, much of the research and analysis in the work of Bowles and Gintis (1976) and others (Willis, 1977) has been directed at showing how educational systems help to reproduce capitalist class structures. However, subsequent extensions to the 'correspondence principle' have also set about showing how educational institutions in effect reproduce a much wider and more complex range of inequalities, injustices and prejudices (Morrow and Torres, 1995, p.373). Convincingly, feminist theorists (Spender, 1982; Mahoney, 1985), for instance, have drawn attention to how educational institutions effectively reinforce and reproduce oppressive patriarchal relations. Similarly, researchers working in the area of race and ethnicity have shown how schools socialise Black children into accepting narrow and disadvantaged future roles (Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), 1988).

Clearly, the socialising effects of hidden curricula are not simply limited to the goal of attuning young people to the social relations of the workplace, but rather more broadly in sustaining, reinforcing and reproducing inequalities from a much wider spectrum of society (Morrow and Torres, 1995, p.373). With that in mind, the final sections of this chapter will try to consider the workings of the hidden curriculum in higher-education, then more narrowly in the context of second-language education, and finally in relation to the socialising effects of English-medium education on Arab-Muslim students.

3.3 Socialisation in the Context of Higher Education

Hitherto, the preceding discussions with respect to the socialising role and effects of mass education have focussed largely but not exclusively on primary and secondary sectors of education. To some extent, this imbalance reflects the general focus and concerns of the relevant literature (Margolis et al., 2001, p.4; Bergenhenegouwen, 1987, p.535). On one level, the bias is perfectly understandable since it is indisputable that early exposure to mass formal education is potentially a stage of immense personal transformation—certainly much more so than in subsequent stages of the human life course. Yet, on another level, as Margolis et al (2001, p.4) point out, the increasing reliance on higher-education for social and economic survival is rapidly changing the structures of post-secondary education. Moreover they add, the ‘old segmentations of elite versus mass education, private versus public, and the traditional disciplines of the sciences, liberal arts, and the professional schools have differentiated into far more complicated structures’ (Margolis et al., 2001, p.4)—so much so that it is increasingly important, they argue, to examine more closely the contemporary social functions of higher education. Even still, little has been written directly about the nature of hidden curricula in higher education and their attendant socialising effects on individuals (Margolis et al., 2001, p.18). More bleakly, in the past decade, aside from one edited volume on the topic, namely, *The Hidden Curriculum in Higher Education* (Margolis et al., 2001), which by their own admission ‘only scratches the surface of a very large project’ (ibid. p.18) there has been relatively very little follow-up. Nonetheless, despite the paucity of analysis and research in this area, it is perhaps worthwhile commenting briefly on the work of Parsons and Platt (1973, p.163-224) who have arguably written the most celebrated treatise of the socialisation process in the context of mass higher education.

Writing from a structural-functionalist perspective at a time of rapid expansion in systems of mass higher education—particularly so in terms of student enrolments in Western Europe and North America—Parsons and Platt observe that the extensive spread of the ‘college experience’ effectively created a ‘new stage of socialization in the life course’ (Parsons and Platt, 1973, p.163). Furthermore, the mass impact on society, they add, has also been significant, namely, the formation of a new and distinct community of young people—‘the studentry’. In view of these dramatic changes to the social structure of society, they argue that the emergence of a new body of young people necessitated the institutionalisation of new patterns of socialisation (ibid, p.163). In bolstering this view,

Parsons and Platt draw comparisons between the tensions and student disturbances of the 1960s and 1970s with the social upheavals of the late nineteenth century that resulted in significant social transformations in the role and structure of the family unit (ibid. p163-164). In short, as they see it, the early student disturbances were to some extent a crisis in socialisation structures or the lack thereof, which over time as the system evolved would be gradually addressed.

In seeking to unpack the nature of this ‘new’ stage in socialisation, Parsons and Platt broadly identify two levels on which university education sets about socialising the studentry. On one level, the aim of mass higher education is ostensibly the development of an ‘educated citizenry’ (ibid. p.165). This, as they put it, entails ‘the proper formation of moral levels of culture and affective levels of personality’ to the extent that students can participate in the societal community with competence and intelligence. On another level, higher education seeks to facilitate ‘occupational effectiveness’ but not in the sense of *training* for occupational participation (ibid. p.165). However, there is, as Parsons and Platt are quick to point out, an inherent conflict between these two goals. On the one hand, mass higher education must permit a certain degree of cognitive autonomy—even permissiveness—and yet on the other hand it seeks to instil a series of moral commitments at the societal level in the Durkheimian sense. Thus, one of the overarching concerns of university education, they maintain, is to try to manage these tensions with a view to engendering an educated class with a degree of moral commitment to society at large.

As one might expect, much of Parsons and Platt’s analysis of the societal role of mass higher education has been vehemently disputed by conflict-theorists. There is much overlap with counter-analyses of primary and secondary levels of education—the only real difference being in the specific employment sector that universities service, namely, the white-collar sector. Thus along more or less the similar lines, Bowles and Gintis (1976, p.202) write:

Colleges and universities play a major role in the production of labor power, in the reproduction of the class structure, and in the perpetuation of the dominant values of the social order. Higher education has taken its place alongside other types of schooling and the family as part of the process by which the class structure of advanced capitalism is reproduced.

In summary, as Margolis et al (2001) point out there is clearly a need for a more in-depth understanding of the socialisation processes involved at the level of mass higher education since it is evident that university life can be an immensely formative period for many young people. In the next section, our focus will centre on the socialisation process in the context of second-language education.

3.4 Socialisation in the Context of Second-Language Education

Before considering how theories of socialisation might apply in the context of second-language education, it is well that we begin distinguishing two quite distinct levels on which ‘language socialisation’—to employ a term coined by Schieffelin and Ochs (1986a, 1986b)—takes place.

On one level, language socialisation refers to ‘socialisation to use the language’ (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986b, p.2). In other words, it is in effect the process by which individuals learn to imbibe the ‘appropriate uses of language as part of acquiring social competence’ (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986b, p.3). Or as Garrett (2006, p.604) in a much-cited review article puts it

... language socialization is the process whereby a child or other novice develops communicative competence through interactions with older and/or more experienced persons.

Notably, therefore, it is not simply a matter of learning to produce grammatically well-informed utterances; rather more broadly it is a matter of ‘learning how to use language in socially and pragmatically appropriate, locally intelligible ways, and [also] as a means of engaging with others in culturally meaningful activities’ (Garrett, 2006, p.605).

Insofar as first-language acquisition is concerned, this might include, for instance, the process whereby a child learns appropriate language forms for addressing elders, peers, strangers or members of the opposite gender. It may also include the assimilation of, say, a particular social genre, discourse or sociolect. Contrastingly, in the context of second-language learning, this may typically entail imbibing culturally-appropriate forms of expressing politeness, formality or affection. In sum, in its broadest sense, language socialisation can be taken here as referring to any process of assimilating appropriate

language behaviour in order to function effectively within a given speech community (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a, p.168).

On another level, language socialisation may also refer to socialisation ‘through the use of language’ (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986, p.163). That is to say, it is the process whereby individuals are socialised in the course of engaging with the social world through the medium of language. In this sense, as mentioned earlier in the context of symbolic interaction theory, almost all socialisation is in effect mediated through the medium of language. Indeed, as Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002, p.339) point out, language is ‘the primary symbolic medium through which cultural knowledge is communicated and instantiated, negotiated and contested, reproduced and transformed’. Moreover, it is ‘through exposure to and participation in language mediated interactions’ that ‘children and other novices in society acquire tacit knowledge of the principles of social order and systems of belief’ (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986b, p.2).

That is not to say of course that the medium of language is in itself a determinant of the socialisation process. Nor is it to suggest—in the sense commonly attributed to the ‘strong’ version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis—that one’s view of the world is wholly and exclusively determined by the inherent structure of one’s native language (see Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a, p.169-170 for further discussion on this). Rather, it is the ‘organisation of language *use*’ that taken together constitutes a potentially ‘powerful socialising force’ (Schieffelin and Ochs, 1986a, p.167). Such ‘organisation of language use’ might among other things entail the role of language in framing social events and social activities, structuring verbal keys or cues, determining the nature of speech acts, and/or establishing patterns of dyadic and multiparty turn-taking (p.167). It can also refer to the ways by which language ideologies are structured into discourse, that is, the ideas with which people ‘frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and the differences among them, and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them’ (Irvine and Gal, 2000, p.35).

Clearly, there is a potentially broad and diverse range of sociolinguistic phenomena that can be subsumed under the rubric of language socialisation. Since the late 1970s, several studies on various aspects of language socialisation have been carried out in often quite distinct areas of social science research (Duff and Hornberger, 2008, p.i; Watson-Gegeo and Nielsen, 2003, p.166). In the field of second-language inquiry, a significant number

of studies have been conducted with the former sense of the term in mind, namely, 'socialisation to use language'. In many, researchers typically set out to identify 'patterns in novice-veteran interactions' and to examine how they shape individual developmental processes (Moore, 2008, p.175). Much of the underlying methodology is often predicated on an ethnographic approach to inquiry with a strong bias towards interactional discourse analysis (ibid. p.175). Accordingly, there is characteristically a great deal of emphasis on qualitative depth of analysis over quantitative breadth (Garrett, 2006, p.609).

One such study is an ethnographic study by Morita (2000). Over an eight month period, she explored the language socialisation of non-native- and native-English-speaking graduate students through their engagement in academic oral presentations in a TESL programme. Based on extensive data collected from classroom observations, video recordings, interviews and questionnaires, and on the analysis of interactional discourse, the study observed how both native and non-native students were socialised into oral academic discourse as they 'prepared for, observed, performed, and reviewed oral academic presentations'.

In a similar study, Young and Miller (2004) investigated how one adult Vietnamese learner of English participated in the (for her) unfamiliar activity of 'ESL writing conferences'. Based on extensive data analysis of interactional discourse, the study showed how she and her instructor developed interactional competence in the course of attending four successive weekly writing conferences.

Moreover, in an ethnographic study of ESL children in a mainstream first-grade classroom at a Hawaiian elementary school, Emura (2006) examined the interactions between the students, the teacher and the teacher's aide during a routine classroom activity. Based on data collected from audio and video recordings, she focussed on how the students were socialised in the course of appropriating words and phrases frequently used by their teacher, aides and peers.

As reflected here, many studies of this sort have been largely confined to the level of the classroom. Comparatively few have sought to link language socialisation phenomena to the larger systems of cultural meaning and social order into which students are being socialised. To that end, a quite different set of studies has focussed on a wider range of language socialisation processes, rooted in both senses of the term, but notably against a

complex macro-level mosaic of cultural, religious, political, economic and ideological factors (Garrett, 2006, p.609).

Poole (1992) for instance investigated interactions in adult ESL classes in the USA, and found that many of the discursal patterns into which students were being socialised were essentially those of the child-caregiver interactions of ‘white middle-class Americans’. The study raised questions about the pervasive influence of cultural norms and ideologies on various forms of expert-novice communication.

Along similar lines, Willet (1995) examined the participation of ESL children in the daily classroom events of a mainstream first-grade classroom. Based on data collected over a yearlong study of one classroom in an international school in the US, she described how children and other members of the classroom jointly constructed the ESL children’s identities, social relations, and ideologies as well as their communicative competence in that setting.

In another ethnographic study, Duff (1995) analysed foreign-language classroom interactions of three dual-language secondary schools in post-communist Hungary. After extensive analysis of interactional data, she observed notable differences in the classroom discourse patterns in the English-medium sections of these schools. Linking these micro-level classroom phenomena to macro-level changes in the late 1980s, Duff (1995) identified close parallels with the broader societal rejection of the authoritarianism of the Soviet era and the simultaneous wide-scale adoption of (then) ascendant democratic values.

At the level of research methodology, there is clearly an overwhelming drive in language socialisation research to focus on developmental processes as opposed to identifying and/or apprehending the end (socialising) effects—so much so there are at times impassioned boundary disputes as to what constitutes ‘language socialisation research’ (see for instance, Garrett, 2006, p.610). That aside, there exists very little research on the socialising influences of second-language education, or for that matter on the effects of hidden curricula or any other eventual coercive consequences of learning English in a second-language environment—except perhaps a study by Auerbach and Burgess (1985) on the hidden curriculum in ‘Survival ESL’, which is worth a mention here. Based on their textual analysis of a number of popular ESL materials, they identified the subservient social roles and hierarchical relations that the textbooks try to instil. Though

an important and much-cited study, a methodological weakness is arguably its underlying view of students as passive recipients of socialisation—an aspect of the study which might have been addressed by probing students about the perceived socialising influences of such materials.

Another significant shortcoming of language socialisation research has been the disproportionate focus on Western societies. Indeed, in a recent review article on the state of language socialisation research in non-Western settings, Moore (2008, p.177) notes that while it is true that a number of studies have examined second-language education in immigrant and aboriginal minority communities in North America, Europe, and Australia, only a handful of studies have been conducted in non-Western societies. Furthermore, there are compelling reasons, she adds, to pursue research in such settings. Granted that many non-Western societies have undergone dramatic changes in recent decades as the result of colonialism, missionisation, Western schooling, and accelerated integration into the global economy, they constitute rich sites for exploring the socio-cultural nature of language teaching and learning (p.177).

To that end, it is hoped that the present study will go some way to redressing the balance to which Moore (2008) alludes.

3.5 The Contrastive Socialising Effects of English-Medium Education on Arab-Muslim Students

In recent years, there has been much discussion in mainstream Western mass-media in particular and various political domains about the purportedly harmful socialising effects of traditional educational systems in the Arab-Muslim world (see for instance Prokop, 2003). In close association, there have also been several reports about the benefits of the supposedly ‘corrective’ capacities of secular Western education in certain Arab-Muslim regions. One area in which such considerations have come to the fore is in the context of the widening influence of English-medium education particularly so at Arab universities. But what is striking about these claims is that there exists surprisingly very little, if any, scholarly research on the subject. There is of course a vast body of literature that goes back to the nineteenth century—during the heyday of European colonialism—when overly confidently yet highly spurious pronouncements could be made about the

linguistic and cognitive faculties of subject peoples. It was a time for instance when Thomas Carlyle could claim that ‘Negroes’ couldn’t speak properly and therefore needed to be enslaved, or when Ernest Renan could assert that because the Chinese language was complicated, the Chinese man or woman was devious and needed to be kept down (Said, 2003). In much the same way, it could also be confidently claimed that English was specially endowed with the capacity to promote the values of freedom, democracy, justice, openness, tolerance, decency, or as Read (cited in Pennycook, 1998, p.133) put it, to ‘bring a nation within the pale of civilization and Christianity’. For the purposes of the present study, there is little need in dwelling further on the (in)validity of such views except to point out the obvious, namely, that they all derive from a highly subjective and highly deterministic view of national and/or ethnic languages with no empirical basis to substantiate them.

For more scholarly approaches to investigating the socialising effects of language education in the Arab-Muslim world (in English, Arabic or otherwise), there are strictly speaking two contemporary studies that are worth mentioning here.

First, in a study on the perceived socialising effects of Arabic-medium education in two Algerian universities, Coffman (1995) compared the perceptions of Arabised students with those of Francophone students. As he strongly suspected before setting out to conduct the study, he found that ‘Arabized students show decidedly greater support for the Islamist movement and greater mistrust of the West’. Furthermore, he noted that Francophone students perceived their counterparts as being ‘narrow-minded’, ‘totally uncultured’ and ‘without a critical mind’ adding that increased Arabisation would ‘send Algeria back to the Middle Ages’ (ibid.). It is difficult to judge the reliability or representativeness of Coffman’s data as he gives very little indication of his sampling size and strategy. What is more extraordinary, however, is Coffman’s theoretical analysis of the data. Rather than linking his findings to broader institutional and societal factors, Coffman finds himself drawing a direct causal link between Islamical radicalism and the internal structure of Arabic. He writes

The particular structure of the Arabic language and its allusions mean that a child who studies and thinks in Arabic will develop distinct historical and cultural references, cognitive approaches, attitudes, and styles of reasoning.

Moreover, citing Sapir and Whorf, Coffman argues that 'language inevitably imposes cognitive categories that force an individual into a particular symbolic order in thinking, communicating, and the ordering of his experience' (ibid.). In the case of Arabic, he adds that 'Arabic's highly charged sacred character increases its coercive power' thereby making it 'particularly resistant to change and accretions' (ibid.). Though some of Coffman's data is doubtless interesting, there is in short much overlap with the highly deterministic analyses of the colonialist era of the nineteenth century.

Second, in another study, Rahman (2002, p.567-622) conducted an extensive survey of the opinions and attitudes of students in various types of schools in Pakistan ranging from elitist English-medium colleges to Urdu- and vernacular medium institutions. The purpose of the study, as he states it, was to 'find about students' views about language teaching as well as their ideological basis' (p.567). In questionnaires, he asked students various questions on their views about medium of instruction policies and about 'sensitive' political and religious matters. Rahman (2002) found that at one end of the spectrum, students in elitist English-medium schools tended to be the greatest advocates of the continuing role of English as a medium of instruction. They also, he found, tended to have an ostensibly more secular, liberal, Westernised outlook to life than students from, say, Urdu or vernacular-medium institutions. At the other end of the spectrum, students from the traditional madrassas were found to be the most resistant to English-medium schools and the most conservative 'reactionary' or radical views of society. However, unlike Coffman (1995), Rahman (2002) attributes his findings not to any inherent linguistic properties of English, Urdu, Arabic or otherwise but rather to broader structural factors rooted in the socioeconomic differences of various social groups. In other words, for Rahman (2002) it is not language per se that engenders any particular worldview. It is that certain forms of mass formal education draw from specific socioeconomic groups which in turn help to instil and reinforce certain worldviews.

While there is no doubt that Rahman's research is important in identifying significant trends vis-à-vis the perception of medium-of-instruction policies in contemporary Pakistani society, his data is derived from a single questionnaire (p.570-571). For corroborative purposes, the study could have benefitted significantly from a set of qualitative data collection methods though as Rahman notes this was not always feasible.

In sum, clearly, there is a need for further investigation into the presumed and perceived socialising effects of English-language education particularly so in the current geopolitical context of the Arabian Gulf region—a gap that the present study hopes to try to fill.

