

**An Exploratory Investigation into Content Teacher Views on
English as a Medium of Instruction Policy Enactment in the
UAE Federal Tertiary Sector**

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ABSTRACT

This exploratory study into content teacher views on English as the medium of instruction (EMI) in federal tertiary settings in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) was conducted to add to the emerging number of EMI studies in the country and the Arabian Gulf. While other UAE studies have canvassed views from two or more stakeholders, this study looked to focus only on teachers. Working within an interpretive paradigm, rich data were sought from a purposive sample of 45 teachers for an open questionnaire and 9 teachers for semi-structured interviews; the interview themes emanating from questionnaire data analysis.

The research framework was built on the researcher's own experiences in the research context, the assumptions that emerged from those experiences and a review of pertinent themes from the literature, which tended to be grounded in critical theory. These concepts were the macro-policy areas of education and language policy, the synthesised analysis of language policy in education and subsequently a review of themes emerging from EMI studies globally, regionally and in the UAE, which led to a focus on the problem areas of language proficiency and appropriate language pedagogy for this specific research context.

Findings suggest that although there is some support for EMI among the sample there is also recognition of attendant problems with the policy caused in the main by students' insufficient language ability for Bachelor's study in English and question marks over the need to aspire to native speaker proficiency in a society where various Englishes as a lingua franca are used between citizens who do not

use English as their mother tongue. These causes lead students and teachers to enact policy to create learning opportunities. Enactments include skills avoidance, simplifying materials, reducing content and code-switching into Arabic. The absence of Arabic in the higher education curriculum is also questioned, given evidence that it is relevant for students' future employment; be it in the public or private sector.

Recommendations include that English remain an integral part of the curriculum given its relevance for later employment but that the choice of EMI as the model for learning be reviewed to see if other approaches may be more appropriate. It is also recommended that Arabic be included in the curriculum in some form given its importance for students' careers. Finally, if EMI remains the chosen linguistic approach, teachers are recommended to continue enacting as part of their professional practice to ensure that their students get some benefit from their relatively challenging study environment.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS/ABBREVIATIONS

ABP	Academic Bridge Program
ADEC	Abu Dhabi Education Council
AMI	Arabic as the medium of instruction
CEPA	Common Educational Proficiency Assessment
CLIL	Content and language integrated learning
CPH	Critical period hypothesis
EAP	English for academic purposes
EFL	English as a foreign language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELP	Educational language policy
EMI	English as the medium of instruction
ESL	English as a second language
ESP	English for specific purposes
EU	European Union
FNC	Federal National Council
FND	Foundation Year
GCC	Gulf Cooperation Council
GDP	Gross domestic product
HCT	Higher Colleges of Technology
HE	Higher education

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HEI	Higher education institution
HH	His Highness
IELTS	International English Language Testing Service
KHDA	Knowledge and Human Development Authority
L1	First language (mother tongue)
L2	Second language
MAG	Madares Al Ghad (Schools of Tomorrow)
MENA	Middle East and North Africa
MOHESR	Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research
MSA	Modern Standard Arabic
NAPO	National Admissions and Placement Office
NEST	Native English speaking teacher
NNEST	Non-native English speaking teacher
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PISA	Programme for International Student Assessment
PPP	Private and public partnership
SLA	Second language acquisition
TASO	Teaching Arabic students only
TESOL	Teaching English to speakers of other languages
TIMMS	Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study
TOEFL	Test of English as a Foreign Language
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UAEU	University of the United Arab Emirates
UGRU	University General Requirements Unit
ZPD	Zone of proximal development
ZU	Zayed University

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Anyone who has written a thesis will almost certainly tell you what a lonely voyage it can be; so much so that it feels like you are navigating the world's seas for a significant part of your life single-handedly, never quite sure when you will make it to terra firma. However as any sailor will tell you, a voyage is not made by the navigator alone. For this reason I would like to acknowledge the people that brought me to my final port of call.

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1. INTRODUCTION

In analysing the philosophy behind educational research, Pring (2000, p.17) argues that it "...is the attempt to make sense of the activities, policies and institutions which, through the organisation of learning, help to transform the capacities of people to live a fuller and more distinctively human life". This philosophical perspective underpins this study which addresses the field of medium of instruction in education; specifically when that medium is different from the shared mother tongue of students. In this case the students were native speakers of Arabic, who were all studying in the government tertiary sector in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) which operated a policy of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in all but a few courses. While students' own perspectives on the phenomenon of EMI are naturally relevant, this study looked at the topic area from the teachers' perspective. There is some evidence of research into views on EMI in the UAE context which include teachers' perspectives (e.g. Rogier, 2012; McLaren, 2011, Jewels & Albon, 2012). However, little if any research has analysed content teacher views of EMI in-depth and its impact on their practice.