3.6 Summary

Socialisation is the process by which individuals acquire values, ideals, attitudes, rules, roles, and standards that enable them to become competent members of one or more social groups. The most powerful socialising agent during the individual's life course is the family unit, and by extension the most important stage is the period of early childhood. The process, however, is one that continues throughout the entire lifespan of the individual. Beyond early childhood, a particularly formative stage in the process is the experience of mass formal education where socialisation plays an important role in preparing the young for participation in adult life. For structural-functionalists, the main socialisation function of formal education is to help foster a moral consensus in the interest of preserving social order. In contrast, social-conflict theorists argue that the chief aim of socialisation processes is to reproduce social hierarchies, inequalities and injustices. One means through which socialisation ends are believed to be channelled is what is generally referred to as the 'hidden curricula' of educational institutions. It is widely acknowledged (by functionalists and conflict theorists alike) that by virtue of hidden curricula, educational institutions have several coercive socialising effects on students. In the context of language education, language socialisation research has mostly focussed on how language functions as both a means and an ends in the socialisation process. By analysing interactional discourse, much of this research has shown how language learners acquire linguistic and communicative competence during their exposure to the target language. In some cases, researchers have linked language socialisation processes to broader macro-level structures. Comparatively little research, however, has looked into the socialising effects of language education. With respect to the perceived socialising influences of language education on Arab-Muslim students, there exists a small handful of studies.

Chapter 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

As amply stated in the literature review, socialisation is the process by which individuals acquire—among other things—the appropriate values, ideals, attitudes, rules, standards, and roles that are deemed necessary in order to function efficiently in one or more social groups. Like all social processes, socialisation takes place within a given social order and an overarching framework of interests. At the macro-level of society, it is these interests that ultimately shape and define the necessary, appropriate and desirable outcomes of the socialisation process. More narrowly, at the level of the individual, socialisation outcomes are also—as discussed in the previous chapter—the product of complex social interactions that are primarily enacted through the medium of language.

It would seem to follow therefore that in order to better understand the nature and significance of such processes, an appropriate research methodology would do well to define how on the one hand socialisation relates to broader social structures, and how on the other, the process is mediated at the level of the individual. It would also be well to clarify precisely what aspect of the socialisation process one seeks to investigate, and how one intends to go about it. To that end, a great many socialisation studies—particularly in the field of language socialisation research—have hitherto focussed their attentions on the workings of the process itself. That is to say, they have set out to understand *how* the process is enacted—its underlying structure, notable patterns, key features, the social dynamics, and the intricate networks of social interaction. In so doing, socialisation researchers have employed several methodological features in their research designs often including such frameworks as longitudinal studies; field-based collections and analyses of audio (or audio-video) corpora of naturalistic data; holistic ethnographies (including participant observation); and interactional discourse analyses.

However, insofar as the present study is concerned, the focus in what follows is not so much on unravelling the intricate *workings* of the process—important though that is—but rather on identifying the unintended *outcomes* of the process, namely, for our purposes its socialising effects. Clearly in order to investigate such effects one cannot approach the matter as though one were trying to ascertain the pharmacological effects of a trial drug. Instead, at best what one can hope to uncover are the *perceived* socialising effects as directly experienced by social actors and the meanings they ascribe to these effects.

In addressing these preliminary considerations, this chapter will begin by outlining in section 4.1 the theoretical perspective that informed the research methodology of the present study. Next, section 4.2 will identify the research questions that guided the inquiry process. Section 4.3 will provide an outline of the research design and the rationale for the selection of research methods and the research site. It will also offer a profile of the institution at which the study was conducted, as well as some background information on the target research group. Section 4.4 will outline the rationale, planning and decision-making process that guided the construction and administration of the data collection instruments. It will also give an account of the methodological considerations governing the selected sampling strategy. Section 4.5 will detail the approach that was adopted for data analysis. will describe the steps and procedures of the data collection phase. Section 4.6 will briefly discuss ethical considerations that related to the study. Finally, section 4.7 will consider some of the limitations with respect to the design and scope of the study.

4.1 THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE

As Crotty (1998, p.3) notes a theoretical perspective is the ‘philosophical stance’ that informs a chosen methodology. It provides a context for the inquiry process and the grounds of its logic and criteria (p.7). It states the assumptions we bring to the research task, that is, our view of the human world and social life within that world, wherein our assumptions are grounded (p.7). In this respect, there are three components that taken together constitute the theoretical perspective that guided the research methodology of the present study. These can be broadly subsumed under the following theoretical orientations: (1) social conflict theory; (2) the critical research paradigm; and (3) the

interpretive paradigm. In what follows, I shall try to give an account of how each of these components informed and guided the inquiry process of the present study.

4.1.1 Social Conflict Theory

At the macro-level of theory, the study's research methodology is predicated on a social-conflict view of society. As detailed in the previous chapter, social-conflict theory encompasses a wide range of theoretical positions. However, for purposes of the present study, three core principles need only concern us here.

First, concurring broadly with a social-conflict perspective, the study disputes the idea of society as a stable, harmonious system. Instead, it takes as a premise the view that in crucial respects society is largely the outcome of struggle, conflict and domination. As noted in the foregoing discussions, one notable site where society's struggles and conflicts are enacted is in the context of mass formal education. Since the early 1990s, the view that English language teaching also constitutes such a site—particularly so in much of the developing world—is one that has attracted increasing support not least among a growing and influential body of applied linguists (for instance Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 1994; Canagarajah, 1999; Ricento, 2000; and Hall and Egginton, 2000). Moreover, to some degree, the perception of English language teaching as a form of cultural domination is also one supported by data collected in this study and elsewhere.

Second, the study also contests the conventional functionalist position that social order is derived from a broad consensus of widely shared values. Instead, in line with social-conflict theory, the study concurs that social order is in effect established and sustained by virtue of the projection of political power—particularly in its economic, cultural and ideological domains. Thus, seen from a social-conflict standpoint, the predominance of English-medium education in the Arabian Gulf region is not simply the result of a natural progression of societal needs and demands. Rather as David Crystal (1997) points out—by no means a social-conflict theorist—‘a language becomes an international language for one chief reason: the political power of its people—especially their military power’ (p.6). Furthermore, as variously illustrated in the introductory chapter, geopolitical considerations are linked in several ways to the recent expansion of English language teaching in the Arab-Muslim world.

Third, in accordance with a social-conflict analysis of society, the study strongly assents to the view that the overarching interests that determine the cultural, political and ideological basis of society are not those of the ordinary masses of the population. Instead, what largely shapes and guides society are the interests of competing centres of domestic and international power—and increasingly so in an ever more globalising world. Again as noted previously, this position is well supported in the context of recent calls for the expansion of English language teaching in the Arab-Muslim world, and to some degree by data collected in the present study.

In light of these theoretical assumptions, a number of considerations follow as to the most appropriate research strategy for a ‘conflict’ inspired approach to methodology. One possibly viable path is that of ‘conflict methodology’ as originally proposed by Lehmann and Young (1974, p.15-28) and subsequently extended by Young (1976, p.23-29). Though by no means a fully-fledged research paradigm (Christie, 1976), ‘conflict methodology’ presupposes a set of guiding research principles, some of which are particularly relevant in the context of the present study.

Young (1976) posits that as a first and guiding principle, a conflict methodology should seek to develop a set of techniques to obtain ‘quality information’ on social systems that ‘stand in hostile contrast to the interests of people’ (p.24). In other words, a chief concern of a conflict methodologist ought to be one of trying to generate accurate and reliable data that elucidate conflicts of interest that favour certain sections of society over others. This position is entirely consistent with the general thrust of the present study. Though the aim here is not to hold any particular social institution to account, there is ultimately a commitment to show how geopolitical policy assumptions are at variance with the interests (in this case) of students at a Gulf Arab university.

Another important guiding principle of conflict methodology is—simply put—a commitment to ‘redressing power imbalances’ (Young, 1976, p.26). As Young notes, ‘consensus methodologies’ tend to ‘exacerbate power imbalances by providing more powerful systems with information about weaker systems’ (ibid.). Thus an overriding concern of inquiry should be on of trying to organise research—or more specifically to construct methodology—with a view to generating data and findings that primarily serve the interests of the ordinary people (in this case students) as opposed to those of powerful large-scale organisations. This too is a position that resonates with the broad aims of the

study to the extent that it is hoped that the findings can support efforts to redress—at least at the level of analysis and debate—any existing imbalances.

Moreover, in light of previous discussions, conflict methodologies should also set out to ‘serve the needs of sentient human beings in the production of a social-life world’ as opposed to the ‘administrative needs of non-sentient entities in the production of merely industrial, military, financial, commercial, or educational systems’ (Young, 1976, p.27). Here too, this principle is especially relevant in the context of the present study since one of the ultimate aims is to try to generate a more nuanced understanding of the perceptions of Arab university students as opposed to the generalised claims of geopolitical policy planners far removed from classroom realities.

Though these (and others) are useful guiding principles for an appropriate research methodology particularly in addressing macro-level considerations, for a more developed approach to inquiry, the critical research paradigm—to which we shall turn next—has several additional important features that resonate with the broad aims of the present study.

4.1.2 The Critical Research Paradigm

Of the three main research traditions that guide methods and methodologies in social science research—namely, positivism, interpretivism, and the critical research paradigm—the latter has only relatively recently emerged as an alternative approach to educational inquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 1989; Gage, 1989; and Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2000). In much the same vein as social-conflict theory, it too envisions a world fraught with inequalities, injustices, oppression, and human suffering—and thereby as a direct consequence, a world characterised by conflict, struggle and resistance.

Deriving from this view of the human world, a critical approach to inquiry looks upon mass education as a political act, and by extension the research process as a necessary response to it. Granted this underlying value orientation, critical theorists reject outright the conventional research stance of the positivist and interpretive paradigms, namely, that the methodological aim of inquiry is ‘to describe social reality in a neutral, disinterested way’ (Carr and Kemmis, 1986, p.99). In contrast, the emphasis in critically-orientated research (and indeed in the present study) is on ‘interested’ knowledge or inquiry as

opposed to disinterested knowledge or inquiry. But in what sense—one may ask—is an approach to inquiry ‘interested’? In the broadest terms, inquiry is ‘interested’ to the extent that it does not in the face of social injustices, inequalities, and human suffering adopt a neutral, disinterested stance. That is not to suggest of course that research data and findings are to be skewed in the interests of the weak or the powerless—though in some cases this no doubt happens, and quite wrongly so. Rather it is at level of selecting a research problem, formulating a set of research questions, and constructing a suitable research design whereby an ‘interested’ approach to inquiry is readily distinguishable from a ‘disinterested’ approach. But more specifically, what sets a critical (interested) approach to inquiry apart from other research traditions is an underlying commitment to a more just, more egalitarian, and fairer society, and where possible to alleviating exploitation, oppression, and human suffering. In light of these value orientations, a number of guiding principles impinge on the inquiry process. With respect to the present study, three principles are especially relevant here.

First, as critical researchers generally see it, it is not sufficient simply to describe social reality or to explain how, say, a certain aspect of it functions. Instead, a critically orientated approach endeavours to expose the operation of power in a given context and to bring about positive social change. Typically, this can often entail the breaking down of myths, conventions, prejudices, common assumptions or as critical theorists sometimes put it ‘problematizing the givens’ of the field. Ideally, the overall aim is to emancipate individuals and transform the societal context in question by raising a collective critical awareness. With respect to the present study, one of the overriding aims here is to challenge (and break down) some of the underlying policy assumptions behind the recent expansion of English language teaching in the Arab-Muslim world, and in so doing provide a critical, rational and empirical basis for action.

Second, as often espoused by critical theorists, it is also insufficient simply to lay bare the power dynamics at play within a given context. The research act must also be seen as part of a practical action-orientated process that accords power to those who are operating in a given context. In short, critical inquiry should also be empowering, and not merely contemplative. Though widely called for, this aspect of critical educational research is admittedly difficult to assess and actualise. Clearly, on one level, it is unrealistic, if not naïve, to assume that a strong sense of empowerment can result by virtue of a single research study or an academic paper. Indeed, if we look back at social history, in crucial

respects, social empowerment is almost always the result of mass-based struggle and resistance. Thus, if critical research is to be deemed effective, it is best seen as one of many means by which educational researchers can act in synergy with others to support positive social change and efforts at empowering marginalised individuals. On another level—somewhat more ambitiously—critical educational research can be seen as empowering to the extent that the research act might, for some, serve as a ‘catalysis for political action’ (Greene, 1990, p.244). More feasibly—and particularly with respect to the purpose of the present study—critically inspired inquiry can be construed as empowering in the sense of giving participants a ‘voice’, especially one that is otherwise suppressed, ignored and/or marginalised.

4.1.3 The Interpretive Research Paradigm

Thus far, the preceding discussions have focussed on the assumptions and value orientations that provide the broader theoretical context for the present study, its overriding purpose, and to some extent the grounds of its logic and criteria. It is well now that we consider—more specifically at the level of research methodology—the study’s philosophical assumptions about the nature of social reality (its ontology) and its underlying theory of knowledge (its epistemology). To that end, the interpretive research paradigm is especially relevant to the task at hand. But before proceeding, it is useful to recall the broad goals of the study, namely, to ascertain the perceived socialising effects of English-medium education as experienced by students at a Gulf Arab university. By ‘perceived socialising effects’, we are strictly referring to students’ *perceptions* of the effects (as they see them) of the socialisation process in the course of studying in an English-medium educational environment—perceptions being the operative word here.

Granted the task of accessing students’ perceptions, a number of theoretical considerations follow. First, perceptions are of course unobservable social phenomena and, needless to say, do not lend themselves to ‘hard’ empirical investigation. Second, perceptions are largely dependent for their form and content on the individuals who hold them (Guba, 1990, p.27). Moreover, they are also contingent on a given social context in the sense that they are meaningful only in a defined socio-cultural framework. It follows therefore—at the ontological level—that in a world of multiple perceptions, social reality is perforce relativist. That is to say, there can be no one definitive view of social reality;

rather there exist multiple social realities that derive meaning from the social context in which they are situated.

It follows further that if we wish to make sense of the multiple perceptions that individuals hold, then in order to access them, the only viable way is through human interaction. In other words, it is only through our social experiences and everyday social interactions that we come to ‘know’ social reality, construct it and convey it to others. Indeed, as Crotty (1998, p.42) puts it

... all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world, and developed and transmitted within an essentially social context.

In epistemological terms, this necessarily confines us to a constructionist theory of knowledge. That is to say, that truth and meaning are not independent entities external to human consciousness as if waiting for someone to come upon them; rather truth and meaning are constructed by human beings as they engage with the world they are interpreting.

Thus, if we accept both a relativist ontology and a constructionist epistemology, we soon find ourselves embracing the basic tenets of the interpretive research paradigm—the methodological basis of the present study. For our purposes, three guiding principles need only concern us here.

First, the main focus of an interpretive approach to methodology is on developing ‘understanding’ as opposed to ‘explaining’. In other words, what drives interpretive inquiry is not a concern to *explain* social reality and thereby predict and manipulate aspects of it, but a need to *understand* it and in so doing provide a descriptive account of ‘what’s going on’. With respect to the present study, the methodological focus in what follows is of course also to understand (or interpret) the nature of students’ perceptions, albeit within the framework of social-conflict theory and the critical research paradigm. Thus, in this respect the interpretive paradigm is essentially being subsumed under the umbrella of social-conflict theory and the critical research paradigm.

A second guiding principle is the importance of understanding (or indeed interpreting) social reality from the standpoint of the actors’ frame of reference. The emphasis here is on the intersubjectivity of human interactions. That is to say, truth, meaning and

knowledge are interpreted as a part of shared process of agreeing, negotiating, and contesting individual accounts of social reality. In this respect, this aspect of the study's methodology constitutes the main thrust of the study.

A third guiding principle and one that is especially germane to the broad goals of the study is a need to understand social reality as experienced across a given social group, and to then identify trends, patterns and key features. More specifically, the aim here is to try to construct a coherent picture of a 'shared discourse amongst students' (Williams, Burden, Poulet, & Maun 2004, p.20).

4.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As stated earlier, the broad aims of the present study derive from the study's theoretical perspective in particular its assumptions about the nature of society, the role of education, and the purpose of the research process. In more practicable terms, the research questions (as stated below) were formulated in the geopolitical context of calls for further expansion of English-medium education in the Arab-Muslim world.

- (i) How do Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university perceive the societal effects of English-medium education on Arab societies?
- (ii) To what extent do Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university feel that an English-medium education socialises students in distinct and noticeable ways?
- (iii) To what extent do Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university feel that an English-medium education has subtractive socialising effects on students?
- (iv) To what extent do Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university feel that an Arabic-medium education socialises students in distinct and noticeable ways?
- (v) To what extent do Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university feel that an Arabic-medium education has subtractive socialising effects on students?

Thus, with the study's aims and its attendant research questions identified, we now need to set out how they were operationalised into a practical and researchable area of inquiry.

To that end, the following section will outline the study's research design and the parameters within which the planning and decision-making process were carried out.

4.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

As Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, p.73) rightly point out 'there is no single blueprint for planning research'. Each research project comes packaged, so to speak, with a unique set of problems, dilemmas, constraints and opportunities that together determine the parameters of the research. With respect to the present study, three sets of planning considerations were pivotal in determining the eventual design of the research.

Respectively, these were (1) in selecting a viable research site; (2) in defining the participant population; and (3) in selecting suitable data collection tools. Simply put, before proceeding, it was necessary to clarify where the study would be conducted, who would be participating, and how the study would be carried out. What follows is an account of the rationale, planning and decision-making process at each of these stages.

4.3.1. Selecting a Viable Research Site

In the course of putting together a research design, an important preliminary consideration was in identifying and selecting an appropriate field site. This in itself prompted a series of questions: Which field sites would be best suited to the research task? What sort of site would be ideal? Which would be feasible? And, how many sites would suffice as a representative sample?

Under optimal conditions, it seemed, at the outset, that an ideal research design would be one that could incorporate a wide range of universities drawn from across the entire Arabian Gulf region. Ideally, half of these would be hermetically confined Arabic-medium institutions. And, contrastingly, the other half would include English-medium institutions wherein students had minimal exposure to Arabic as a medium of instruction. In the event that such an arrangement could be integrated into the research design, it seemed that the breadth of such a design would provide a firm basis from which to formulate a strong set of generalisations about student perceptions and institutional

cultures. However, under actual research conditions, this was found to be neither feasible nor practicable for several reasons.

First, of course, in terms of the costs in time, resources and people, a large-scale project of the sort suggested here was simply unfeasible and, moreover, within the scope of the research aims not entirely necessary.

Second, a major obstacle to incorporating multiple institutions into the research design was the challenge of seeking and negotiating institutional access to university students. As many educational researchers in Arab Gulf region will know, there is, unfortunately, a tendency particularly among regional administrators to look upon external requests to carry out field research with suspicion and as a source of unnecessary disruption—so much so that even fairly low-key projects with no conceivable deleterious effects for the institution concerned can come up against stiff resistance. Of course, with respect to the present study—contextualised within a social-conflict model and recent geopolitical developments—the potential for arousing greater suspicion was further raised. Accordingly, issues around institutional access further restricted the study to an ever smaller number of sites, wherein issues of trust could be satisfactorily resolved.

Third, a further significant constraint in the selection of suitable research sites was the fact that almost all universities in the Arabian Gulf region effectively employ English as a medium of education at least insofar as the delivery of science, business or computer related degree courses are concerned. That said, in the broader Arab world, there are—though exceptional—a handful of modern-style universities where as it happens Arabic functions exclusively as a medium of instruction (e.g. Syria). Certainly, the integration of such universities into the present research design would have yielded both very important and interesting data. But it may also have complicated the possibilities of drawing meaningful comparisons between universities in Levant region and those in Arabian Gulf on the grounds of the quite different societies that comprise these regions.

Thus, in light of the cost constraints, issues around institutional access, and the lack of sufficiently comparable universities it seemed that the most viable arrangement would be to confine the study to a single research site, and in so doing investigate student perceptions within a single university culture. That decided, the question that now arose was which institution would be the most appropriate research site. In keeping with the broad aims of the study and its geopolitical context, it seemed that an ideal site would be

one wherein the institutional culture of the university was largely reflective of contemporary Gulf Arab societies. There would be little point, it was felt, in investigating student perceptions at for instance the Dubai branch of Middlesex University, or the British University in Dubai, or indeed the American University of Sharjah all of which, it is fair to say, exhibit a distinctly ‘western’ cultural environment—not to mention the fact that Arabic as a medium of instruction plays a negligible role at such institutions. That is to say, since the main of the study was to ascertain the perceived socialising influences of English-medium education, it seemed rather pointless to pursue this in an institutional culture that in many respects is manifestly ‘western’. This need therefore to situate the study within an institutional culture that was more reflective of contemporary Gulf Arab societies further ruled out a number of universities as potential research sites.

Accordingly, given the constraints mentioned thus far, it was felt that the most appropriate, feasible and practicable option would be to conduct the study at the institution where I currently teach, namely, the University of Sharjah. Beyond of course the favourable access opportunities this presented, there were several features about the University of Sharjah (UoS) that qualified it was an ideal research site for the present study. Most of it all, it was felt that the institutional character of UoS was in many respects representative of broader UAE society—particularly in terms of its conservative Arab and Islamic character and its demographic composition (more details of UoS and students’ background will be discussed later). More importantly, it provided favourable conditions for contrasting the perceived socialising effects of Arabic medium instruction as opposed to English medium instruction within a single institutional culture.

4.3.2. Defining the Participant Population

Having settled on confining the study to a single research site, namely, the University of Sharjah, the next task was to identify the students who would be participating in the inquiry process. Given the broad aims of the study, this seemed a relatively straightforward exercise.

Ideally, the study would need to define and identify two broad groups: (i) students studying primarily in an English-medium environment; and (ii) students studying primarily in an Arabic-medium environment. Furthermore, it was felt that, if possible,

other variables that could potentially interfere or skew results needed to be manipulated or isolated. To that end, the study confined itself exclusively to male university students. There were two benefits in doing this. On one level, as already suggested, it offered an ideal opportunity to homogenise the sample population. To some extent, this also reflected the reality of the institutional culture at UoS, wherein male and female students study apart from each other in separate college facilities. On another level, it seemed highly appropriate given that arguably much of the drive to socialise young people in the Arab-Muslim world has been mostly directed at young Arab-Muslim men.

Other possibilities that UoS as a research site provided was the opportunity of contrasting the perceptions of a conservative group of students (enrolled in the College of Shari'a and Islamic Studies) with those of a relatively less conservative group of students in say the College of Business Administration. Similarly, it also offered the possibility of assessing perceptions across different colleges (more details of the sampling strategy will be discussed later). Such contrastive opportunities, which had not initially been factored into the study—added an important layer of analysis to the process.

4.3.3. Selecting Suitable Data Collection Tools

The next set of planning considerations vis-à-vis the design of the research was to identify and select the most feasible, practicable, and appropriate means of collecting data on students' perceptions. To that end, two complementary methods seemed highly suited to the task of data collection, namely, (i) questionnaires; and (ii) semi-structured group interviews. A brief account of the thinking and planning that went into the decision to employ these tools follows.

In order to make meaningful generalisations about student perceptions across a broadly defined population, a cost-effective means of gathering data was deemed necessary. With that in mind, questionnaires, it was felt, offered by far the most efficient means of building up a broad picture of student perceptions—in particular of identifying potential patterns, trends, anomalies, relationships or any other significant tendencies. They also provided an opportunity to assess contrastive perceptions across a set of sub-groups within the defined population—an important aspect of the study (as will be discussed later). Moreover, at the level of research design, emergent questionnaire findings offered

a strong basis for directing the parameters of follow-up methods of data collection. However, it was also acknowledged that the exclusive use of questionnaires had its limitations. Most significantly, questionnaires did not of course permit participants to convey perceptions within their own frames of reference. Accordingly, it was felt that a subsequent means of data collection was also deemed necessary.

Thus, in light of the need to understand perceptions in subjects' terms, it seemed obvious that there could be no better way of pursuing this than simply talking to the students concerned. More specifically, it was felt that use of semi-structured group interviews would be the most feasible and practicable way of going about this. There were two important reasons that prompted the decision.

First, more broadly, it was believed that interviews would provide the most effective means of following up on anomalies and going deeper into the explanations of respondents, especially in their own terms of reference. In other words, interviews were an important means of triangulating the questionnaire data and adding explanatory depth to the findings.

No less importantly, it was felt that group interviews as opposed to individual interviews were the most appropriate format to pursue here, particularly since a major focus of the study was to try to understand the collective perceptions of students, and in so doing to piece together the shared discourse(s). On a more practical level, it was found that group interviews were far easier to set up, quicker to administer and for the institution concerned involved minimal disruption (more details on the how the interview protocol was devised and how the sessions were administered will be discussed later in section 4.4.3).

4.4 RESEARCH METHODS

Thus far, the preceding discussions have focussed on the preliminary planning considerations that culminated in the eventual design of the research. We will now focus on how the study was in effect operationalised—especially in terms of the the construction and the administration of data collection tools, the study's sampling strategy, and the analysis of data. Before proceeding, it is well that we profile some of the relevant features of the selected research site.

4.4.1. Profile of Selected Research Site

Established in 1997, the University of Sharjah is a conservative Gulf Arab university with a distinct Arab-Islamic character. This is instantly reflected in the University's campus architecture, the separate college facilities for male and female students, and as stated in its mission statement its commitment to 'fostering and promoting Arab and Islamic culture, history and heritage'. It is often contrasted with its sister organisation, the American University of Sharjah, also established in 1997, which is known for having a distinctly 'western' character particularly in being one of the first co-educational universities in the region. Of the fifteen colleges that together comprise the University of Sharjah, only three employ Arabic as a medium of instruction. These include the College of Shari'a and Islamic Studies, the College of Law, and the College of Communication. For all remaining colleges (including for instance the College of Engineering, the College of Fine Arts and Design, and the College of Business Administration) the prime medium of instruction is English. In order for students to enrol on one of its English-medium programmes, the University sets a score of 500 on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL) as one of its minimal entrance requirements.

4.4.2. Profile of Target Population

There are currently around 9,000 students enrolled at the University of Sharjah. According to figures for the autumn semester of 2008, 65% of all registered students were female. In terms of the University's demographic composition, in many respects it reflects the makeup of the Arabic-speaking population of UAE society. While there are as one might expect, a sizeable number of Emirati students, there are also significant numbers of Gulf and expatriate-Arab students including such countries as Palestine, Jordan, Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Iraq, and Yemen, not to mention a small though not insignificant number of non-Arab countries (e.g. Iran, and India).

It is perhaps appropriate at this point to share a few noteworthy impressions about the general character of the kind of students who participated in the study. Of the four male colleges from which participants were drawn, most English-medium students seemed as though they would be entirely comfortable in, say, western (i.e. British or American) university settings. That is to say, a large portion, for instance, dress in western-style

clothes, i.e. jeans, T-shirts, baseball caps, trainers and so on and so forth. It could also be said that most are fairly savvy about western youth culture, western music and films, and the latest fads on the Internet. That said, of all the English-medium students, it is fair to say that Gulf Arab males (in particular Emirati nationals) tend to prefer national dress though there's seems to be an indication that dressing patterns are possibly changing. It is also worth noting that only a very small number of English-medium students could be described as being visually conservative in the Islamic sense, that is, what most middle-eastern Arabs would instantly identify as a 'mutawwa', a pious Muslim, i.e. having a full beard, wearing a short 'dishdasha' and possibly a red 'ghutra' (Arab headdress).

As for the students drawn from the Arabic-medium programmes, it is noteworthy that very few wore western-style clothes, and furthermore few appeared to be proficient in English. In fact, strikingly the majority of Arabic-medium students—though not all Gulf Arabs—dressed in either the traditional Emirati 'kandoora' or the Saudi 'thawb'. In particular, shariah students, as one might expect, came across as being the most conservative in dress and appearance, many of whom could be popularly described as 'mutawwas'.

In the following sections, more details will ensue as to how the participant population was further defined and broken down within the study's sampling strategy particularly in relation to the operationalisation of the student questionnaires.

4.4.3. Construction and Administration of Questionnaires

Having decided upon the suitability of employing questionnaires as a primary data collection instrument, the next task was to work out how best to approach the design and delivery stage. This entailed four phases, which for the purposes of the present study will be identified roughly as (i) the operationalising phase; (ii) the structuring phase; (iii) the sampling phase; and (iv) the distribution phase.

The Operationalising Phase

In the first phase, the operationalising phase, the goal was to take the general aims of the study and to try to reduce them into a set of specific and concrete questionnaire items.

With that in mind, a logical starting point, it seemed, was to begin with the stated research questions and to try to unpack them into a set of component themes. After settling on a set of themes, the next step was to try to generate a set of subsidiary sub-themes. Following that, the final step was to try to formulate a set of researchable questionnaire items. This was at least how the operationalisation process had been conceptualised. In practice, however, it turned out to be a much messier affair with a good deal of to-ing and fro-ing, dead ends and uncertainties.

To kick-start the process of generating appropriate themes, sub-themes and subsidiary items, a useful activity was to engage in series of individual brainstorming sessions. Specifically, this entailed jotting down some of the general themes as represented in official policy documents, press releases, the media, and limited though it is, the relevant scholarly literature, and then trying to tease out as many relevant areas, issues, and points that came to mind. This was then followed by a sorting out process of organising and reorganising elements, rejecting, accepting, reaccepting, defining, redefining, categorising, collapsing, constructing and so on and so forth. It was by no means a tidy logical affair. But as the process ensued, an order gradually began to emerge and take shape.

In addition to the individual brainstorming sessions, it also proved very helpful to engage professional and academic colleagues in the process particularly those with a direct interest in the broad aims of the study. Specifically, such colleagues were invited to provide a list of research-worthy themes and items they felt ought to be explored within the scope of the questionnaire. This was often followed by impromptu discussions, personal accounts, and opinions, all of which added to the sorting out process, sometimes helping to expand frames of reference, sometimes triggering new lines of thought, and sometimes creating uncertainties or the need for radical restructuring.

Also important was the process of engaging English- and Arabic-medium students in the generation of themes and items for inclusion in the questionnaire. Though this did not turn out to be quite as fruitful as the exchanges with colleagues, it was nonetheless significant in determining which themes or items were workable and which needed finer tuning.

However, as repetition and overlap began to set in, it was felt that by now most of the core issues had been exhausted and sufficiently explored. It therefore seemed an

opportune juncture at which to set about prioritising issues, themes and items and narrowing them down into a set of workable questionnaire items. To that end, three considerations were of particular concern: (i) a need to achieve a balance of themes and issues; (ii) a need to incorporate a range of positions; and (iii) an awareness of space constraints and of students' tolerance to information-loads. Eventually, all issues were narrowed down to twenty-one questionnaire items, which, it was felt, could be comfortably subsumed under the following three categories:

- (i) general perceptions about medium of instruction policies at Gulf Arab universities;
- (ii) perceptions about the socialising effects of English on university students in a Gulf Arab university; and
- (iii) perceptions about the socialising effects of Arabic on university students in a Gulf Arab university

The Structuring Phase

Having decided on a workable set of themes and items, the next task—for the structuring phase of the questionnaire—was to try to incorporate all subsidiary elements into a coherent structure and effective layout. Primarily, this entailed three sets of considerations: (i) the sequencing of questionnaire items; (ii) the formatting of items; and (iii) the selection of an appropriate rating scale.

In regard to the sequencing of questionnaire items, the key guiding principle was to strike a balanced tone that did not force the respondent into any particular mood-set.

Specifically, care was taken not to slant the questionnaire towards a social-conflict angle on the issues. In fact, as a corrective measure against any tendencies of such bias, a balance was sought by incorporating, where possible, a structural-functionalist view of the issues. Moreover, to soften the impact of areas that might be deemed controversial, items were sequenced such that they would progress where possible from broad 'neutral' matters, through moderately challenging topics, and gradually to more sensitive issues.

Another important structural consideration was to decide on the specific form of individual questionnaire items. In light of the stated aims of the questionnaire and the relatively large sample that was projected, the guiding principle here was to structure

individual items such that the collection and analysis of data could be undertaken in as efficient a manner as possible. Accordingly, it was felt that all items would be best formulated as ‘closed’ items in the form of succinct statements. This of course necessitated multiple drafting and piloting sessions until after much feedback (from colleagues) a final draft of individual items could be established.

Following on from this, the decision as to the most suitable rating scale seemed a rather straightforward one. The guiding principle here was simply to try to accommodate the widest spectrum of views within the scope of the questionnaire. To that end, it was felt that a five-point Likert would be a highly efficient means not only of collecting and analysing a large-body of data, but also of integrating a wider range of divergent views. The specific format of the scale employed was as follows:

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly agree	Agree	Uncertain	Disagree	Strongly disagree

Lastly, once the final format had been established, there remained one crucial consideration in terms of the design and layout of the questionnaire, namely, the decision as to whether the text of the questionnaire ought to be translated into Arabic. It was felt that overwhelmingly the merits of employing an Arabic translation outweighed the drawbacks. On one level, for instance, it seemed an entirely indefensible position to go about investigating perceptions about the socialising effects of an English-medium education through an English-medium questionnaire. On another more practical level, granted the sharply divergent levels of proficiency in English, it was felt that the reliability of questionnaire data could simply not be guaranteed, particularly among samples of Arabic-medium students.

The only potential drawback of employing an Arabic translation was the risk of information loss. However, given the relevant succinctness of the items involved and the usage of non-technical language, it was felt that such risks could be comfortably regarded as being very minor. Furthermore, to mitigate the effects, if any, of such risks, the translation process was overseen by three Arab translators. Eventually, a very accurate and faithful translation was put together (see Appendix 1, for English and Arabic language versions).

The Piloting Phase

With the text, the layout and the translation finalised, the questionnaire was now effectively ready for distribution. However, before proceeding with this, it was felt that it would be helpful and indeed necessary to pilot the administration process. Until now only individual aspects of the questionnaire had been subjected to scrutiny, and mostly by professional and academic colleagues with direct knowledge and experience of the target context. The task now, however, was to pilot the entirety of the questionnaire with the final target group. To that end, it was distributed to a class of around twenty students towards the end of a university lecture. Before putting pen to paper, students were given a very short briefing session about the purpose of the questionnaire and of the piloting process after which they were invited to respond over a pre-arranged period of up to 15 minutes. As they set about ticking the appropriate boxes, it was noted that students appeared to be engaging enthusiastically with the process. As soon as it was felt that all students had completed the questionnaire, an optional feedback session was announced and held, wherein students were invited to comment on the clarity of the text, the layout and their general impressions about the nature of the questionnaire. It should be said that it was not considered practicable, at this stage, to make radical changes to the text unless of course glaring issues emerged and suggested otherwise. Fortunately, other than a few minor stylistic issues related to the Arabic text, and a few suggestions about enhancing the layout, no major concerns were raised. That said, the feedback exchanges did however trigger some lively discussions about the subject of the questionnaire and related issues, but nothing in them suggested that the layout or the administration process itself needed restructuring.

The Sampling Phase

In line with the study's research questions, the overall purpose of the questionnaires was to build a broad picture of students' perceptions about the socialising effects of English-medium education within the institutional culture of the University of Sharjah. Closely related to this was also a need to consider a corresponding set of perceptions in relation to Arabic-medium education. Moreover, a further aim was to compare the perceptions of English-medium students with those of Arabic-medium students. With those aims in mind, it followed that an effective sampling strategy would need to identify two sample

frames from which representative samples could be drawn and across which meaningful comparisons could be made. But before detailing how this was handled, an understanding of the constraints underlying the research site would be useful here.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, a major constraint on devising an effective sampling strategy was dealing with some of the usual barriers in getting access to target students. After a few initial attempts at exploring the possibilities of full-scale access, it was clear that for a range of reasons this was not going to be practicable. It also, unfortunately, ruled out the possibility of setting up a probability sample. It followed therefore that to some extent the sample would need to involve some degree of selectivity.

Closely related to the issues around student access, another significant obstacle was that of having very limited access to detailed information on the breakdown of student distributions in the various colleges. This ruled out the possibility of pursuing an effective quota sampling strategy or other stratified approaches to sampling.

A third problem, though not of the same order, was the imbalance between English-medium students and Arabic medium-students. From a sampling standpoint, this was further exacerbated by not having the luxury of unfettered access to target groups or to detailed records of student numbers.

Thus, granted these constraints, it was felt that the most viable sampling strategy would be to base it around some sort of opportunity or convenience sample. With that in mind, the first task was to determine the sampling frames.

Under ideal conditions, the two sampling frames would be (i) all English medium-male students; and (ii) all Arabic-medium male students. Under actual conditions, however, it was felt that of the five colleges in which English is the medium of instruction, it seemed that sampling from two would be both feasible and practicable. Similarly of the three colleges in which Arabic is the medium of instruction, it was felt that sampling from two colleges would be achievable. Thus the actual sampling frames were (i) all male English-medium students from the College of Engineering and from the College of Business Administration, and (ii) all male Arabic-medium students from the College of Law and the College of Shari'a and Islamic Studies. To some extent this seemed a fairly representative sample frame of the broader male university population, and in some respects borne out by the data and findings.

The next task was to determine how a constituent sample could be drawn from each of the respective sampling frames, and furthermore what in effect would constitute an appropriate sampling size for each frame. To those ends, a useful guiding principle under the (then) current circumstances was to pursue a sampling strategy of minimal disruption and maximum access.