My interest in this field developed from my own experiences of working in higher education (HE) environments where I had the opportunity to move from my original field of teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL) to teaching content courses to students whose first language is not English. While in some cases I taught multilingual classes, in other cases the student body was monolingual. Based on my experiences, I feel that if students' level of English is sufficient, they can cope with EMI at the tertiary level. However, if they enter with

an insufficient level this makes it very challenging; not only for the students but also for teachers who are tasked with the delivery of tertiary level content to students without a tertiary level in the language of instruction. I feel that my grounding in TESOL has aided me when teaching content to such students but I have also considered the position of the content teacher who is devoid of a TESOL background. In monolingual EMI settings these teachers will be challenged not only by teaching students via a language they do not use intuitively but also by other issues such as the possible sense of imposition students may feel if obliged to study in English and cultural differences between students and their mainly expatriate teachers. It is issues like these which drove my motivation to conduct this research.

1.1. Nature of the study

EMI is an area of educational policy which is both political and potentially problematic. Its usage is logical in both English speaking contexts and in institutions which require a lingua franca due to the existence of a multinational student body. In the UAE, this is the case for private institutions looking to serve the needs of expatriate markets (Wilkins, 2011), which will often follow curricula from other countries to exercise a cost-effective efficiency model (Kydd, 1997). This means bypassing the need to translate materials or create one's own and ensuring that the same standards are met wherever the curriculum is offered (Midraj & Midraj, 2006; Aubrey & Coombe, 2011). What appears less logical is to employ EMI when students share another mother tongue. However, this is what

has happened in many countries (see, for example, Kirkpatrick, 2006, Kennetz, van den Hoven & Parkman, 2011; Ahmed, 2010) including the UAE. While one may consider the above aspects of cost-efficiency and international accreditation as equally important for Emirati students, along with the relevance of English as an international lingua franca (see, for example, Mackenzie, 2009; Phillipson, 2008), one might also question the employment of EMI in classrooms where all students are Arabic speakers and consequently may suffer from mother tongue loss, national identity loss and unfairness.

The UAE's three main governmental tertiary educational institutions operate a policy of EMI either partially or completely (NAPO, 2013). This policy is driven by the vision of the first president of the UAE, HH Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, who proclaimed English as essential to the growth of the nation on an international stage (Findlow, 2006). The student body in these institutions is almost exclusively Emirati, so in general terms they form a homogeneous group, which includes Arabic as their mother tongue. Faculty and administration staff members reflect the more multinational population of the UAE where more than 80% of inhabitants are non-nationals (Reinaert & Rajann in Hourani, Diallo & Said, 2011). This large number also means that English is often considered the lingua franca of the Gulf (Syed, 2003; Zughoul, 2003).

Among faculty it is generally a requirement to speak fluent English. Therefore, native speakers of English or speakers of other languages who have evidence of English competence are generally preferred. Students may enter into these institutions based on satisfactory high school results and university entrance

exams in English and Math (CEPA, 2012). They will then generally be required to follow foundation bridging programmes before accessing Bachelor's degree programmes. The English requirement for entry to these programmes is usually measured using the international standard of the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) Academic exam or equivalent and students are required to achieve a band 5.0 (NAPO, 2013). Although there is no internationally approved standard for which band is considered sufficient to enter Bachelor's programmes, IELTS recommends that a band 6.0-6.5 is appropriate for tertiary study with EMI (IELTS Guide, 2013). Were students at this appropriate level, there might be no further need to conduct this study but an analysis of IELTS results over recent years indicates that, in line with other Gulf States, the UAE band average hovers around an IELTS band 5.0 (IELTS Researchers, n.d.). This suggests that on average national students are entering higher education (HE) without the prerequisite level of English to study effectively at the Bachelor's level. This inevitably must have consequences at the level of pedagogy as institutions; teachers and students wrestle over how best to deal with this language deficiency.

1.2. Significance of the study

It seems a safe assumption that teaching and learning will be affected when students are required to study in a language other than their mother tongue and this effect will be exacerbated when student competence in the language of instruction is well below that which is recommended. Based on such assumptions, this study aimed to canvass the views of content teachers from two angles: first, their perspectives on the value of EMI in the UAE government tertiary sector, and

second, their observations on how EMI policy is enacted in their contexts. While the study of educational policy enactment can be considered quite broad, those which focus on language medium policy seem to predominate in post-colonial environments (see, for example, van Wyk, 2014; Navaz, 2013). As mentioned earlier, UAE studies considering the impact of EMI in post-compulsory education are few. However, they are all quite recent, which indicates that the theme of EMI in UAE-tertiary settings is emergent. Given the attendant problems assumed in the context, a critical study would have seemed most appropriate. However, as such a study had not been conducted previously to the knowledge of the researcher in this particular context with a purposive sample of tertiary content teachers, I chose to work within the interpretive paradigm. Therefore, despite my own contextual knowledge which indicated that the policy may be problematic, the aim of the study was not to raise awareness of perceived inequalities but to allow for the identification of relevant themes to emerge via the extraction of deep, rich data from a number of perspectives. The aim was for the analysis of this data to provide insights for other researchers to expand the body of knowledge in the research context and for practitioners to be informed and to reflect on the findings when applying EMI policy in their own contexts.

This study thus aimed to contribute to knowledge on a number of levels. First, it aimed to add to the global body of knowledge on EMI in tertiary settings and, more specifically, to the UAE context, where research in the field, though nascent, remains relatively embryonic. In addition, the study aimed to inform stakeholders of the pros and cons of EMI in this context and beyond through description of the

views of practicing teachers rather than critical prescription. Although findings may not be directly transferable to other contexts, it is hoped that stakeholders in other educational settings may consider the extent to which outcomes apply to them and researchers in those contexts be motivated to investigate the field further.

1.3. Research questions

The study was informed by the following research questions:

- What do content teachers think of the use of EMI in governmental tertiary settings in the UAE?
- How do content teachers view enactment of EMI policy in governmental tertiary settings at the curricular and classroom level?

The first question considered issues of suitability, politics, economics, national identity and voice in decision-making. The second question invariably touches on the issues of the first question but its focus was on the challenges and pragmatics of policy enactment by teachers and their observations of policy enactment by students. The methodological aims of the study were to use a multi-method approach incorporating first an open questionnaire and then semi-structured interviews to provide sufficient data to allow themes to emerge for qualitative analysis.

1.4. Overview of the study

As the context of this study is the tertiary government sector in the UAE, regular reference is made to the sector, the country and its people, and those who work and study in tertiary institutions. The study confines itself to the three major government institutions where Bachelor's degrees are awarded. The population

covers those teachers who teach content subjects on undergraduate programmes. The dissemination of this research starts in Chapter Two with an analysis of the context in which the study took place. This includes an overview of the UAE, its education system, and its national language policy both in general and in the educational sector. An introduction will be given to the debate surrounding EMI before a description is given of the federal universities and the population of this study. Chapter Three reviews literature pertinent to the research. This includes the areas of educational policy, language policy, medium of instruction issues, language pedagogy and second language acquisition (SLA). These themes form the basis of the conceptual framework of the study which informs the methodology employed to collect primary data. Chapter Four describes this methodology by justifying the paradigmatic choice of interpretivism; the exploratory methodology and the research methods of open questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The choice of a purposive sample is also justified before describing the research process, issues of credibility, trustworthiness, ethical considerations and limitations of the research. In Chapter Five the results of the study are analysed and discussed in line with the research questions before the final chapter, Chapter Six, concludes the study by summarising the main findings and describing their implications for the researcher, for teachers, for students and for other stakeholders. Results-driven recommendations are given as well as suggestions for further research before the study ends with a personal reflection.

2. CONTEXT

Before embarking on an analysis of literature and description of the conducted research and its outcomes, this chapter depicts the educational context in which this study took place: the UAE. The description is confined to those elements which have a bearing, explicitly or implicitly, on the concept of EMI in the Emirati context. The chapter briefly refers to related historical, political, economic, demographic and socio-cultural aspects, before describing the educational system; that is, its structure, developments and issues at both the pre-tertiary and tertiary level. Subsequently, the chapter moves on to explain the major governmental educational policies in recent times and considers language policy and usage both nationwide and within the educational sector before ending with a more detailed description of the institutions and major players in the context of this study, which are federal educational institutions, their students and their faculty.

2.1. Overview of the UAE

The UAE is formed of seven emirates each with its own ruler (Fox, 2007; *United Arab Emirates*, 2011). The legislature includes the Federal National Council (FNC), which functions as a consultative assembly and is constitutionally tasked with examining and advising amendments on proposed federal legislation (*Country profile*, 2007). In recent times, its support for a review of EMI policy has been highlighted in the national media. The discovery of petroleum in 1958 has allowed the UAE to develop as a young nation more quickly than might have otherwise been possible and facilitated its economic development greatly (*United Arab*

Emirates, 2011) Official figures of the population of the UAE differ significantly, possibly due to the transient nature of its expatriate workforce which is given residency but not citizenship based on securing a sponsored work contract. Another reason is the rapid growth in population which has mirrored the economic growth of the country (*UAE 2010*, 2010; *Country profile*, 2007). However, recent 2014 estimates suggest that the population is 9.3 to 9.5 million (United Arab Emirates population, 2014; Total population, n.d.). Most of the population lives in the two major cities of the UAE: the capital, Abu Dhabi, and Dubai. Of the approximate 80% of expatriates (Wilkins, 2011), there are many who do not speak Arabic. Although Arabic is the official language, English is widely understood (*Country profile*, 2007). Many daily formal and informal transactions may be carried out in whatever shared language is available. This means that cosmopolitan communication in the UAE may often be conducted in English.