Determining what amounted to a minimal level of disruption was effectively a judgement call in terms of what could be realistically accomplished. Thus, it was felt that the most effective and viable way of distributing questionnaires would be to negotiate a suitable time with academic staff whereby questionnaires could be completed towards the end of a university lecture. Not only did this help to maximise completion rates, but it also provided an opportunity of giving a short briefing session. As for determining maximum access, an effort was made to try to identify lecture sessions with largest student attendance. After consulting with academic staff and checking registration documents, it was found that a moderately large lecture session ranged from 40 to 50 students. With that mind, it was felt that it would be practicable to negotiate access to at least two moderately large lecture sessions from each college. Accordingly, a quota target of around 90 students was set for each college. The actual breakdown of questionnaire distribution figures are represented here in figure 1.

	ENGLISH-MEDIUM STUDENTS		ARABIC-MEDIUM STUDENTS	
	<i>Engineering Students</i>	<i>Business Students</i>	<i>Law Students</i>	<i>Shari'a Students</i>
<i>Questionnaire Distribution per College Background</i>	91	91	92	91
<i>Questionnaire Distribution per Language Medium</i>	182		183	
<i>TOTAL</i>	365			

Fig. 1 Distribution of Questionnaires

The Distribution Phase

Before concluding here, a few comments are in order about the general administration of the questionnaires. Notably, the questionnaires were distributed in March 2009 over a period of two weeks. Perhaps because of the engaging nature of the questionnaires, they were often completed enthusiastically. Not infrequently after completion the subject matter triggered much interest and debate. Completion rates were very high, and except in a very small number of cases, respondents omitted some of the items. All questionnaires were distributed and returned in the same session. Furthermore, when opportune, respondents were informed that in the coming weeks group interviews would be held to explore further the issues and themes covered in the questionnaire. Details were provided on how interested students could get in touch.

4.4.4. The Planning and Delivery of Interview Sessions

As stated earlier, the purpose of conducting follow-up interview sessions was twofold: (i) to explore reasons behind any trends, anomalies and striking patterns that emerged from questionnaire data; and (ii) to add depth to the data in respondents' own terms and frames of reference. With these aims in mind, the planning and delivery of interview sessions entailed three sets of considerations concerning (i) the structure of the interview; (ii) the selection of interviewees; and (iii) the recording of interview data.

The Structure of the Interview Sessions

As mentioned in the foregoing discussions, it was felt that the most viable and appropriate approach to collecting qualitative data was to set up group interview sessions. The structure of the exchanges would be largely based around the study's research questions, and to some extent the emerging questionnaire data. Accordingly, as soon as the questionnaire data was collated and, where possible, analysed for any trends, anomalies, or striking patterns an interview protocol was thought through and worked out. In broad terms, the interview exchanges revolved around following main themes:

ROLE OF ENGLISH AND ARABIC
AT ARAB UNIVERSITIES

1. How do you feel about the role of English as a medium-of-instruction at Arab universities?

ADDITIVE SOCIALISING EFFECTS
OF ENGLISH ON ARAB STUDENTS

2. What do you see as some of the beneficial social effects, if any, of English-medium education on Arab students?

SUBTRACTIVE SOCIALISING EFFECTS
OF ENGLISH ON ARAB STUDENTS

3. What do you see as some of the harmful or negative social effects, if any, of English-medium education on Arab students?

ADDITIVE SOCIALISING EFFECTS
OF ARABIC ON ARAB STUDENTS

4. What do you see as the beneficial social effects on Arabic-medium education on Arab students?

SUBTRACTIVE SOCIALISING EFFECTS
OF ARABIC ON ARAB STUDENTS

5. What do you see as some of the negative social effects of Arabic-medium education on Arab students?

Each interview session lasted typically between 30 to 40 minutes. Respondents were encouraged to talk freely and frankly about their ideas and experiences, and where relevant were prompted to justify or explain the basis of their perceptions about the socialising effects of English or Arabic medium education. Care was taken to ensure that all interviewees were given a fair hearing. The exchanges (particularly in the English-medium sessions) were very lively, and respondents very forthcoming and eager to share their views. Moreover, ample opportunity was provided at all stages of the interview for rechecking meanings, themes and ideas in respondent terms.

The Selection of Interviewees

Granted the scope of the research and resources available, it was felt that setting up four interview groups of six interviewees would generate a sufficiently representative body and range of data for the purposes of the present study. Each group of interviewees would be drawn from one of the four corresponding sampling groups as defined during the questionnaire stage. Thus, in all, twenty-four students agreed or expressed an interest to participate. Some thought, it should be said, went into trying to set up groups with diverse nationalities though interviewee selection was largely determined on an opportunity basis. Figure 2 provides a breakdown of the interview groups along nationality lines.

ENGLISH-MEDIUM STUDENTS		ARABIC-MEDIUM STUDENTS	
<i>Engineering Students</i>	<i>Business Students</i>	<i>Law Students</i>	<i>Shari'a Students</i>
Emirati	Emirati	Egyptian	Emirati
Iraqi	Libyan	Emirati	Mauritanian
Jordanian	Palestinian	Emirati	Palestinian
Palestinian	Qatari	Omani	Saudi
Sudanese	Syrian	Saudi	Somali
Syrian	Yemeni	Yemeni	Yemeni

Figure 2. Nationalities of respondents taking part in group interviews.

The Recording of Interview Data

It was well-known among veteran interviewers that unlike individual face-to-face interviews, group interviews have a propensity for being disorderly and as such can be difficult to manage (Gillham, 2005, p.69). Accordingly, taking notes during such sessions can pose a real challenge. With that in mind, it was felt that a two-pronged approach to the recoding of data was necessary here.

As a primary means of recording the data, where possible copious notes were taken simultaneously during the sessions. Where possible, pertinent items and extracts were

categorised under the five broad interview themes. A constant attempt was made to verify and double check responses with interviewees particularly areas of significant concern. Immediately after the interview, the notes were written up in a more systematic fashion and reorganised accordingly.

As a secondary means of collecting data, permission was sought to tape the interview sessions. On each occasion, all groups willingly gave their consent. The day after the interview, the tape recordings were carefully listened to and, where required, subsequent additions, modifications and revisions were made. It is worth stressing here that it was felt there was little need to transcribe the entire length of the interviews. The focus of the study was not on discursal interactions, but rather on understanding students' views, opinions and perceptions. At best, it was felt that where necessary a selective approach to transcription would suffice particularly if it would help to elucidate elusive layers of understanding.

On a final note, all interview sessions and the recording of interview data were held in April 2009.

4.5 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

In light of the broad aims of the study, the analysis of the data was driven by an effort to assess the extent to which Arab-Muslim students feel that an English-medium education (in contrast to an Arabic-medium education) socialises students in distinct or noticeable ways. To that end, the mass of collected raw data was broadly subsumed under five overarching frames of analysis. Deriving directly from the study's research questions, these frames were

1. *Perceptions about the societal effects of English-medium education on modern Arab societies*
2. *Perceptions about the additive socialising effects of English-medium education on Arab students.*
3. *Perceptions about the subtractive socialising effects of English-medium education on Arab students.*

4. *Perceptions about the additive socialising effects of Arabic-medium education on Arab students.*
5. *Perceptions about the subtractive socialising effects of Arabic-medium education on Arab students.*

Care was taken at this broadest level of analysis not to subsume perceived socialising effects under value-laden frames of analysis (i.e. effects that were perceived as negative, harmful, positive, or beneficial, etc.). The aim here at this level was to try to categorise effects as being either additive (i.e. having the effect of adding to one's social identity) or subtractive (i.e. having the effect of removing or overriding aspects one's social identity). They were of not perfect categories but were felt to serve as an effective sorting mechanism. At the next level of analysis down, perceived socialising effects were analysed, where relevant, in value-laden terms.

Further down, at the level of analysing questionnaire data, the goal here as mentioned earlier was to get a sense of the collective discourses of students and to assess and contrast students' perceptions across the different sample groups. To that end, all questionnaire data (being largely of course of a quantitative nature) was derived by simply converting raw scores into percentages and noting any significant patterns, relationships, tendencies or anomalies. Since this was not deemed to be a wholly quantitatively-based research study and, moreover, the ultimate goal was to enhance understanding in Weberian sense, there was felt to be little need to subject the questionnaire data to sophisticated statistical analysis or to put it through an advanced software package like SPSS.

Insofar as the analysis of interview data was concerned, this was undertaken in terms of the frequency of emerging themes, ideas, and perceptions as well as attention to any striking patterns or expressions of views. Specifically, the process was carried out by adopting a colour-coded system for identifying key or recurrent words and constructs. These were transferred to a chart which enabled cross referencing of respondent data alongside key questionnaire data. Care was taken to avoid the tendency to atomise or fragment data and lose the synergy of the whole. Where possible, an effort was made to try to get holistic sense of students' perceptions.

Ultimately, the aim was to try to integrate broad questionnaire data with narrower yet richer interview data and then to subsume both under the four overarching frames of analysis. In so doing it was hoped that overall a rich holistic picture would emerge.

4.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In keeping within widely recognised standards of ethical educational research (in particular the guidelines of the British Educational Research Association, 2004), the present study took pains to ensure that (i) the dignity of the individual was respected at all times; (ii) the intent behind all research procedures was clear; (iii) all individual participation was based on voluntary informed consent; (iv) confidentiality was sought and strictly upheld; and (v) no harm of any sort came to any of the participants. Where possible, the study sought both in practice and in spirit to ensure that each of these ethical principles was carefully adhered to. To this end, four features of the study bear mentioning here.

First, at all stages the purpose behind all research procedures was clearly identified and communicated to the participants concerned. In regard to the distribution of questionnaires, all participants were given a short briefing session before putting pen to paper. All were informed of the purpose of the research process they were engaging in, why their participation was deemed necessary, how their data would be used, and to whom it would be reported. Furthermore, a brief statement in Arabic covering the same information was provided at the top of each questionnaire form (see Appendix 1). Alongside this was also an opportunity to sign their names as an indication of their consent. The importance of reading the statement and signing it was stressed. The same ethical consent procedures were also replicated in the case of interview sessions. Once again, each participant was briefed, and then invited to read and sign an informed consent form in Arabic.

Second, all information about all participants was treated with the strictest confidentiality. During the administration of questionnaires, no names were sought other than participants' signatures. Once completed, all questionnaires forms were stored and sealed in a secure location away from the research site. As for the interview sessions, all personal information that could potentially identify individuals was strictly protected.

Audio tapes too were stored away and sealed in a secure location. In the write up stage of the study, all real names where relevant were replaced with pseudonyms.

Third, as a public expression of ethical intent and as a personal undertaking, an application for a certificate of ethical research approval was submitted to the Ethics Committee of the School of Education and Lifelong Learning at the University of Exeter. A copy of the certificate is included in appendices (see Appendix 3).

Last, it is often suggested that educational research based on a social-conflict view of society and/or a critical approach to inquiry is motivated by a politicised agenda thus raising ethical questions about the manipulation of methods, data, and participants for narrow political ends. That would certainly be the case if my interest in the present study was to show in a flagrant one-sided manner how English-medium education is perceived as having harmful, much-resented, coercive socialising effects on Arab-Muslim students in the oil-rich Arabian Gulf region. As it happens I have been teaching English for over twenty years now, the last fourteen years of which I have been based in the Arabian Gulf region. Granted that, I should stress that if I am said to have an agenda here, it is simply to understand better what I believe to be a complex issue with a very mixed picture about the perceived socialising effects of English-medium education. Thus, it is of little concern to me how the data and findings unfold or indeed ought to unfold. What matters to me ultimately is whether the present study is able to add to our understanding of a complex, social, educational and, yes, political issue. To those ends, I am confident that the present study was stringently conducted within the ethical parameters mentioned above.

4.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

It would seem to be a characteristic feature of the research process that as one progresses deeper into a study, its flaws, drawbacks and limitations gradually begin to surface.

Insofar as the present study is concerned, three such areas emerged during the course of writing up the study, and bear pointing out here.

One area of concern relates to the focus of the study on ‘effects’. By framing the study as an investigation of effects, there is admittedly an automatic assumption that English-medium education is part of an undeniable causative process. On a few occasions, particularly during the data collection stage, it seemed that respondents were not entirely

certain about the causative capacity of language-education. Perhaps a broader frame of reference might have given some respondents the opportunity to contest the assumption of causation. However, it is unclear if this would have affected the data and findings in any appreciable way. Perhaps the point is an overly subtle one, and had a broader frame been employed it might simply have been lost in the exchanges. After all, the study did not set out to investigate effects in the mechanical sense of the term, but rather as a part of a perceived social process.

Another closely related concern has to do with the risk of ascribing an overly deterministic role to English-medium education. Again, there was occasionally a suggestion that perhaps the study did not sufficiently permit respondents to explore the role of other factors in the process of socialising young Arab-Muslim people, or rather that the exposure to English was one part of a broader set of socialising agents. Though the study did not set out by any means to assume an overly deterministic position, on reflection, a broader frame of reference might have helped to address this concern. In short, it was unclear the extent if any to which respondents had been unwittingly confined to a deterministic position.

Lastly, on a brief methodological note, as noted earlier it was felt that because the sampling strategy, was not based on a probability sample, this to some extent limited the generalisability of the study. However, with respect to some aspects of the data and findings, there was a feeling nonetheless that a case for drawing some tentative generalisations could be made. In some areas, for instance, there was considerable agreement across diverse sample groups, which seemed to point to broader more general tendencies among university students in the Arabian Gulf region. That said, there is no doubt that a broader more comprehensive sampling strategy would have helped to expand the scope for drawing more generalisable claims from the study's data.

Chapter 5

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

As stated in Chapter 1, the broad aims of the study were to assess the extent to which Arab-Muslim students at a Gulf Arab university feel that an English-medium education—in direct contrast to an Arabic-medium education—socialises students in distinct or noticeable ways. In this chapter, the purpose is to bring together various elements in the data and to consider how these link up with the study's specific research questions as formulated in Chapter 1. To that end, this chapter is divided into five sections based around the study's five research questions. Section 5.1 will report on how students perceived the societal effects of an English-medium education on Arab societies. More specifically, at the level of the individual, section 5.2 will relate the extent to which students feel that an English-medium education has additive socialising effects on Arab students. In close relation to this, section 5.3 will give an account of the extent to which it was felt that English-medium education has subtractive socialising effects on Arab students. In sharp contrast, Section 5.4 will report on perceptions about the transformative socialising effects of Arabic-medium education. Lastly, section 5.5 will detail the perceptions about the subtractive socialising effects of Arabic-medium education on Arab students.

5.1 Perceptions about the Societal Effects of English-Medium Education on Arab Societies

In order to better contextualise the perceived socialising effects of English-medium education on students at a Gulf Arab university, it was felt that a useful point of departure would be to begin by analysing students' perceptions about the broader societal effects on contemporary Arab societies. To that end, the results of the questionnaire data revealed some rather striking features about the different sample groups. Notably, it was found that effectively half of all English-medium students (49.4% (n=90)) regard Arabic as, generally speaking, the most appropriate medium of instruction at contemporary Arab universities. However, in sharp contrast to this general view, the figures for Arabic-

medium students—when prompted on the same issue—were markedly higher with as many as 89.6% (n=164) concurring that the most suitable medium for university level education is the Arabic language.

As a follow-up questionnaire item, students were also invited to comment on the role of English at Arab universities. Specifically, they were asked if they felt English was the most appropriate medium of instruction for ‘modern’ subject areas—particularly with respect to the natural sciences, business studies and information technology. Interestingly, in this instance, the results revealed a rather different picture and—on the face of it—a somewhat contradictory one. It was found for instance that 68.7% (n=125) of all English-medium students agreed that English did, as they perceived it, have an important role to play in such areas of the university’s programmes. Noticeably, the results appeared to suggest a marked difference in the two sets of views, that is, if we are to assume a zero-sum relationship between English and Arabic as competing media of instruction. But what was perhaps more surprising than anything else here was the fact that 43.4% (n=79) of all Arabic-medium students appeared to share the same view—though it should be stressed that a comparable number also found themselves rejecting the idea that English had any such role to play at Arab universities. Moreover, the study also found—and perhaps not so surprisingly—that only a comparatively small number of shari’a students (26.6% (n=24)) seemed to agree with the proposition that English is deservedly the most suitable medium for the teaching of ‘modern’ subject areas.

In sum, therefore, at the level of medium-of-instruction language policies, there were essentially three notable tendencies, namely, (i) that almost half of all English-medium students feel that Arabic is, generally speaking, the most suitable medium of instruction; (ii) that Arabic-medium students tend to be overwhelmingly supportive of the role of Arabic as a medium of instruction, and by extension—it would seem—tend to hold a comparatively less favourable view as to the role of English; and (iii) that among all the groups investigated (though much less so with shari’a students) there is general support for the idea that English (as a medium of instruction) has a prominent role to play at Arab universities. In order to better understand the bases of students’ views and attitudes as indicated here, these issues were subsequently taken up in the follow-up group interview sessions.

Overall, in all four group sessions there was a general sense of pent-up frustration—and at times resentment—at having to study in what they appeared to describe as an alien medium of instruction. That said, there was also a general feeling of grudging resignation to the fact that English is ‘here to stay’ and will thereby remain as a necessary component of university life in much of the Arab world. On the analysis of interview data, there were found to be three discernible sets of views that came to the fore in all group sessions though with varying degrees of emphasis.

One set of views was characterised by a tendency to rationalise the current role and status of English, and accordingly to adopt a pragmatic stance on the matter of language policy. Of the two main sample groups, English-medium students tended to emphasise this aspect the most. The following extracts taken from the interview exchanges characterise the stance:

English is a global language. When Arabs go out they can communicate very well. If I’m speaking English, I can impress you very quickly. Communication is quick and easier.

Mohammed, a 3rd year engineering student from Palestine

If you learn Arabic you only stick to that place because the world is so big – there are more than a 100 countries that speak English.

Ali, a 3rd year engineering student from Jordan

If you speak English and more languages, it will lead to a better salary. Do you know Syria? Why Syrian people they cannot work outside Syria? Because they study only in Arabic.

Ibrahim, a 3rd year business student from Syria

America is producing 30 million books every year in English. Ideas they spread quickly in English. When you hear a song in English, it spreads like this [snapping his fingers] in the world. So we should learn this language.

Izzedin, a 3rd year engineering student from Sudan

In a sense, these comments—in the broader context of the study—could be construed as representing a structural-functionalist view of university life within the institutional

culture of the selected research site and more broadly, the Arabian Gulf region. That is to say, for such students, it would seem that the role and status of English-medium education are perceived as rational and necessary facts of the Arab world wherein English is tasked with the important role of developing university-level expertise. In a second set of views, students emphasised the importance of the Arabic language to Arab and Islamic identity, and accordingly stressed the need to give Arabic more prominence in contemporary Arab societies—particularly at secondary and tertiary level education. In varying degrees, these views were expressed in all the sessions, but at times somewhat more forcefully among Arabic-medium students. The following comments give a sense of the sort of concerns a number of students have about what they appear to see as the relentless encroachment of English on Arab societies:

We are Arabs. We have to learn Arabic. We don't want to lose it, and if we lose it, we lose everything. We should make Arabic the main language in our universities and schools. We should be proud of our language.