2.2. Overview of the UAE educational system

Having looked at the UAE from a broader angle, this section focuses on the way education is organized nationally. After presenting a brief history of education, the macrostructure of the current system will be described at the pre-tertiary and tertiary level. In addition, some of the challenges that the educational system has faced in recent years will be alluded to; in particular, those related to the role of English within educational settings.

2.2.1. History of education in the UAE

As with other sectors in the UAE, education has experienced rapid growth since independence, facilitated by oil revenues and the ensuing healthy economic climate (Farrugia, 2012). A modern educational system was established in 1953 (Farah & Ridge, 2009) with rapid educational development occurring in the 1960s. As the pre-tertiary sector grew, the following decade brought with it the need for a tertiary sector as the government determined four pillars of policy for higher education (HE): access for all Emiratis, the establishment of federal universities, international faculty and, for the first time, an indication that English might be a suitable medium of instruction (Fox, 2007). In 1976 the government opened its first federal university, the UAE University (UAEU), in Al Ain (Farrugia, 2012; Fox, 2007). A key policy change in the 1980s was the establishment of curricula that was developed domestically, as prior to 1985 all curricula had been imported from neighbouring regional states (Farah & Ridge, 2009). As the tertiary sector expanded, a dedicated ministry, now called the Ministry for Higher Education and Scientific Research (MOHESR), was established in 1996. The current landscape of the governmental educational sector is one which provides free education for Emiratis (*Study in UAE*, 2012). Recent years have also seen the emergence of a vibrant private sector to cater for the increasing number of expatriate students.

2.2.2. Pre-university education

There are four phases of pre-tertiary education over a 14-year period with students in school from ages 4-17 (*Study in UAE*, 2014). A 2011 EFA Global Monitoring Report indicated that there was a significant increase in student enrolment in schools in the UAE (Farah, 2012) as in other Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) countries (WAM, 2012). This means that across public and private schooling, the Ministry of Education is responsible for overseeing 700 schools, spread across ten educational zones (Fox, 2007). The division between private and public education is a reflection of the national demographics, access to public schooling and ability to pay for education. For example, there are 265 public schools (*Public schools*, 2014) and 185 private schools in the Emirate of Abu Dhabi (*Private Schools*, 2014) and it has been estimated that 40% of school students in the Emirate attend private institutions (*UAE 2010*, 2010). In the Emirate of Dubai over 80% of all students are educated in private schools (Kenaid, 2011; *Schools*, 2012). Significantly, despite the offer of free public education, the number of Emiratis opting for private education in Dubai saw a growth of 75% between 2003 and 2010 (Kenaid, 2011) and recent figures indicate that 57% of Emirati school children go to private schools in the Emirate (*Schools*, 2012).

The exponential increase in pre-tertiary educational provision in the UAE has brought with it many challenges. One challenge is the quality of teaching and this appears to be most apparent in the public sector. Most public school teachers have Arabic as a first language (*Educational Statistics First*, 2011). In principle this would not appear to be problematic except that there have been moves within the

pre-tertiary sector to start teaching some core subjects in English (*Educational Statistics First*, 2011). Of more general concern are the results of a 2005 Ministry of Education study which indicated that only 44% of school teachers had a degree in education and poor pay and training were two further obstacles in ensuring high quality teaching (*UAE 2010*, 2010). The problem is not confined, however, to the government schools. A report on teaching in Dubai private schools indicated that teaching in the key subjects of Mathematics, Science, Arabic and English was also of poor quality in many cases (*UAE 2010*, 2010).

It can be assumed that poor teaching will lead to poor performance. On the other hand, one may argue that other variables influence learning in the UAE context such as the tumultuous speed at which the educational sector has developed. Wherever the blame lies, international comparative measurement systems in which the UAE has participated show that school learners are lagging behind, as evidenced in a 2011TIMSS (Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study)(TIMSS, 2011) and in the 2012 Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) Programme for International Student Assessment, better known by its acronym, PISA (PISA results, 2013). The PISA measures performance in reading, math, scientific literacy and problem solving of students in the age group of 15-16. In an earlier PISA test, Dubai scores were particularly low in government schools in all areas. In reading, only 1% of Emiratis were considered to have high end skills (*Dubai PISA 2009 Report*, 2011). This last statistic has relevance regarding native language ability. As there seems to be a trend to move towards EMI in schools, this has consequences for Emirati students'

mother tongue, Arabic, as private education with EMI becomes a preferred option for many families. Focus group surveys conducted among Emirati parents suggested that after the perception of better teaching and learning, the second most cited reason for opting for the private sector was EMI, as they felt that this would provide their children with better options to access university and gain employment in the multicultural Emirati environment (Kenaid, 2011). They also expressed concerns for the development of their children's Arabic and this concern is borne out by a Dubai Schools Inspections Bureau (DSIB) report, indicating that student progress in Arabic in the private sector is poor (*Dubai Schools Inspection Bureau, 2011*).

2.2.3. University education

Although this study focuses on federal higher education institutions (HEIs) the market for HE study is much greater. As HE in the country only began in 1976, this market is still young (Al Fardan & Belrehif, 2012) but as with other sectors of the economy its growth has been rapid (*UAE 2010, 2010*). Enrolments across the sector are on the rise. For example, there was a 10% increase in HE students from 2010 to 2011 in Dubai (*The higher education landscape, 2012*) and MOHESR expects to see new enrolment rise to 20,000 per year by 2020 (Fox, 2007). The aim of the government is to provide HE opportunities for its citizens and residents which will compare favourably with quality education outside its borders (Farrugia, 2012). In addition, it wants to develop the UAE as a hub for HE in the region.

There are over 100 higher education institutions (HEIs) in the UAE, most of which are private, making the HE market highly competitive (Farrugia, 2012). The large number of expatriates in the UAE means that the HEI private sector has a very international flavour. For example, in Dubai there are over 60 nationalities studying in the private sector (*Higher education*, 2012) with an increasing number being made up of international students who expressly move to the Emirates to study (*UAE 2010*, 2010; Al Fardan & Belrehif, 2012). Most private institutions operate an EMI policy. Given that federal university places are free for Emiratis, it would be expected that they may be the universities of choice for citizens but just as in the pre-tertiary sector Emiratis do not shun private education (Al Fardan & Belrehif, 2012). For example, in Dubai, only 42% of Emirati students choose to study in government institutions (*The higher education landscape*, 2012).

In 2007 the total number of Emirati students enrolled in the federal system was 34,000 (Fox, 2007). These students have the chance to enrol in one of three institutions: the already mentioned UAEU; Zayed University (ZU), located in both Dubai and Abu Dhabi or the Higher Colleges of Technology (HCT) network, which has campuses in most Emirates (*NAPO*, 2011). Federal institutions determine their entry levels in conjunction with the National Admissions and Placement Office (NAPO), which is also responsible for the Common Educational Proficiency Assessment (CEPA) exams in English and Mathematics (*NAPO*, 2011). Applicants need to pass their General Secondary Certificate with a certain score and score sufficiently well on the CEPA exams to gain direct Bachelor's entry or access to a bridging programme which prepares them for Bachelor's study. In addition, as

mentioned in Chapter One, the institutions may require an external measurement of English proficiency from the IELTS Academic exam or equivalent. Language requirements are considered essential given that the three institutions operate an EMI policy in almost all programmes. Although this requirement has changed in recent years, in general terms a CEPA English score of 160 will gain a student access to a bridging programme while a score of 180 coupled with a suitable IELTS score or equivalent will gain a student direct entry to an undergraduate programme (NAPO, 2013). If a student enters a bridging programme, depending on their level they may need to study up to two years before starting an undergraduate degree programme. The institutions make the need for English clear in their literature but very few students have sufficient English for direct entry. For example, in 2008 only 8% of applicants scored the prerequisite score to gain direct access to UAEU undergraduate programmes (UAE 2010, 2010).

2.3. UAE educational policy

This section starts by highlighting how education is governed in the UAE before focusing on its central aims and goals. An overview will be given of some of the major policy documents which have been produced in the last decade. Finally, a description is given of some of the challenges that have been faced in trying to implement policy.

2.3.1. Governance

The federal nature of the UAE means that although the central governmental bodies, the Ministry of Education and MOHESR, have the overarching responsibility for educational planning, licensing, accreditation and admissions policy nationally, there are various other bodies which are tasked with monitoring and developing education. These bodies often operate at the level of emirate or they deal with either the private or public sector. In the Emirate of Abu Dhabi, the Abu Dhabi Education Council (ADEC), which was established in 2005, is tasked with improving schools and higher education (*Education Statistics First*, 2010, *Higher Education*, n.d.) and in Dubai, the Knowledge and Human Development Agency (KHDA), which was established in 2006, is responsible for many of the tasks associated with private education (*KHDA*, 2012). As already seen, NAPO is tasked with managing the transition between secondary and federal tertiary education.

2.3.2. Key aims

Although the government aims to ensure that there is ample quality education for non-Emiratis, its policy focus is generally aimed at improving education provision for nationals (*Education*, n.d.; *United Arab Emirates*, 2012; *Country profile*, 2007; *Goals*, 2009). Some of the key reasons for wanting to overhaul the federal system include the need to produce a skilled and educated Emirati workforce (Farrugia, 2012; Fox, 2007) and to ensure that there are more Emiratis working in the private sector, which is currently over-dependent on expatriate workers (*UAE 2010*, 2010: *United Arab Emirates*, 2012). To achieve this, the government wants to ensure

that 90% of eligible Emiratis are in education by 2020 (*Education in the UAE*, 2012) to give them every chance to compete in the workplace with expatriate graduates (Fox, 2007). A final pertinent aim in the context of this study is to ensure English proficiency is gained at school to eradicate the need for English language tuition in academic bridging programmes (*Education in the UAE*, 2012; *Chancellor's Annual Address*, 2011).