Hamad, a 3rd year law student from Oman

I'd like to see more Arabic. It is very bad for our society. We need to go back to our religion. We must give more attention to Arabic.

Hadi, a 3rd year shari'a student from Sudan

Our mother tongue is going down. We have to try and increase it. For me as an Arab and Muslim, it is language of the Holy Quran ... we should make it the main language... we should support Arabic.

Abdurrahman, a 3rd year law student from Yemen

In a third set of views, students emphasised the resentment of not being able to study in a subject area of their own choice on account of not being sufficiently proficient in English. To some extent, there was a suggestion here of resentment at the fact that the institutional separation between English- and Arabic-medium programmes divided the students into the haves and have-nots of the university culture. The following two English-medium

students illustrate some of the underlying frustrations that would appear to stem from dissatisfaction with the region-wide medium-of-instruction language policies:

The students who are studying Arabic programmes... maybe because they fail TOEFL so they can't study their major so they feel upset.

Ahmed, a 3rd year engineering student from Iraq

Most of them [Arabic-medium students] believe that English policies are imposed on them. It makes them feel frustrated. It changes their life forever.

Hassan, a 3rd year business student from Libya

In a fourth set of views, a number of students stressed the need for a more restricted role of English at university. That is to say, while they appreciated the importance of English as a language of business, science and technology, they did not feel this was sufficient justification for instituting English-medium education at Arab universities. Instead, in some instances students suggested that at most English ought to be taught as an important foreign language. The following is a representative series of views:

Learning English is fine. Just it doesn't have to be *in* English. I'm not saying don't learn English. You must learn English, but not in this way.

Hassan, a 3rd year business student from Libya

We have to learn more Arabic. It is not necessary the whole nation should learn English. It should only be specialists ... You can translate everything. You can create your own books.

Mohammed, a 3rd year engineering student from Palestine

I'm not against English. English is an important language. We should study it to spread Islam.

Hadi, a 3rd year shari'a student from Syria

Moving onto more value-laden matters, students were also, in the course of the questionnaire, asked whether the expansion of English language programmes at Arab universities was seen as having beneficial effects for modern day Arab societies. Here

views were somewhat divided, but there was no indication, as had been expected, that respondents were particularly undecided on this item—in fact, overall 16.7% (n=61) of respondents declined to take a decisive position. But there was nonetheless some surface-level consistency. In line for instance with results from the previous questionnaire items, 65.4% (n=119) of all English-medium students took the view that the expansion of English was seen ultimately as a beneficial development for Arab societies. However, in sharp contrast, and perhaps not so surprisingly, it was found that almost half of all sharia’ students (n=45) did not assent to the view that the expansion of English has beneficial effects for Arab societies.

Contrastingly, in a somewhat more pointed manner, students were also invited to comment on whether they felt that the expansion of English would ultimately have *harmful* effects on Arab societies. Perhaps, owing to the directness of this item, it was found that 21.3% (n=77) of all respondents appeared to be undecided about this. What was, however, rather striking about the results of this questionnaire item was that as many as 37.8% (n=68) of all English-medium students took the view that the continuing expansion of English language programmes was ultimately a harmful development for Arab societies. Furthermore, on analysing the relevant interview data, it was found that two pertinent themes emerged recurrently.

One theme was a general feeling that Arab societies were being subjected to a wide-scale cultural onslaught on a range of fronts of which English-medium education was perceived as one prominent example. However, it should be stressed here that it was unclear if this was a view that was deeply felt or one that was deemed culturally appropriate.

Another recurrent theme related to concerns about broader communication issues in Arabic-speaking society. That is to say, a number of respondents felt that English was encroaching into Arabic language domains to the extent that many young Arabic speakers are displaying fragmented Arabic language skills, preferring often to resort to English. The following interview extracts give a hint of such views:

Arab culture is disappearing... disappearing. Sometimes I feel I’m not living in an Arab country. Some public places now they don’t even speak Arabic. It’s having a big effect on our culture. A bad effect.

Mahmoud, a 3rd year business student from Palestine

Some of my friends.. .they are Arab ... OK but they just speak English all the time. When they speak Arabic, they make a lot of mistakes. Can you imagine? ... in Arabic ... and they are Arab.

Abdullah, a 3rd year engineering student from Syria

On the whole, both questionnaire and interview data suggested a fairly wide-ranging support for Arabic as a medium of instruction. There was also a general acknowledgement of the importance of English as a language of business, science, and technology though much less so in the case of Arabic-medium students. Moreover, it was found that underlying these views was a certain degree of frustration at coping with the challenges of an English-medium education; resentment at not being able to select a preferred area of study; and at times a concern about the expanding influence of English in Arab societies. However, the data also revealed that on a number of points there were distinct differences between the views of English-medium and Arabic-medium students. There was a clear indication that views about medium of instruction language policies tended to correlate with the specific language-medium that students had been allocated. Of course, a correlation does not in itself imply a causal link, but there would seem to be a strong suggestion in the data—and certainly one that merits further investigation—that language policies help to socialise students by shaping their general views about the roles of English and Arabic in Arab universities. That is to say, medium of instruction policies would seem to act as a kind of ‘hidden curriculum’ by instilling in students a sense of the proper role of Arabic and English in a modern university setting.

5.2 Perceptions about the Additive Socialising Effects of English-Medium Education on Arab-Muslim Students

In light of the geopolitical policy assumptions about the transformative capacities of English-medium education as mentioned in Chapter 1, students were invited to comment on a number of specific claims about the socialising effects of increased exposure to English. In this section, the specific focus is on the additive socialising effects, that is to say, the effects of adding to one’s identity, or repertoire of values, ideal, attitudes or outlook on life.

Firstly, students were asked whether increasing exposure to the English language, in their view, has the effect of instilling a more tolerant and open-minded outlook—the assumption being that Arabic-medium education does not sufficiently impart such values and ideals (but more on this later in sections 5.4 and 5.5).

Notably, this questionnaire item generated mixed reactions in all the sample groups. Moreover, it was found that a significant number of respondents (20.4% (n=71) of all students) were undecided. But what was consistently clear across the different sample groups was that almost half of all students (notably, English-medium, Arabic-medium, and shari'a students) did not feel that exposure to English has such transformative socialising effects on Arab students. However, that said, a comparatively small yet comparable proportion of students in each sample group did feel that there were grounds for believing that English had the capacity to induce Arab students to be more tolerant and open-minded (around 30% in each case). Interestingly, on the whole, this item generated very similar patterns of views across the different sample groups. This general pattern of views also seemed to be supported in the interview sessions. The following interview extract from a 2nd year Egyptian student captures the general reaction to this item:

I think there is no connection between language and ... *ya'ani* ... an open-mind. I know some people ... they only speak Arabic no English, but they are very nice, patient and ... *ya'ani* ... accept different people and know many things. And maybe some people speak English well but they are very closed. So I think there is no connection, absolutely.

Ibrahim, a 3rd year business student from Syria

Approaching the more or less the same issue from a slightly more practical angle, a follow-up item asked students if they felt that greater exposure to English helped to foster a better understanding of the wider world. In this respect, the results tended to reflect a generally more favourable view of the transformative capacity of English. 64.1% (n=116) of English-medium students, for instance, were of the view that there was in effect a basis for believing that greater exposure to English helps to develop a better knowledge of the wider world. Curiously, over half of all Arabic-medium students (including all shari'a students) also shared this view. According to the relevant interview data, a number of recurrent themes emerged. One theme simply emphasised the practical benefits that accrue as a consequence of opening up new channels of communication. Another theme

stressed that there is nothing peculiar to being exposed to English that helps to foster a more informed view of the wider world. Another theme still drew attention to the fact that very few Arab university students take full advantage of their newly acquired language skills. The following exchanges between three business students sum up very nicely the different themes around that emerged around this issue:

Interviewer: Do you feel that the more you use, hear, and read English, the more you have a better idea of what's happening in the world? I mean, beyond the Arab world.

Mahmoud: Yes, of course, if you learn English. You can read many new books, newspapers, magazines, and many many websites... you can watch many TV programmes

Hassan: OK... but how ... *ya'ani* ...many students you know they read English newspapers and magazines....

Ibrahim: I agree with [Hassan] ... and anyway ... there is really no connection ... I know many my friends who cannot speak English very well, but they follow the news and have a good idea about it.

Closely linked to the main thrust of the study, a subsequent item set out to assess the extent to which respondents felt that greater exposure to English made Arab-Muslim students more receptive to 'Western' cultural values (especially in terms of 'Western' notions of freedom, democracy, and human rights). On the whole, views on this issue were generally divided. Notably, almost half of all English-medium students (48.1%, n=87) and a similar proportion of Arabic-medium students (45.1%, n=82) felt that there was in effect a direct causal link. Conversely, and rather interestingly, it was also found that 43.4% (n=79) of all Arabic-medium students rejected the idea that greater exposure to English had the effect of instilling Arab students with Western cultural values. In the follow-up interview sessions, students had little to add. Of the students that felt that increased exposure to English has the effect of making students more receptive to 'Western' notions of freedom, democracy, and human rights, their views were limited to generic statements. When prompted to elaborate, students did not offer much in the way of explanations. More revealingly, of the students that felt that there was no link between exposure to English and the assimilation of such values and ideals, it was suggested that such aspects of 'Western' culture are either not clearly understood, and/or they do not arouse interest or curiosity in the way that say the more showy aspects of 'Western'

culture do. The following extract by a 3rd year engineering student captures the general sense of this view:

Young people in the Arab world they are not interested in the human rights or the democracy. So I don't think they are affected by this. They want the movies, rap, hip hop music, ... *ya'ani* ... they like to copy the bad things because it's easy ... hard things they don't copy.

Izzedin, 3rd year engineering student from Sudan

But by far the most dramatic statement was that of a law student who shortly after this comment remarked the following:

OK, but where are the human rights? Where is the democracy? So there is no connection.

Abdul Aziz, 3rd year law student from Saudi Arabia

In another closely related item, students were asked if they believed that exposure to English increased the likelihood of making Arab students more appreciative of American and British culture (especially in terms of Anglo-Western music, movies, TV shows, magazines and alternative lifestyles). Noticeably, this questionnaire item generated very similar patterns of views to the preceding item though with slightly higher levels of agreement. Thus again the data collected indicated that opinions were divided on the issue. Specifically, 50.9% (n=92) of all English-medium students and 49.4% (n=90) of all Arabic-medium students concurred that exposure to English does in effect help to engender a greater appreciation of popular forms of Western culture. But unlike the previous item, in this instance the interview sessions yielded a significantly larger volume of data. On analysing the interview data, it was found that three prominent themes recurred across all sample groups with varying degrees of emphasis. In one recurrent theme (emerging mostly during exchanges with English-medium students), students felt that exposure to English ultimately has the effect of facilitating the appreciation of mainly American (and to some extent British) youth culture in the form of popular movies, music, TV shows and celebrities. The following exchanges between three third-year engineering students give a sense of how exposure to English is perceived in this regard:

Mohammed: For me, in school when I used to study in Arabic, I've never seen English movies. But now I see a lot of English movies and English music. I know ... maybe if you wanna' talk about it more about English celebrities and English TV shows, English people.

Ali: if you don't know English, what's the benefit of listening to English music or seeing English movies without subtitles? So, if you know it, that's will make you to see it or listen to it.

Interviewer: So, you're saying that knowing English brings you closer in touch with Western movies

Mohammed: Yes, and this is a bad effect actually. This is a bad effect because you're taking away your culture 'our' culture...

Ahmed: But you can choose if you want.... you can choose the good things to see....

Mohammed: No actually, we choose only the bad things....

In another recurrent theme, some students felt that exposure to English has the effect of further inducing students to imitate certain forms of popular 'western' youth culture. That is to say, they felt that an English-medium education provided a context in which to act out individual forays into Anglo-western youth cultures. In the following interview extract, a 3rd year engineering student explains how (in his experience) this plays out within the institutional culture of his university:

The problem is when you come to teach some guys about English and all... they become wannabes especially like you know the rappers and ... they're so cool .. so they try to imitate their attitudes and all their negative aspects .. the black people from Arabs, they like to imitate the black people – the rappers in America, and the white people of the Arab, they like to imitate who? The hard rock people – they like to make hair and spikeys and highlights.

Abdul Hakim, 3rd year business student from Yemen

Along similar lines, a 3rd year engineering student points out (in the following extract) how American movies and English-medium education work in tandem at socialising students:

American movies they are showing the heroes ... they are doing amazing stuff ... so when people watch it, ya'ani, the English movies, they say like this, 'you're so good ... I want to be like you.'

Mohammed, 3rd year engineering student from Palestine

In a third recurrent theme, a number of students pointed out that such instances were not so widespread. Furthermore, it was felt that they were at best surface-level imitations of ‘Western’ culture. The following extract of a brief exchange between two business students alludes to this view:

Ibrahim: When you start learning the language and understanding what they are saying, you start appreciating things from their culture...

Mahmoud: I don’t agree. Most of the songs are non-understandable because they’re all swearing, they’re using different kinds of language ... just slang language ... students don’t know what they are listening to.

Lastly, from a geopolitical perspective, students were also invited to comment on whether they felt that exposure to English has the effect of altering views on US foreign policy in the Middle East. Though a politically sensitive topic, this item did not generate, as anticipated, any noticeable level of indecision on the part of respondents. On the contrary, 64.1% (n=116) of English-medium students disagreed that exposure to English has the effect of engendering a more favourable view of US foreign policy. However, comparatively fewer Arabic-medium students shared the same view (55.5%, n=100). But more strikingly, a not insignificant proportion of shari’a students (34.8%, n=57) felt that there *was* in effect a link between greater exposure to English and a more favourable view of US political involvement in the Middle East region.

After analysing the relevant interview data, the results suggested that there was comparatively little support for the view that exposure to English has (or could have) the effect of altering students’ political perspectives vis-à-vis US foreign policy—except though, as was suggested, in the case of ‘weak’ or highly impressionable individuals. The following interview extracts represent the broad consensus across all sample groups:

... it’s in our blood ... you can’t change something in our way of thinking of how we think about Arab countries ... they can’t change our views how they the Americans want us to change...

Abdullah, 3rd year engineering student from Syria

... even if you watch CNN, you will notice the difference between the two cultures ... It might affect you, for some people ... but some people who have strong ... *ya'ani* .. beliefs ... they never get affected.

Mohammed, 3rd year engineering student from Palestine

... you think anything they will say to you we will accept? we know the mentality ... we know their media ... Sky News ... is one-sided ...

Hassan, 3rd year business student from Libya

However, a minority group (with some level of support) took a rather bleak view about the political effects of English-medium education. A third year law student sums up the position in the following comment:

Young Arabs are being brainwashed by America ... even they don't know it...they don't care of what's happening in the Arab world ... they care only about stupid things ... *ya'ani* ... movies, music, football, cars, malls ..

Abdurrahman, 3rd year law student from Yemen

On the whole, the results from the questionnaire and interview data suggested that views about the additive socialising effects of English-medium education were largely divided. Interestingly, on several points, there tended to be a broad level of agreement between the views of English-medium students and those of their Arabic-medium counterparts. Generally speaking, there was relatively little support for the view that English-medium education necessarily engenders tolerance and open-mindedness. Moreover, across all the sample groups, there was much disagreement as to whether exposure to English has (or could have) the effect of making Arab-Muslim students more receptive to Anglo-Western cultural values or indeed more appreciative of American and British youth cultures. However, on one point, there did seem to be a fair deal of agreement, namely, that it was generally felt that increased exposure to English-medium education had little, if any, impact on political attitudes towards US foreign policy in the Middle East.

5.3 Perceptions about the Subtractive Socialising Effects of English-Medium Education on Arab-Muslim Students

In contrast to the previous section, students were also invited to comment on a series of propositional statements about the *subtractive* socialising effects of English-medium education, that is to say, the capacity of English to remove, neutralise, or override pre-existent cultural traits, attitudes or behaviours, and/or more broadly to alienate students from their cultural milieu.

As a first item in this respect, students were asked whether they felt that greater exposure to English has the effect of alienating students from their Arab-Islamic cultural traditions. The results obtained suggested that views were mixed in regard to this issue. It was found that around half of all English-medium students (47.2 %, n=85) conceded that increased exposure to English does indeed have the effect of alienating Arab-Muslim students from their religious and cultural traditions. Notably, in the case of Arabic-medium students, a higher proportion of respondents shared this view (57.3%, n=102). And, as regards shari'a students, a still even higher proportion (64.1%, n=57) agreed that alienation from Arab-Islamic culture was one of the likely effects of increased exposure to English. Taken together, these results would seem to suggest that for students who were in agreement here, there exists in some sense a conflict between English-medium education and Arabic-Islamic traditions. This point among others was taken up in the group interview sessions.

On analysing the relevant interview data, it was found that the relevant interview exchanges centred around two recurring prominent themes. In one theme, English-medium education was felt to be a vehicle for transmitting Anglo-Western cultural values and ideals, and thereby as a means of alienating students from their Arab-Islamic cultural traditions. A point frequently expressed was the view that English-medium education was seen as being heavily laden with 'western' values. The general sense of this position is conveyed by a third year business student in the following extract:

When they teach you English, they don't teach you you *hadeeth* or the Qur'an ... they teach you their way. So of course many students they will move away from the religion. Even TOEFL, it's all about their culture ... going to bars, nightclubs ... so ... *ya'ani* ... students they feel confused ... and nobody is telling them which is the right way.

Mahmoud, 3rd year business student from Palestine

A second prominent theme—recurring across all sample groups—centred around the view that the socialising effects of English-medium education were largely contingent on individuals’ strength of religious belief. The following relevant extracts provide a sense of how this position was articulated in their own terms:

If they don’t have a strong belief in Islam, they will imitate anybody even a monkey. But if they have it a strong belief in Islam, they will just stay strict to Islam.

Saudi, 3rd year shari’a student from Saudi Arabia

Nothing can affect you, if you are strict to your religion ... As Muslims we have everything in our religion... we have etiquette from eating, sitting, and speaking ... from how to deal with people ... everything ... so if you are sticking to your religion they can never change you.

Mohammed, 3rd year engineering student from Palestine

If you learn English too much, it will not affect your religion or anything because it’s something from your heart—how it will affect this thing?