2.3.3. Key policies

A number of key policy documents have been produced in the last decade to promote these aims including a series of educational five year plans as part of the Ministry of Education educational development strategy *Education 2020 (Study in UAE*, 2012). The *UAE Vision 2021* (Farah, 2009) highlighted the need for education to focus on national identity, cultural values, curricular reform, international standards, increased HE enrolment and an expansion of vocational education, and many of these needs are mirrored in other documents. For instance, the 2007 policy document *Educating the Next Generation of Emiratis: A Master Plan for UAE Higher Education* called for better access, higher quality and the need to ensure positive Emirati contributions to economic development (Fox, 2007); an ADEC strategic plan for education reform announced a move to standards-based education (*UAE 2010*, 2010); and The Ministry of Education *Education Strategy 2010* included the promotion of national identity (*The Ministry of Education*, n.d.).

2.3.4. Policy issues

The aims above give clear evidence that the UAE sees the development of its educational sector as a vital part of its overall development strategy in providing the best future for its citizens. However, various issues have emerged which have complicated the implementation of this strategy. One of these is a change in educational methodology. The government has been working on a curriculum overhaul to move away from rote learning to a more student-centred discovery model. Reforms such as the establishment of MAG (*Madares Al Ghad* - Schools of Tomorrow), model schools and private and public partnerships (PPP) are all focusing on such new curricula (Ridge, 2009). However, delivery has remained relatively teacher-centred (Farah, 2012). A possible reason for this is while a new methodology is being championed in some schools, national assessments and official curricula for core subjects have continued to be based around rote learning (Farah, 2012; Dakkak, 2011).

Another cause for concern is investment in education. Despite suggestions that educational investment forms 25% of public expenditure (*UAE 2010*, 2010; *Study in UAE*, 2012; *Country profile*, 2007), Farah (2012) cites a 2012 World Bank report stating that, per percentage of gross domestic product (GDP), investment in education in the UAE was the lowest in the Middle East and North Africa (MENA) region. Fox (2007) adds that investment in HE per head is relatively low by international standards and despite the growing number of students, HE funding remained flat in 2005-06. This is despite recognition by the Office of Higher Education Policy and Planning in 2004 that HE funding was insufficient. In fact, in

recent years there has been a need to introduce emergency funding to ensure that all eligible Emiratis are able to enter federal HE (*UAE 2010, 2010*).

A further issue is the reliance on foreign expertise to build educational reform due to a perceived lack of local talent in this field (Ridge, 2009; Dakkak, 2011). An additional issue with this foreign expertise is related to the key UAE educational reform aim of protecting its culture and values. This has led in some quarters to a fear of foreign involvement, with new methodologies being seen as a threat to those grounded in Islamic tradition (Dakkak, 2011). Emiratization policies, which aim to ensure the employment of citizens, may be seen as one way to counter this perceived threat as the aim by 2020 is to have a teaching body in government schools which is 90% Emirati. Another challenge in this regard is the language of instruction and this issue becomes especially evident once students have to achieve language entry requirements for federal university entry and are seen to come up short. It is interesting to note that while requirements are set for direct entry or access to bridging programmes, students who achieve high scores at high school and in IELTS have received scholarships to study abroad (*NAPO, 2011*). It can be seen as contradictory to make English an access requirement into an HE system and then not retain the students with a good command of English.

2.4. UAE language policy

Thus far in describing the context of the UAE, its educational policies and its educational structure, it has been unavoidable to make reference to issues of language. This is only natural given the multinational demographics of the UAE and the educational reform that targets the positioning of its citizens as skilled employees in a globalised world. This section aims to look at issues of language policy in more detail. After a short review of the position of Arabic and English in society, the position of English in schools and universities along with the debate that this provokes will be analysed.

2.4.1. Arabic and English in the UAE

As already stated, Arabic is the official language of the UAE while English is usually the de facto public language (Piller, 2009). Recent years have seen a reaction to the influence of English in position papers and the media amid fears that Arabic may die out. Muhanna (2010) feels that the death of Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) is exaggerated as foreign influence is limited to certain countries. However, Piller (2009) and Kaddur & Bayram (2010) suggest that MSA is under threat given the preferred daily usage of various Arabic vernaculars across the Arabic-speaking world. Given its potentially weak position and the desire to secure its future nationally as opposed to regionally, in 2010 a bill was sent to the UAE Cabinet proposing the protection of Arabic from foreign influences in public and private life and the promotion of Arabic as the primary language in economic, social and intellectual areas (Salama, 2010), which would incorporate education.

Lepeska (2010) highlights the role of language as being key to a society's identity and indicates how Arabic has lost ground in schools due to poor teaching. Regardless of the efforts to promote Arabic, there appears to be an increasing emphasis on English, partly driven by its dominance in business (Lepeska, 2010). However, this does not mean that English is always the preferred option. Although there are many competent users of English in the UAE, there are still many whose use of English is insufficient to use as a lingua franca (Piller, 2009). The above points suggest that language policy is a problematic and delicate matter, and as its role in education is so important, policymakers need to find the balance between protecting one language while promoting another.

2.4.2. Language policy in federal schools

There is recognition that levels of achievement in English and Arabic are poor in federal schools and in the case of English, despite more weekly hours of tuition than the OECD norm, there is little evidence of improvement (Farah & Ridge, 2009). This led the Ministry of Education to name the betterment of Arabic and English curricula as a main target in its 2010 education strategy. In spite of this dual focus there seems to be an increasing bias towards English. For example, figures reported in 2010 showed that in public schools English was taught 6 periods a week up to Grade 9 and then rose to 10 hours a week from Grade 10 in preparation for tertiary study, whereas Arabic tuition remained fairly consistent at around 7 periods a week over the same period (*Educational Statistics First*, 2010).

Schools selected for special projects such as MAG and PPP in Abu Dhabi have moved from teaching English as a foreign language (EFL) to an EMI system for

some subjects. For example, ADEC started to employ English language-based curricula; MAG started to use English textbooks for some core subjects (Farah & Ridge, 2009) as well as teaching Math and Science in English from Grade 1 (Al Najami, 2007); and PPP schools increased the number of periods taught in English (*UAE 2010*, 2010). This has led to an increased demand for teachers who are proficient in English, evidenced by the fact that in Abu Dhabi 1,000 native speaker teachers were employed to teach English, Math, Science and IT to meet this demand (*UAE 2010*, 2010; Olarte, 2009).

2.4.3. Language policy in federal universities

As discussed earlier, English is the medium of instruction in federal universities in all but a few study programmes in the UAEU and ZU while at HCT all programmes were until recently taught in English (*Programs*, 2012). This policy is driven by the belief that poor English is one of the main employment barriers for UAE nationals (*Country profile*, 2007). However, on leaving secondary education a large number of students are not ready for EMI-based HE (Fox, 2007) so as the majority fails to achieve direct entry, they enter bridging programmes, which divert a lot of financial resources away from other areas of education (Fox, 2007). In 2010 it was estimated that MOHESR spent 25% of its budget on such programmes each year (Randall, 2010). Because of the cost of these programmes, it can be assumed that the increased emphasis on EMI in schools has the dual target of preparing students for the language requirements of HE early while at the same time eradicating the need for these expensive foundation courses (Randall, 2010). As current language requirements for HE entry are low by international standards,

even if students manage to enter an undergraduate programme either directly or after completing a foundation programme, this does not mean they are sufficiently proficient in English to cope at the tertiary level. This has led some students to choose courses based on the medium of instruction when an Arabic option is available rather than select based on their preferred subject area (Saffarini, 2005).

2.4.4. The language debate in education

If the use of EMI in education was initially unquestioned as a young nation looked to establish itself internationally, in current debate supporters of Arabic have become increasingly vociferous in the media. Though learners' struggles with EMI may be a valid reason for reverting back to Arabic medium instruction (AMI), the main reasons reported in the media focus on issues of imposition, national identity and culture, and the need to protect Arabic. Farah and Ridge (2009) point to the resentment some feel about how Emirati learners are forced to follow foreign curricula taught in a foreign language and Naidoo (2011) reported on various UAE-based studies on the threat of EMI to national culture. Ismail and Saffarini (2008) suggest that as language is only one element of culture, English is not a threat to national identity but neglecting Arabic is. Al Issa (2012) agrees that Arabic is under threat and believes that the early adoption of EMI in schools means young Emiratis will not receive a good grounding in their mother tongue. This is a fear shared by the FNC legislative arm which has expressed concern over a decline in children's command of Arabic (Farah & Ridge, 2009) and has looked to open the debate about AMI (*Teachers with good communication*, 2009). The call for AMI

was also promoted at the Emirates Centre for Strategic Studies and Research Conference *Education in the UAE, Current Status and Future Development* where it was argued that choosing the language of instruction should be based not solely on economic needs but also societal and cultural ones (Salama, 2010). If AMI is considered a step backwards by some, then bilingualism would appear to be a sensible option; especially as performance in both languages is an issue in the country, and the FNC has urged universities to teach more courses in Arabic (Salama, 2010). In the same vein it has been suggested that the lack of genuine bilingualism in private schools has caused the teaching of Arabic to be marginalized (Al Najami, 2007). This debate has required a response from policymakers and moves to protect Arabic have included the launch of an Arabic Charter to promote its use in the public sector (*Arabic charter*, 2011). However, currently the position of EMI in HE remains unchanged. In response to the FNC's call for AMI, the former Minister of Higher Education and Scientific Research, Sheikh Nahyan Bin Mubarak Al Nahyan, stated in 2009 that English would remain the language of instruction in federal institutions and it was not a threat to national identity; rather it was the language of science and technology and therefore essential in the education of nationals (*Nahyan*, 2009).