Yusuf, 3rd year business student from Qatar

Delving a little deeper, a subsequent questionnaire item asked whether increased exposure to English has the effect of making Arab students less appreciative of Arab-Islamic cultural traditions. The data revealed a very similar pattern of results to the previous item though with the exception that a markedly higher proportion of shari’a students (74.1%, n=66) took the view that increased exposure to English does indeed have the effect of lowering students’ appreciation of Arab-Islamic cultural traditions. In close relation to the previous item, students were also asked if they felt increased exposure to English significantly induced students to have *less confidence* in their Arab-Islamic cultural traditions. Aside from minor variations, here too it was found that in important respects the results were practically identical. It would seem that the distinction between the two points as formulated in the questionnaire was perhaps too fine a point to explore within the design structure of the individual items.

Furthermore, on analysing the relevant interview data, a very similar set of themes emerged across all sample groups. Again, a key recurrent theme was the view that the socialising impact of English-medium education was tempered to a large extent by strong

religious convictions and a firm attachment to Arab cultural traditions. Thus it was felt that except in the case of a small number of 'weak', impressionable individuals, there was perceived to be no appreciable effect on the vast majority of students. However, that said, a countervailing position was also forcefully expressed in the group sessions. The position generally centred on the view that English-medium education was part of a general process of eroding the foundations of Arab-Islamic society. Because of this perceived gradual erosion, young Arab students are seen as losing interest and confidence in their cultural traditions. The following interview exchanges between two engineering students give a suggestion of how the two countervailing positions were articulated:

Interviewer: Do you feel that English-education is responsible for driving Arab students away from their Arab-Islamic traditions?

Ali: Sir, the language is the only way they have to bring us their culture and everything they have ... it's the only way they have to control us. So I think there is a connection ...

Ahmed: I don't think so ... we are not so stupid to believe everything they give us ... only very weak will people believe that they want you to believe.

Ali : I don't agree ... OK, tell me then why ... *ya'ani* ... the *shabab* [the youth] they all like to copy American culture ... they like their clothes, their music ... and many bad things ... not our traditional things ... even they don't like to speak Arabic.

Ahmed: Not everybody is the same ... some people are like this ... not all

Khalid: No not some ... many, many ...

On a final and slightly different note, students were also asked if they felt increased exposure to English has the effect of fostering a more secular outlook on life. This item generated a strikingly high level of indecision (25.7% (n=92) of all students) particularly in light of the previous responses. Furthermore, the data seemed to conflict with previously related items and responses. Notably, for instance, 38.3% (n=69) of English-medium students felt there was a basis for a causal link here. In the case of Arabic-medium students, 51.7% (n=46) of all respondents concurred that exposure to English does in effect help to engender a secular outlook.

It was unclear why the results were so skewed since there is clearly much overlap with the previous issues. It later transpired that the Arabic translation for the word

‘secular’ (العلمانية) — though accurate and widely used among educated Arabs—had very limited currency among the students’ concerned. As a bilingual teacher of Arabic described it, the word employed has a ‘certain technical sophistication to it’ and it is likely that it was not readily understood. Granted this, the item and the ensuing data were considered invalid and unreliable. However, the term did come up a few times—in English—during the interviews sessions. The following extract is from a third year business student:

They change our behaviour, our Islamic behaviour ... for example ... they lead us to read some ... what you call it ... *secular* ways ... way from our Islamic ethics.

Khalifa, a 3rd year business student from United Arab Emirates

On the whole, the results from both questionnaire and interview data suggested that views about the *subtractive* socialising effects of English-medium education were generally divided. Moreover, in comparison with overall views about the perceived *additive* effects of English-medium, there was generally speaking a slightly higher level of agreement about the subtractive effects on Arab-Muslim students. Another noticeable feature about the results was a strong suggestion that, as a sample group, Arabic-medium students tended to have a markedly greater belief in the socialising effects of English-medium education. Further, this general tendency was even more pronounced among shari’a students. But perhaps what was most striking of all was the fact that on the whole a significant number of English-medium students (on average around 45%) felt sufficiently convinced that an English-medium does in fact have a range of subtractive socialising effects on Arab-Muslim students.

5.4 Perceptions about the Additive Socialising Effects of Arabic-Medium Education on Arab-Muslim Students

Having thus far presented the students with a range of issues on the socialising effects of English-medium education, respondents were subsequently invited to comment on a series of propositional statements about the socialising effects of studying within an exclusively (or mostly) Arabic-medium environment. All questionnaire items, it should be noted, were formulated as comparative statements. The specific focus in this section is

on perceptions about the comparative additive effects on Arab-Muslim students. The results pertaining to four related areas will be explored here.

As a starting point, students were prompted to comment on the extent to which they felt that studying exclusively in an Arabic-medium has the effect of developing and maintaining a stronger Arab identity. Overall, students overwhelmingly agreed that a stronger sense of Arab identity was more likely to emerge as a result of an Arabic-medium education. Though in a certain sense, the link between Arab identity and Arabic-medium education seems a perfectly straightforward one, the results did not indicate complete or near complete agreement. Notably, agreement levels ranged from 69.7% (n=124) of all English-medium students, through 85.4% (n=152) of all Arabic-medium students and 88.8% (n=79) of all shari'a students. Clearly, for a small minority of students (particularly among the English-medium sample groups) there was a suggestion that an Arab identity is not necessarily contingent on an Arabic-medium education with the institutional culture of an Arab university. This view was articulated by a 3rd year business student as illustrated in the following interview extract:

I am Arab. I am a Muslim. I know my language and culture. All my family and my friends they are Arabs. I never see English movies or listen to English music. OK, I'm now studying in an English programme ... does this mean I am losing my culture? Of course not!

Ibrahim, 3rd year business student from Syria

In a closely-related second item, students were asked whether they felt that studying exclusively in an Arabic-medium has the effect developing and maintaining a stronger attachment to Arab-Islamic traditions. Though the focus here was notably different, the results for this item were almost identical suggesting perhaps that questionnaire respondents perceived Arab identity as being closely linked to Arab-Islamic traditions. Again, the overwhelming majority of students—across all sample groups—agreed that an Arabic-medium education does in effect help to foster stronger ties with students' cultural and religious traditions. As one might expect, the results pertaining to Arabic-medium students (as a sample group) showed the highest levels of agreement (84.3% (n=148)). Comparatively fewer English-medium students (69.1% (n=123)) concurred that there exists a causal link between Arabic-medium education and a stronger attachment to Arab-Islamic traditions.

On the analysis of interview data, it was found that two recurrent themes emerged during the group sessions. One very frequently recurring theme was the view that because Arabic is the language of the Qu'ran, it follows that the most appropriate medium of instruction in which to instil a strong sense of attachment to Arab-Islamic traditions is the Arabic language. A couple of students however pointed that such a view does not account for the fact the Christian Arabs hold a different set of cultural values that are also rooted in Arabic. The following exchanges between two 3rd engineering students gives a sense of how some of these exchanges were negotiated:

Interviewer: If you study ONLY in Arabic, do you feel that this will strengthen your connections with Arab-Islamic culture and traditions?

Mohammed: Yes, of course Arabic is the language of the Holy Qu'ran ... As Muslims it is ... *ya'ani* ... connects us to our religion There is no language which can connect us like the Arabic language.

Ahmed: Many Arabs they know Arabic well but they are far from their religion

Mohammed: OK, but why they are far from their religion? Because they are learning bad things from outside ... if they learn in a good way and stick to their culture there will not be this problem

Ahmed: OK, what about Christian Arabs? Also they learn Arabic.

Mohammed: This is a separate question. They have different culture from us. Still if Muslims they study in Arabic, this will connect them to Islam more than any language.

A second recurrent theme centred on the view that the reason Arabic-medium education helped to develop a stronger attachment to Arab-Islamic cultural traditions is because it brought Arab-Muslim students into contact with people from their same religious-cultural background. The following interview extract reflects this view in one student's own terms:

OK, if you are studying in Arabic, you are studying from Arabic people. If you are studying English, you are studying from who? Of course English people. So who will teach you or remind you more about your culture? Of course Arabic teachers.

Mohammed, a 2nd year engineering student from Palestine

A similar point is also made by a 3rd year law student about curricular content:

Remember what we are studying. We are law students. We are studying about Arab history and society. If you are studying about business ... it is English ... so you are studying about their culture.

Khalaf, a 3rd year law student from United Arab Emirates

In a third questionnaire item, respondents were asked if they felt students who study exclusively Arabic-medium environment are more likely to hold conservative views about life and society. Like the two previous questionnaire items, here too the results suggested that there was overwhelming agreement across all sample groups. That is to say, students generally agreed that there is a definite correlation between an Arabic-medium education and the likelihood of holding conservative views about life and society. Overall, agreement levels ranged from 90.2% (n=82) for all shari'a students, 80.4% (n=154) for all Arabic-medium students and notably 66.3% (n=118) for all English-medium students.

With respect to the relevant interview data, there was a good deal of overlap with previous issues related to the development of Arab identity and the attachment to Arab-Islamic traditions. Moreover, it transpired during the interview sessions that the notion of 'conservative views about life and society' was perhaps a somewhat ambiguous one. For most students, the idea of 'being conservative' seemed to imply the idea of being an observant Muslim. Thus, in that rather narrow sense, a very similar set of themes and viewpoints were expressed. That is to say, students generally felt that an Arabic-medium education tended to emphasise aspects of Arab-Islamic values in ways that, it was felt, an English-medium education could not emphasise. Furthermore, it was also suggested, that students in an Arabic-medium education are more likely to be taught by academic staff who tend to more attuned to the conservative values and ideals of Arab-Islamic culture.

As a final item pertaining to the perceived additive effects of an Arabic-medium education, respondents were also invited to comment on whether they perceived a definite link between studying exclusively in Arabic and the development of a stronger Islamic identity. Overall, there was general agreement across all sample groups that there is in effect a link. Notably, agreement levels among Arabic-medium students remained consistently high (85.3%, n=X). Thus there appeared to be a strong suggestion in the questionnaire data that as a sample group Arabic-medium students felt that an Islamic identity was to some significant extent contingent on Arabic-medium education.

However, the relevant data on English-medium students (as a sample group) reflected a somewhat different collective view. That is to say, that though there was broad general agreement on this issue (59.5% (n=107)), there was also a significant minority of students who disagreed (20.6% (n=39)).

The analysis of interview data generated, once again, a very similar range of themes in line with previously stated views and opinions about the socialising role of Arabic-medium education. Indeed, as Arabic-medium students generally saw it, the Arabic language is seen as an integral component of both their Arab and Islamic identity. However, as for pertinent interview data with respect to English-medium students, the results reflected a somewhat wider range of views. In one recurrent view, students agreed that the role of Arabic no doubt plays a crucial part in the early stages of socialisation, but they were not persuaded that it was so significant at tertiary level education. A fairly typical instance of this view put forward by a 3rd year business student:

Of course Arabic is very important, but it's not necessary to study only Arabic to stick to your Islam roots. If you ... *ya'ani*... go and learn the Chinese language, OK, what will you get? Does this mean you will forget your culture. No! Since we are small, we learn our religion. It is in our heart. We will not lose it. In any language.

Ibrahim, 3rd year business student from Syria

Along very similar lines, in another instance, a 2nd year engineering student questioned the assumptions around the socialising functions of Arabic-medium-education. Drawing on his personal experience, he took the following view:

There are many *mutawwas* [conservative Muslims] who study engineering. Also there are many good Muslim students who don't speak Arabic in this university. So I think there is no connection at all.

Mohammed, a 3rd year engineering student from Palestine

Going a step further, another student pointed out that there was no basis at all, in his view, for assuming a link between Arabic-medium education and the strengthening of an Islamic identity. In his words, the student argued the following:

There are many un-Islamic magazines, TV programmes, movies, and music in Arabic. So if you study in Arabic and you do these things, what you will get? Of

course you will not become close to Islam, for sure.

Abdurrahman, a 3rd year law student from Yemen

On the whole, taking both questionnaire and interview data together, there would seem to be a strong suggestion that overall students tend to identify the role of Arabic-medium education with a distinct set of socialising functions. Specifically, there is a general agreement that Arabic plays an important role—even at tertiary level education—in fostering a stronger Arab and Islamic identity, and by extension shaping their views about life and society. There were at least two compelling arguments that students offered in support of this view. One argument was that by virtue of studying in an Arabic-medium education, students would be effectively coming into contact with students and teachers that were mostly, if not entirely, from the same cultural, linguistic and religious background. In that sense, certainly, Arabic-medium education helps to foster a stronger sense of Arab and Islamic identity—at least relative to an English-medium education. Another compelling argument that students offered was that given that curricular content of Arabic-medium education tends to draw largely from the cultural heritage of Arab-Islamic civilisation, this too, in relative terms, helps to foster a stronger attachment to Arab-Islamic traditions.

However, that said, in some respects, it was difficult to assess the extent to which students—particularly English-medium students—felt compelled to express such views since clearly at some level such views about Arabic-medium education could be construed as an indictment of English-medium education and by extension of themselves. Admittedly, there was at times a feeling that perhaps, in some instances, English-medium students were offering the socio-culturally acceptable view. This may have been partly due to the framing of ideas in the earlier sections and items of the questionnaire.

5.5 Perceptions about the Subtractive Socialising Effects of Arabic-Medium Education on Arab-Muslim Students

Finally, students were also invited to comment on perceptions about the comparative subtractive effects on Arab-Muslim students. However, before reporting on the relevant data, it bears pointing out here that the effects to be discussed in this section are not in the

strictest sense all ‘subtractive’. That is to say, the issues here do not strictly refer to the capacity of Arabic-medium education to remove, neutralise or override cultural traits. Thus, it is to be understood that the notion of ‘subtractive effects’ refers somewhat loosely to effects that could be construed as being ‘negative’ or ‘limiting’. With that in mind, four such areas will be addressed in the ensuing discussions.

In much the same way as students were asked whether they felt that English-medium education has the effect of developing a better understanding of the world, along very similar lines students were also asked if they felt that Arabic-medium education has the effect of engendering a limited understanding of the wider world. On the whole, the results suggested a very mixed and divided set of views on the issue. One immediately striking fact, however, was the level of indecision on the part of all students. Notably, as many as 24.4 % (n=88) of all students were reported as being undecided.

More specifically, of all the English-medium students, it was found that 32.2% (n=58) agreed that Arabic-medium education has the effect of fostering a limited understanding of the world. To some extent, this tendency was perfectly understandable, and more to the point in line with previous findings. But what was particularly startling—and perhaps somewhat disheartening—was the suggestion that a similar (and slightly higher) proportion of Arabic-medium students (37.1%, n=67) were also found to agree. On the face of it, this appeared to be a rather depressing statistic since it is generally assumed that one of the ostensible goals of education is doubtless to broaden horizons—not to limit them as was being suggested by a significant proportion of students. However, comparable proportions of students were also found to disagree with the suggestion that Arabic-medium has such a limiting effect on Arab students. Notably, disagreement levels ranged from 42% (n=76) of all Arabic-medium students, through 41.6% (n=72) of all shari’a students, to 40% (n=37) of all English-medium students. On reflection, it was felt that perhaps the results were not pointing to an indictment of Arabic-medium education. If they were, then they were certainly out of sync with the vast bulk of the study’s research findings. Or perhaps, it was the simply case that students were responding in a technical fashion.

In any case, on analysing the relevant interview data, it was found that a somewhat less bleak picture emerged. Few Arabic-medium students, it seemed, were prepared to concede that Arabic-medium education has the effect of limiting students’ understanding

of the world. Instead, a common theme that emerged across all sample groups was the emphasis on the benefits of learning English because of the access it facilitated to science and technology. Notably, when confronted, a number of Arabic-medium students acknowledged that contemporary Arabic-medium resources were notably limited in this respect. This frequently expressed view is summed up characteristically in the following interview extract by a 3rd year law student:

Before Arabic was the language of the science. Now ... *ya'ani* ... it is English. So of course we must learn this language if we want to be same like them ...

Hadi, 3rd year shari'a student from Syria

Contrastingly, however, when confronted with the same set of issues, English-medium students tended to be somewhat more critical of Arabic-medium education and its socialising effects on university students. Invited to comment on how they see their Arabic-medium counterparts, one law student rather scathingly made the following remark:

They know nothing about the world. They don't have a good reputation...

Ibrahim, a 3rd year business student from Jordan

Nonetheless, it is also bears mentioning here that this view was equally contested by a number of Arabic-medium students as characterised by the following comments of a 3rd year shari'a student:

Many students in shari'a knows what's happening in the world. They read newspapers, listen to the news in the car ... there are many different TV channels in Arabic. So it's possible to know everything from the world.

Hadi, a 3rd year shari'a student from Syria

Moving onto an alternative set of issues, students were subsequently asked if they felt that studying exclusively in an Arabic-medium educational environment has the effect of engendering an unfavourable view of Western society. This item too generated a significant level of indecision across all the sample groups (on average 24.4% (n=89)). However, it was also found that there was—rather surprisingly—a fair deal of agreement across the different sample groups. Around half of all students *disagreed* that there was

any linkage between prolonged exposure to Arabic-medium education and a tendency to form unfavourable views about Western society. Interestingly, disagreement levels were slightly more pronounced in the case of all Arabic-medium students (53.9% (n=104)). Accordingly, there seemed to be strong suggestion that there was relatively little support—across all sample groups—for the view that Arabic-medium education in itself helps to foster an anti-Western basis—at least this was not the case within the institutional culture of the selected university research site.

The results from the relevant interview data also seemed to corroborate this general view. Notably, across all interview group sessions there was little suggestion that Arabic-medium education engendered unfavourable views about Western society. Indeed one recurrent theme that emerged across all sample groups was the position that there was simply no correlation—with the proviso if that such views were prevalent they were not based on any specific medium of education. The following interview extract from a 3rd year engineering student captures the general mood of this position:

As you can see many students they like to see English movies, they like to wear English clothes, and listen to English music ... so it's not true Arabic education changes Arab people against Western countries. There's no connection at all.

Mohammed, a 3rd year engineering student from Palestine

As a closely-related follow-up item, students were also invited to comment on whether they agreed that studying exclusively in an Arabic-medium education has the effect of engendering unfavourable views about US foreign policy in the Middle East. Once again, the results revealed that a significant number of students were undecided as to how to respond (as many as 24.1% (n=87)). Moreover, in sync with results from the previous item, students across all sample groups showed very similar opinion patterns. Around 43% of all students were found to disagree that there was any such relationship between Arabic-medium education and American foreign policy in the Middle East region. Furthermore, this pattern of results was further corroborated by interview data. There was no record of any students suggesting that Arabic-medium education helped to foster such views. When prompted to provide further background details, it was found that two recurrent themes emerged around this issue. One theme stressed that discussions or allusions to sensitive political matters tend to be strictly avoided in the everyday running

of schools and universities. A third year business student put this point in the following way:

It's impossible to imagine that an Arabic teacher can talk about politics. Maybe we know what he's thinking ... but he will never discuss with us ... because sure he knows... *ya'ani* ... politics is no way allowed in the schools and universities.

Khalifa, a 3rd year business student from United Arab Emirates

A second theme in this regard emphasises the point that students generally have a scant understanding of (or interest in) geopolitical matters. The following interview extract of a 3rd year business student captures the sense of this theme:

Arab students are not interested to political things ... they want just to enjoy themselves ...

Mahmoud, a 3rd year business student from Palestine

As a final item, students were presented with perhaps the most contentious issue of all. That is, they were asked if they felt there was a link between studying exclusively in an Arabic-medium environment and holding extreme religious or political views. On the whole, aside from the significant numbers of students who were undecided on the issue, there was general agreement across all sample groups that an Arabic-medium education does not help to foster extremist views. It was also found that a notably small proportion of the entire population sample (15.7% (n=57)) felt there was a link between Arabic-medium education and extremism. Disagreement levels ranged from 71 % (n=130) of all Arabic-medium students, through 67.1% (n=61) of all shari'a students, to 58.3% (n=105) of all English-medium students.

The analysis of relevant interview data strongly corroborated these findings. Furthermore, there was no indication in any of the group interviews sessions that students even remotely entertained the link between Arabic-medium education and extremist thinking. There were largely two sets of views that students tended to express. In one set, students drew attention to a series of perceived discrepancies in the assumption that Arabic-medium education could be linked in some way to extremism. Two such views include the following:

There are some we call terrorists, but they study all life in English or other languages. Most of the terrorists are all in America. They speak the English

language and they have the American passport. Most of the people who made that attack on the twin towers, they speak English. They are American citizens. So there is no connection between Arabic and terrorism.

Mohammed, a 3rd year engineering student from Palestine

In Syria, they study only in Arabic, but they don't have extreme views.

Ibrahim, 3rd year business student from Iraq

In another set of views, students emphasised what they perceived as certain inherent qualities of the Arabic language that do not, as they see it, permit extremist thinking. The following interview extracts reflect this recurrent view:

The Arabic language doesn't make you have only one way. It opens your mind to look at other cultures. Actually, I have a point. If you study only in Arabic, then I guarantee you will never be a terrorist.

Mohammed, 3rd year engineering student from Palestine

Arabic opens your mind. If they learn Arabic, then they will have a better understanding of Islam so they can know that terrorism is an illegal thing in Islam.

Hadi, 3rd year shari'a student from Syria

Thus, clearly, the general picture that emerged—at least insofar as the respondents of the present study are concerned—is that there was little indication that Arabic-medium education helps to foster the development of extreme religious or political views. This of course conflicts with the assertions and findings of Coffman (1995) wherein there is a strong suggestion that the Arabic language encourages radicalism.

On the whole, concerning the perceived subtractive effects of Arabic-medium education, the overall results from both questionnaire and interview data reveal a rather complex picture of students' perceptions. To some extent, there is a suggestion that a certain proportion of students (particularly English-medium students) tend to have relatively little confidence in Arabic-medium education. It is tempting to suggest that such views indicate the result of the different socialisation experiences of the different students. On another level, the results would seem to indicate that there is general agreement among all

students that studying in an Arabic-medium environment does not foster development of unfavourable views of Western society, of American foreign policy or indeed the formation of extreme religious or political views.

Chapter 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

As detailed in Chapter 1, the present thesis was conceptualised in wake of the dramatic events of September 11th 2001. Specifically, the study was triggered by the then growing calls for reform of educational systems in mainly Muslim-majority nations. At the heart of these calls was a fundamental belief there was something inherently dysfunctional about the role of schools and universities in the Arab-Muslim world, so much so, that they needed to be ‘corrected’ in the interests of maintaining local, regional and global security. From this fundamental belief followed a series of assumptions about the role, nature and function of education across the entire Arab and broader Muslim world. In crucial respects, what this all amounted to was the belief that educational institutions in the Arab-Muslim world—particularly in the Arabian Gulf region—effectively help to foster a ‘combination of intolerance, ignorance, anti-Semitic, anti-American, and anti-Western views’.

One significant outcome of these calls was a drive to further intensify the expansion of English-language education in the Arabian Gulf region. Underpinning this drive was a parallel series of assumptions about the socialising capacities of English-language education. It was these very assumptions that the study set out to investigate.

Ultimately, the purpose behind the study was to develop a better understanding of the perceived socialising function of English-medium education from the perspective of Arab university students. Thus, in light of the broad aims and the ultimate purpose behind the study, this brief concluding chapter will consider (i) key findings of the study; (ii) implications of the study; (iii) recommendations; and (iv) suggestions for extending the scope of the study.

6.1 KEY FINDINGS

The study’s key findings include the following:

- There is a strong suggestion in the research data that students’ perceptions of the societal effects of English-medium education on contemporary societies depend to a significant extent on whether they happen to be studying in an English-medium environment or an Arabic-medium environment. Thus, English-medium students

tend to look upon English-medium policies more favourably than their Arabic-medium counterparts. And conversely Arabic-medium students tend to hold a less favourable view of English-medium education. There is some indication here that medium of instruction policies would seem to operate at the level of a 'hidden curriculum'. That is to say, such structural arrangements would seem to be part of a process of instilling in students a distorted sense of the role, status and function of Arabic and English in a modern university setting. At a national and regional level, it is a matter of concern that language-education policies in themselves are potentially implicated in playing a hugely significant role in socialising generations of educated Arabs vis-à-vis their attitudes towards language policy matters. However, that said, clearly there is a need for further investigation into how language-education policies act as agents of socialisation processes.

- There is also a strong suggestion in the data that Arabic-medium students generally tend to have a much less favourable view of the role of English-medium education in the Arabian Gulf region. It was also found in close relation to this, that there is a great deal of frustration around what is seen by many Arabic-medium students as an external imposition within the confines of higher education. As several students pointed out, it is matter of great frustration that individual livelihoods are contingent on their proficiency and subsequent performance in English. In light of the geopolitical concerns about national and regional stability, such levels of frustration towards English-language policies serve to antagonise large sections of the young Arab population. This in itself has the effect of socialising students' attitudes and perceptions towards the role of English-medium education.
- The data also suggests that while many students recognised some of the benefits of English-medium education, significant proportions also felt that it has harmful social effects for Arab societies.
- The data suggests that almost half of all students enrolled in both English-medium and Arabic-medium programmes tend to agree that prolonged exposure to English induces Arab students to be more receptive to Western cultural values and more appreciative of popular American and (British) youth culture. In light of the fact

that the university at which the study was conducted is founded on Arab-Islamic values, this can be deemed a significant finding since there is strong suggestion on the part of many students that English-medium programmes are sharply at variance with the university's founding values.

- The data also suggests that almost half of all students felt that exposure to English-medium education has the effect of further alienating Arab students from their Arab-Islamic cultural traditions. Once again, this is a matter of concern since such effects would seem to conflict and undermine the university's founding values. It is also a matter of concern at both a national and regional level.
- The data suggests that a majority of students agree that an Arabic-medium education helps to develop a stronger sense of Arab and Islamic identity. Granted this would seem to imply that English-medium students are effectively socialised away from developing a stronger sense of Arab and Islamic identity.
- There is a strong suggestion in the data that the majority of all students tend to reject the view that Arabic-medium education fosters anti-Western and/or extreme religious or political views. This is a significant finding since one of the key stated reasons for the expansion of English language programs is the belief that Arabic-medium programmes help to foster a combination of intolerance, anti-Western sentiments and extreme religious and political views.

6.2 IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

There are at least three aspects to the study that have significant implications for enhancing practice and theory.

First, at the level of teaching practice, the study raises several moral questions for teachers about the project of language-teaching within the current geopolitical framework of educational reform. The basic moral question the study prompts is following: To what extent do teachers as moral agents wish to partake in a process of socialising students away from their cultural-religious traditions? Furthermore, what can teachers do to mitigate the unsolicited socialising effects of English-medium education?

Second, at the level of institutional language policy, the study raises important questions about how the prevalence of English-medium education helps to socialise students into the haves and have-nots within a given university culture. It is matter of great concern that language policies set up artificial hierarchies of languages and programmes of study, and in so doing shape and mould students' attitudes and perceptions about Arabic-medium and English-medium education.

Third, at the geopolitical level, the study raised serious questions about the assumptions underlying Arabic-medium education in particular, and thereby the entire discourse about the expansion of English-language education. Furthermore, in the interests of developing viable sense of national and regional stability, there is a need to formulate language policies that do not antagonise large sections of the young Arab populations, or create animosity between English-medium and Arabic-medium students.

Fourth, at the level of theory, the study indicates that there is a need to expand the parameters of the language socialisation paradigm. Rather than focussing only on the processes of socialisation, there is also a need to focus on causes and effects of the socialisation process. Thus, there is a need to develop a better understanding of language socialisation agents, their sources, causes and effects.

6.3 RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

The study proposes three key recommendations.

First, in light of the research findings, the study would like to see more awareness being raised among students, teachers and administrators of the socialising role of English-medium education within the current geopolitical framework of educational reform. In the interest of openness and transparency, particular attention needs to be given to identifying the underlying interests that drive certain educational reform measures.

Second, the study would like to encourage attempts at realigning language policies in ways such that their socialising effects can be brought more in line with the University's founding values principles and ideally with those of the local and regional community.

Third, the study would like to encourage attempts at identifying and mitigating the socialising effects in everyday practice.

6.4 SUGGESTIONS FOR EXTENDING THE SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Given the very limited scope of the study, there are inevitably several limitations to the study. In regard to aspects of research methodology, some of these have been amply pointed out in Chapter five.

Briefly, however, one major limitation that has not until now been mentioned is the fact that the study focussed on a single university with its own institutional culture. Granted that, it is felt that a follow-up the study would benefit immensely if it could incorporate a wide range of institutions not only at the national level but also at the broader regional level.

Other suggestions for extending the scope of the study include incorporation of the perceptions of female respondents, and also those of primary and secondary students.

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APPENDIX 1

QUESTIONNAIRES

On the Contrastive Socialising Effects of Using English and Arabic as Media of Instruction at Tertiary Level Education

- Questionnaire -

Thank you for taking the time to complete this questionnaire. The information you provide here will be used solely in a doctoral research project on the perceived socialising effects on Arab students of using English and Arabic as media of instruction at Arab universities. All information will be treated in the strictest confidence. To indicate that you have read this statement and that you agree (without compulsion) to participate in this research project, please tick this box and sign here : _____.

Nationality: _____ First Language: _____ Age: _____

Major: _____ Current Year of Study: _____ Date: _____

Please respond to ALL the statements by placing a tick in the appropriate box ()

A. ON THE ROLE OF ENGLISH AND ARABIC AT ARAB UNIVERSITIES

1. The Arabic language is the most suitable medium of instruction for Arab students at university-level education in the Arab world.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

2. The English language is the most suitable medium of instruction for 'modern' subject areas at Arab universities (in particular natural sciences, business studies and information technology).

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

3. The expansion of the English language as a medium of instruction at Arab universities is ultimately beneficial to modern day Arab societies.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

4. The expansion of the English language as a medium of instruction at Arab universities is ultimately harmful to modern day Arab societies.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

B. ON THE SOCIALISING EFFECTS OF STUDYING IN 'ENGLISH' ON ARAB UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AT ARAB UNIIVERSITIES

1. The more Arab university students are exposed to English, the more tolerant and 'open-minded' they are likely to be.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

2. The more Arab university students are exposed to English, the more likely they are to have a better understanding of the wider world.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

3. The more Arab university students are exposed to English, the more receptive they are likely to be to Western cultural values (especially Western notions of freedom, democracy and human rights).

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

4. The more Arab university students are exposed to English, the more appreciative they are likely to be of American or British youth culture (especially music, movies, TV shows, magazines and fashions)

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

5. The more Arab university students are exposed to English, the more likely they are to hold a more favourable view of US foreign policy in the Middle East.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

6. The more Arab university students are exposed to English, the more alienated they tend to become from their Arab-Islamic cultural traditions.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

7. The more Arab university students are exposed to English, the less appreciative they are likely to be of Arab-Islamic cultural traditions.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

8. The more Arab university students are exposed to English, the less confidence they are likely to have in Arab-Islamic civilisation.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

9. The more Arab university students are exposed to English, the more likely they are to have a more secular outlook on life.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

C. ON THE SOCIALISING EFFECTS OF STUDYING IN 'ARABIC' ON ARAB UNIVERSITY STUDENTS AT ARAB UNIVERSITIES

1. Arab university students who study exclusively (or mostly) in the medium of Arabic are more likely to develop and maintain a stronger Arab identity.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

2. Arab university students who study exclusively (or mostly) in the medium of Arabic are more likely to develop and maintain a stronger attachment to Arab-Islamic traditions.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

3. Arab university students who study exclusively (or mostly) in the medium of Arabic are more likely to have conservative views about life and society.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

4. Arab university students who study exclusively (or mostly) in the medium of Arabic are more likely to develop and maintain a stronger Islamic identity.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

5. Arab university students who study exclusively (or mostly) in the medium of Arabic are more likely to have a limited understanding of the wider world.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

6. Arab university students who study exclusively (or mostly) in the medium of Arabic are more likely to hold unfavourable views about Western society.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

7. Arab university students who study exclusively (or mostly) in the medium of Arabic are more likely to hold unfavourable views of US foreign policy in the Middle East.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

8. Arab university students who study exclusively (or mostly) in the medium of Arabic are more likely to hold extreme religious or political views.

Strongly agree Agree Uncertain Disagree Strongly disagree

**Thank you for your co-operation in
completing this questionnaire!**

التأثيرات الاجتماعية لاستعمال اللغة الإنجليزية واللغة العربية كلغاتا تدريس في التعليم العالي في الوطن العربي

- استبيان -

نشكرك على استقطاع جزء من وقتك لملئ هذا الاستبيان. ستستعمل المعلومات التي تقدمها هنا في مشروع بحث لرسالة دكتوراه حول التأثيرات الاجتماعية على الطلاب العرب لاستعمال اللغتين الإنجليزية والعربية كوسيلتين للتدريس في الجامعات العربية. وستعامل المعلومات التي تقدمها بالسرية التامة. لتوضح بأنك قرأت هذه العبارة وأنت توافق بحرية (ودون تأثير من أحد) بأن تشارك في هذا المشروع البحثي يرجى وضع علامة (☑) في هذا المربع ☐ والتوقيع هنا: _____.

الجنسية: _____ اللغة الأم: _____ العمر: _____
التخصص: _____ سنة الدراسة: _____ التاريخ: _____

يرجى الإجابة على كل العبارات بوضع إشارة في المربع المناسب (☑).

أ. دور اللغة الإنجليزية واللغة العربية في الجامعات العربية.

1. اللغة العربية هي أنسب لغة تدريس للطلاب العرب في التعليم الجامعي في العالم العربي.

☐ أوافق جداً ☐ أوافق ☐ غير متأكد ☐ لا أوافق ☐ لا أوافق أبداً

2. اللغة الإنجليزية هي أنسب لغة تدريس للطلاب العرب في التعليم الجامعي في مجالات العلوم الحديثة (وخاصة العلوم الطبيعية وعلوم الإدارة وعلوم تقنية المعلومات).

☐ أوافق جداً ☐ أوافق ☐ غير متأكد ☐ لا أوافق ☐ لا أوافق أبداً

3. انتشار اللغة الإنجليزية كلغة تدريس في الجامعات العربية سيفيد حتماً المجتمعات العربية الحديثة.

☐ أوافق جداً ☐ أوافق ☐ غير متأكد ☐ لا أوافق ☐ لا أوافق أبداً

4. انتشار اللغة الإنجليزية كلغة تدريس في الجامعات العربية سيضر حتماً المجتمعات العربية الحالية.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

ب. التأثيرات الاجتماعية للدراسة باللغة الإنجليزية على الطلاب العرب في الجامعات العربية.

1. كلما ازداد تلقي الطلاب العرب للغة الإنجليزية كلما ازداد احتمال كونهم متسامحين ومنفتحين.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

2. كلما ازداد تلقي الطلاب العرب للغة الإنجليزية كلما ازداد استيعابهم لما يجري في العالم من حولهم.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

3. كلما ازداد تلقي الطلاب العرب للغة الإنجليزية كلما ازداد تقبلهم للقيم الحضارية الغربية (وخاصة المفاهيم الغربية للحرية والديمقراطية وحقوق الإنسان).

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

4. كلما ازداد تلقي الطلاب العرب للغة الإنجليزية كلما ازداد تقديرهم لثقافة الشباب الأمريكية أو البريطانية (خاصة الموسيقى والأفلام والمسلسلات التليفزيونية والمجلات والموضة).

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

5. كلما ازداد تلقي الطلاب العرب للغة الإنجليزية كلما ازداد تعاطفهم مع السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

6. كلما ازداد تلقي الطلاب العرب للغة الإنجليزية كلما ازداد ابتعادهم عن تقاليدهم العربية والإسلامية.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

7. كلما ازداد تلقي الطلاب العرب للغة الإنجليزية كلما قلت نسبة تقديرهم للتقاليد العربية والإسلامية.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

8. كلما ازداد تلقي الطلاب العرب للغة الإنجليزية كلما ازداد احتمال قلة ثققتهم في الحضارة العربية الإسلامية.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

9. كلما ازداد تلقي الطلاب العرب للغة الإنجليزية كلما ازدادت فرص تبنيهم نظرات أكثر علمانية للحياة.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

ج. التأثيرات الاجتماعية للدارسة باللغة العربية على الطلاب العرب في الجامعات العربية.

1. الطلاب الجامعيون العرب الذين درسوا باللغة العربية حصراً أو في أغلب الأحيان يزداد احتمال تكوينهم ومحافظةهم على هوية عربية أقوى.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

2. الطلاب الجامعيون العرب الذين درسوا باللغة العربية حصراً أو في أغلب الأحيان يزداد احتمال تكوينهم ومحافظةهم على روابط أقوى بالتقاليد العربية والإسلامية.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

3. الطلاب الجامعيون العرب الذين درسوا باللغة العربية حصراً أو في أغلب الأحيان يزداد احتمال تكوينهم ومخافتهم على رؤى محافظة حول الحياة والمجتمع.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

4. الطلاب الجامعيون العرب الذين درسوا باللغة العربية حصراً أو في أغلب الأحيان يزداد احتمال تكوينهم ومخافتهم على هوية إسلامية أقوى.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

5. الطلاب الجامعيون العرب الذين درسوا باللغة العربية حصراً أو في أغلب الأحيان يزداد احتمال تبنيهم فهم محدود للعالم الخارجي.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

6. الطلاب الجامعيون العرب الذين درسوا باللغة العربية حصراً أو في أغلب الأحيان يزداد احتمال تبنيهم رؤى غير متعاطفة مع المجتمعات الغربية.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

7. الطلاب الجامعيون العرب الذين درسوا باللغة العربية حصراً أو في أغلب الأحيان يزداد احتمال تبنيهم رؤى غير متعاطفة مع السياسة الخارجية للولايات المتحدة الأمريكية.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

8. الطلاب الجامعيون العرب الذين درسوا باللغة العربية حصراً أو في أغلب الأحيان يزداد احتمال تبنيهم رؤى دينية أو سياسية متطرفة.

أوافق جداً أوافق غير متأكد لا أوافق لا أوافق أبداً

أشركم جزيل الشكر على حسن تعاونكم لملئ هذا الاستبيان.

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE DATA

ALL STUDENTS

Total: 365

Percentages					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	50.4	19.2	10.7	12.1	7.7
A2.	24.5	31.6	17.0	14.6	12.4
A3.	23.6	31.8	16.7	18.4	9.6
A4.	21.8	23.8	21.3	20.4	12.7
B1.	8.0	22.6	20.4	28.9	20.1
B2.	21.5	37.2	15.7	17.1	8.5
B3.	14.6	32.0	15.4	20.7	17.4
B4.	16.3	33.9	16.0	19.0	14.9
B5.	8.3	14.1	18.0	24.6	35.1
B6.	28.2	24.0	11.7	21.2	14.8
B7.	23.2	31.3	12.8	19.0	13.7
B8.	24.0	28.8	13.4	20.7	13.1
B9.	15.4	28.2	25.7	19.6	11.2
C1.	51.4	26.1	10.7	9.3	2.5
C2.	45.5	30.6	12.1	9.0	2.8
C3.	31.0	44.3	12.2	10.0	2.5
C4.	44.1	28.4	12.1	11.8	3.6
C5.	12.7	21.9	24.4	22.4	18.6
C6.	6.9	16.8	24.5	31.7	20.1
C7.	8.6	23.5	24.1	26.3	17.5
C8.	7.2	8.5	19.6	25.1	39.7

ENGLISH-MEDIUM STUDENTS

Total: 182

Percentages					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	32.4	17.0	16.5	21.4	12.6
A2.	31.9	36.8	17.0	9.9	4.4
A3.	28.6	36.8	13.7	14.3	6.6
A4.	17.2	20.6	21.7	23.9	16.7
B1.	5.5	25.4	23.8	27.1	18.2
B2.	25.4	38.7	13.3	15.5	7.2
B3.	13.8	34.3	19.3	17.7	14.9
B4.	12.2	38.7	18.8	17.7	12.7
B5.	3.9	14.9	17.1	25.4	38.7
B6.	23.9	23.3	12.2	25.6	15.0
B7.	20.6	25.0	16.1	23.9	14.4
B8.	20.6	26.1	10.6	24.4	18.3
B9.	13.3	25.0	25.6	23.3	12.8
C1.	42.7	27.0	15.2	11.8	3.4
C2.	32.0	37.1	16.3	10.7	3.9
C3.	19.1	47.2	15.7	14.0	3.9
C4.	31.7	27.8	18.9	17.2	4.4
C5.	13.3	18.9	27.8	23.9	16.1
C6.	7.8	18.9	26.7	31.1	15.6
C7.	9.4	23.3	23.3	28.3	15.6
C8.	7.8	10.6	23.3	25.0	33.3

ARABIC-MEDIUM STUDENTS

Total: 183

Percentages					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	68.3	21.3	4.9	2.7	2.7
A2.	17.0	26.4	17.0	19.2	20.3
A3.	18.6	26.8	19.7	22.4	12.6
A4.	26.4	26.9	20.9	17.0	8.8
B1.	10.4	19.8	17.0	30.8	22.0
B2.	17.6	35.7	18.1	18.7	9.9
B3.	15.4	29.7	11.5	23.6	19.8
B4.	20.3	29.1	13.2	20.3	17.0
B5.	12.7	13.3	18.8	23.8	31.5
B6.	32.6	24.7	11.2	16.9	14.6
B7.	25.8	37.6	9.6	14.0	12.9
B8.	27.5	31.5	16.3	16.9	7.9
B9.	17.4	31.5	25.8	15.7	9.6
C1.	60.1	25.3	6.2	6.7	1.7
C2.	59.0	24.2	7.9	7.3	1.7
C3.	42.6	41.5	8.7	6.0	1.1
C4.	56.3	29.0	5.5	6.6	2.7
C5.	12.2	24.9	21.0	21.0	21.0
C6.	6.0	14.8	22.4	32.2	24.6
C7.	7.7	23.8	24.9	24.3	19.3
C8.	6.6	6.6	15.8	25.1	45.9

BUSINESS STUDENTS

Total: 91

Percentages					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	37.4	11.0	18.7	15.4	17.6
A2.	31.9	37.4	15.4	8.8	6.6
A3.	33.0	35.2	12.1	12.1	7.7
A4.	20.0	21.1	23.3	16.7	18.9
B1.	7.7	26.4	23.1	26.4	16.5
B2.	26.4	40.7	12.1	14.3	6.6
B3.	11.0	41.8	19.8	15.4	12.1
B4.	13.2	44.0	15.4	15.4	12.1
B5.	4.4	9.9	20.9	30.8	34.1
B6.	25.3	25.3	12.1	20.9	16.5
B7.	17.6	26.4	19.8	20.9	15.4
B8.	19.8	30.8	7.7	23.1	18.7
B9.	12.1	24.2	27.5	23.1	13.2
C1.	47.3	27.5	8.8	12.1	4.4
C2.	38.5	30.8	13.2	12.1	5.5
C3.	21.1	44.4	14.4	15.6	4.4
C4.	34.1	26.4	15.4	18.7	5.5
C5.	15.4	23.1	29.7	18.7	13.2
C6.	9.9	19.8	23.1	30.8	16.5
C7.	8.8	19.8	23.1	28.6	19.8
C8.	6.6	9.9	27.5	26.4	29.7

ENGINEERING STUDENTS

Total: 91

Percentages					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	27.5	23.1	14.3	27.5	7.7
A2.	31.9	36.3	18.7	11.0	2.2
A3.	24.2	38.5	15.4	16.5	5.5
A4.	14.4	20.0	20.0	31.1	14.4
B1.	3.3	24.4	24.4	27.8	20.0
B2.	24.4	36.7	14.4	16.7	7.8
B3.	16.7	26.7	18.9	20.0	17.8
B4.	11.1	33.3	22.2	20.0	13.3
B5.	3.3	20.0	13.3	20.0	43.3
B6.	22.5	21.3	12.4	30.3	13.5
B7.	23.6	23.6	12.4	27.0	13.5
B8.	21.3	21.3	13.5	25.8	18.0
B9.	14.6	25.8	23.6	23.6	12.4
C1.	37.9	26.4	21.8	11.5	2.3
C2.	25.3	43.7	19.5	9.2	2.3
C3.	17.0	50.0	17.0	12.5	3.4
C4.	29.2	29.2	22.5	15.7	3.4
C5.	11.2	14.6	25.8	29.2	19.1
C6.	5.6	18.0	30.3	31.5	14.6
C7.	10.1	27.0	23.6	28.1	11.2
C8.	9.0	11.2	19.1	23.6	37.1

LAW STUDENTS

Total: 92

Percentages					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	59.8	26.1	6.5	5.4	2.2
A2.	21.7	38.0	16.3	9.8	14.1
A3.	22.8	38.0	18.5	15.2	5.4
A4.	19.6	25.0	22.8	19.6	13.0
B1.	7.6	21.7	19.6	31.5	19.6
B2.	22.8	32.6	19.6	20.7	4.3
B3.	16.3	23.9	14.1	28.3	17.4
B4.	12.0	35.9	13.0	21.7	17.4
B5.	6.5	10.9	18.5	27.2	37.0
B6.	28.1	22.5	10.1	23.6	15.7
B7.	21.3	31.5	13.5	19.1	14.6
B8.	24.7	27.0	15.7	22.5	10.1
B9.	14.6	31.5	23.6	21.3	9.0
C1.	53.9	28.1	7.9	9.0	1.1
C2.	56.2	25.8	10.1	7.9	0.0
C3.	40.2	38.0	10.9	9.8	1.1
C4.	54.3	30.4	5.4	8.7	1.1
C5.	10.9	23.9	22.8	19.6	22.8
C6.	2.2	16.3	21.7	28.3	31.5
C7.	5.4	27.2	25.0	20.7	21.7
C8.	7.6	4.3	13.0	27.2	47.8

SHARIAH STUDENTS

Total: 91

Percentages					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	76.9	16.5	3.3	0.0	3.3
A2.	12.2	14.4	17.8	28.9	26.7
A3.	14.3	15.4	20.9	29.7	19.8
A4.	33.3	28.9	18.9	14.4	4.4
B1.	13.3	17.8	14.4	30.0	24.4
B2.	12.2	38.9	16.7	16.7	15.6
B3.	14.4	35.6	8.9	18.9	22.2
B4.	28.9	22.2	13.3	18.9	16.7
B5.	19.1	15.7	19.1	20.2	25.8
B6.	37.1	27.0	12.4	10.1	13.5
B7.	30.3	43.8	5.6	9.0	11.2
B8.	30.3	36.0	16.9	11.2	5.6
B9.	20.2	31.5	28.1	10.1	10.1
C1.	66.3	22.5	4.5	4.5	2.2
C2.	61.8	22.5	5.6	6.7	3.4
C3.	45.1	45.1	6.6	2.2	1.1
C4.	58.2	27.5	5.5	4.4	4.4
C5.	13.5	25.8	19.1	22.5	19.1
C6.	9.9	13.2	23.1	36.3	17.6
C7.	10.1	20.2	24.7	28.1	16.9
C8.	5.5	8.8	18.7	23.1	44.0

ALL STUDENTS

Total: 365

Raw Scores					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	184	70	39	44	28
A2.	89	115	62	53	45
A3.	86	116	61	67	35
A4.	79	86	77	74	46
B1.	29	82	74	105	73
B2.	78	135	57	62	31
B3.	53	116	56	75	63
B4.	59	123	58	69	54
B5.	30	51	65	89	127
B6.	101	86	42	76	53
B7.	83	112	46	68	49
B8.	86	103	48	74	47
B9.	55	101	92	70	40
C1.	183	93	38	33	9
C2.	162	109	43	32	10
C3.	112	160	44	36	9
C4.	160	103	44	43	13
C5.	46	79	88	81	67
C6.	25	61	89	115	73
C7.	31	85	87	95	63
C8.	26	31	71	91	144

ENGLISH-MEDIUM STUDENTS

Total: 182

Raw Scores					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	59	31	30	39	23
A2.	58	67	31	18	8
A3.	52	67	25	26	12
A4.	31	37	39	43	30
B1.	10	46	43	49	33
B2.	46	70	24	28	13
B3.	25	62	35	32	27
B4.	22	70	34	32	23
B5.	7	27	31	46	70
B6.	43	42	22	46	27
B7.	37	45	29	43	26
B8.	37	47	19	44	33
B9.	24	45	46	42	23
C1.	76	48	27	21	6
C2.	57	66	29	19	7
C3.	34	84	28	25	7
C4.	57	50	34	31	8
C5.	24	34	50	43	29
C6.	14	34	48	56	28
C7.	17	42	42	51	28
C8.	14	19	42	45	60

ARABIC-MEDIUM STUDENTS

Total: 183

Raw Scores					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	125	39	9	5	5
A2.	31	48	31	35	37
A3.	34	49	36	41	23
A4.	48	49	38	31	16
B1.	19	36	31	56	40
B2.	32	65	33	34	18
B3.	28	54	21	43	36
B4.	37	53	24	37	31
B5.	23	24	34	43	57
B6.	58	44	20	30	26
B7.	46	67	17	25	23
B8.	49	56	29	30	14
B9.	31	56	46	28	17
C1.	107	45	11	12	3
C2.	105	43	14	13	3
C3.	78	76	16	11	2
C4.	103	53	10	12	5
C5.	22	45	38	38	38
C6.	11	27	41	59	45
C7.	14	43	45	44	35
C8.	12	12	29	46	84

BUSINESS STUDENTS

Total: 91

Raw Scores					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	34	10	17	14	16
A2.	29	34	14	8	6
A3.	30	32	11	11	7
A4.	18	19	21	15	17
B1.	7	24	21	24	15
B2.	24	37	11	13	6
B3.	10	38	18	14	11
B4.	12	40	14	14	11
B5.	4	9	19	28	31
B6.	23	23	11	19	15
B7.	16	24	18	19	14
B8.	18	28	7	21	17
B9.	11	22	25	21	12
C1.	43	25	8	11	4
C2.	35	28	12	11	5
C3.	19	40	13	14	4
C4.	31	24	14	17	5
C5.	14	21	27	17	12
C6.	9	18	21	28	15
C7.	8	18	21	26	18
C8.	6	9	25	24	27

ENGINEERING STUDENTS

Total: 91

Raw Scores					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	25	21	13	25	7
A2.	29	33	17	10	2
A3.	22	35	14	15	5
A4.	13	18	18	28	13
B1.	3	22	22	25	18
B2.	22	33	13	15	7
B3.	15	24	17	18	16
B4.	10	30	20	18	12
B5.	3	18	12	18	39
B6.	20	19	11	27	12
B7.	21	21	11	24	12
B8.	19	19	12	23	16
B9.	13	23	21	21	11
C1.	33	23	19	10	2
C2.	22	38	17	8	2
C3.	15	44	15	11	3
C4.	26	26	20	14	3
C5.	10	13	23	26	17
C6.	5	16	27	28	13
C7.	9	24	21	25	10
C8.	8	10	17	21	33

LAW STUDENTS

Total: 92

Raw Scores					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	55	24	6	5	2
A2.	20	35	15	9	13
A3.	21	35	17	14	5
A4.	18	23	21	18	12
B1.	7	20	18	29	18
B2.	21	30	18	19	4
B3.	15	22	13	26	16
B4.	11	33	12	20	16
B5.	6	10	17	25	34
B6.	25	20	9	21	14
B7.	19	28	12	17	13
B8.	22	24	14	20	9
B9.	13	28	21	19	8
C1.	48	25	7	8	1
C2.	50	23	9	7	0
C3.	37	35	10	9	1
C4.	50	28	5	8	1
C5.	10	22	21	18	21
C6.	2	15	20	26	29
C7.	5	25	23	19	20
C8.	7	4	12	25	44

SHARIAH STUDENTS

Total: 91

Raw Scores					
Item No.	SA	A	U	D	SD
A1.	70	15	3	0	3
A2.	11	13	16	26	24
A3.	13	14	19	27	18
A4.	30	26	17	13	4
B1.	12	16	13	27	22
B2.	11	35	15	15	14
B3.	13	32	8	17	20
B4.	26	20	12	17	15
B5.	17	14	17	18	23
B6.	33	24	11	9	12
B7.	27	39	5	8	10
B8.	27	32	15	10	5
B9.	18	28	25	9	9
C1.	59	20	4	4	2
C2.	55	20	5	6	3
C3.	41	41	6	2	1
C4.	53	25	5	4	4
C5.	12	23	17	20	17
C6.	9	12	21	33	16
C7.	9	18	22	25	15
C8.	5	8	17	21	40

APPENDIX 3

CERTIFICATE OF
ETHICAL RESEARCH APPROVAL



School of Education and Lifelong Learning

Certificate of ethical research approval

STUDENT RESEARCH/FIELDWORK/CASEWORK AND DISSERTATION/THESIS

You will need to complete this certificate when you undertake a piece of higher-level research (e.g. Masters, PhD, EdD level).

To activate this certificate you need to first sign it yourself, then have it signed by your supervisor and by the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee.

For further information on ethical educational research access the guidelines on the BERA web site: <http://www.bera.ac.uk/publications/guides.php> and view the School's statement in your handbooks.

READ THIS FORM CAREFULLY AND THEN COMPLETE IT ON YOUR COMPUTER (the form will expand to contain the text you enter).
DO NOT COMPLETE BY HAND

Your name: SOHAIL KARMANI

Your student no: 005100282/1

Degree/Programme of Study: EdD

Project Supervisor(s): Sarah Rich

Your email address: skarmani@eim.ae

Tel: +971(0)65589015

Title of your project: *The Perceived Socializing Effects of Learning English at a Gulf Arab University*

Brief description of your research project: *The research is an investigative study of the views of students at a Gulf Arab university regarding their perceived socialising effects of studying in an English-medium educational environment.*

Give details of the participants in this research (giving ages of any children and/or young people involved): *All participants will be students at a Gulf Arab University (aged between 19-24 years old)*

Give details regarding the ethical issues of informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality (with special reference to any children or those with special needs):

Each participant (at every stage) will be clearly presented with an ethical consent form in Arabic, and verbally assured of that all information will be treated with the utmost anonymity and confidentiality.

Give details of the methods to be used for data collection and analysis and how you would ensure they do not cause any harm, detriment or unreasonable stress:

Two data-collection methods will be employed:

1. Questionnaires - no names will be collected at this stage; analysis will be statistical in nature.
2. Group interviews - all participants will be assigned pseudonyms; data will be cross-analysed and categorised on the basis of frequency of occurrence.

Give details of any other ethical issues which may arise from this project (e.g. secure storage of videos/recorded interviews/photos/completed questionnaires or special arrangements made for participants with special needs etc.):

All completed questionnaires and interviews tapes will be stored away securely.

Give details of any exceptional factors, which may raise ethical issues (e.g. potential political or ideological conflicts which may pose danger or harm to participants):

No particular factors can be seen as arising; all data will be collected on open, transparent and voluntary basis. The name of the institution will be assigned a pseudonym. The country will not be identified. Only the region will be named (Arabian Gulf).

This form should now be printed out, signed by you below and sent to your supervisor to sign. Your supervisor will forward this document to the School's Research Support Office for the Chair of the School's Ethics Committee to countersign. A unique approval reference will be added and this certificate will be returned to you to be included at the back of your dissertation/thesis.

I hereby certify that I will abide by the details given above and that I undertake in my dissertation to respect the dignity and privacy of those participating in this research.

I confirm that if my research should change radically, I will complete a further form.

Signed: Scheil Kattan date: 17th June 2009

N.B. You should not start the fieldwork part of the project until you have the signature of your supervisor

This project has been approved for the period: June 2009 until: January 2010

By (above mentioned supervisor's signature): Sarah Ruli date:

N.B. To Supervisor: Please ensure that ethical issues are addressed annually in your report and if any changes in the research occurs a further form is completed.

SELL unique approval reference: D/09/10/32

Signed: Saleh Ali date: 06/01/2010
Chair of the School's Ethics Committee