2.5. Implications for federal universities

The previous sections have given an overview of the UAE, its educational system and related policies and considered the various aspects of the language debate surrounding the medium of instruction. This section proceeds by adding depth to the description of the aforementioned main federal HE institutions and will then

consider the population of this study; namely, content teachers in the HE federal universities of the UAE.

The HCT was established in 1988 and comprises 17 colleges located in five Emirates of the federation. It is the largest HE institution in the UAE and caters for over 19,000 students (*HCT Overview*, 2014). Over 80% of its male graduates secure employment, while the figure for females is lower despite the larger number of females in the HCT system (HCT factbook, n.d.), possibly due to the traditional role that women play within Emirati society. Its EMI policy is strongly reflected in its literature which declares its belief in the “development of strong English language and communication skills” (Why study at HCT?, 2012). This commitment to language skills is also reflected in the first of its eight graduate outcomes, which states:

Communicating information, opinions, concepts and ideas effectively in English through the spoken and written mediums to a variety of audiences [and] selecting, understanding, evaluating and making effective use of information from a variety of sources presented in both spoken and written form in English (*Learning model*, 2012)

Other goals reflect the policy aims of the government. For example, in the Chancellor’s 2012 message on the HCT website, these goals are expressed as follows:

To give our students the skills and attributes they need to succeed in a global work environment. We strive to develop graduates who are prepared for the future, ready for the changing needs of the workplace, and trained for a life of ongoing learning and professional success. (Chancellor’s message, 2012)

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ZU was established in 1998 and has 7,000 students (*About the university*, 2012). It has four campuses: two in Dubai and two in Abu Dhabi. It is divided into five colleges which offer 16 undergraduate programmes (NAPO, 2011) and in addition to nationals it admits fee-paying foreign students (Wilkins, 2011). Although its students come from 19 different countries (Educational effectiveness, 2012) the majority are Emirati. Just as with HCT its mission has reflected that of the government educational policy stating that it:

... seeks to prepare students for meaningful and successful twenty-first century personal and professional lives; to graduate students who will help shape the future of the region and the world; to support the economic and social advancement of the U.A.E.; to lead innovation in higher education through teaching, learning, research, and outreach; and to do so in a culturally diverse, humane, technologically advanced, and increasingly global environment. (About the University, 2012)

ZU states that graduates must be effective in both English and MSA (*Learning outcomes*, 2012). Finally, the UAEU in Al Ain was established in 1976, is the oldest of the three, and has 12,000 students (*UAE 2010*, 2010). Its ten faculties offer 65 different undergraduate programmes (NAPO, 2011). Its traditional *raison d'être* has been to develop into “a federal institution with an Arab-Islamic identity and a focus on intellect, culture, and science” (*History of the UAEU*, 2012).

All three HEIs operate bridging programmes. In HCT's Foundation Studies programmes for English language study, mathematics and computer literacy students study between one and four semesters depending on their entry level (General Education, 2012). ZU's Academic Bridge Program (ABP) is centred on the development of EFL skills although students will effectively be required to use

English as a second language (ESL) in their study. Its six levels are also spread over a maximum of two years and the length of study is determined by entry level. Through English, other skills are honed such as using technology and widening general knowledge (Academic Bridge Program, 2012). The University General Requirements Unit (UGRU) at the UAEU runs courses in Arabic, English, ICT and mathematics. English tuition is offered over three semesters with students receiving 12 contact hours a week. (UGRU Programs, 2012).

2.5.1. Federal university students and faculty

All but a few students who access federal universities are Emirati nationals who have graduated from secondary school and attend campuses segregated by gender. Most are required to complete foundation courses and most consider Arabic as their mother tongue. Although the UAE is considered a multicultural environment and English is often considered a lingua franca, this is probably most applicable to the cities of Abu Dhabi and Dubai. Emiratis outside these cities are not necessarily used to communicating in English beyond the classroom. This is particularly the case for HCT students who attend college outside the country's two main cities.

Because of the EMI policy, faculty employed in federal HEIs need to have an adequate command of English. As the government strives to provide the best quality of education to its students and the national education system in the country is still too young to provide sufficient numbers of Emirati faculty, teachers are often employed from abroad where they have also conducted their university studies (Farrugia, 2012). This means that staffing is multinational, exemplified by

HCT whose staff members come from more than 60 different countries (HCT Recruit, 2014). As for most professional expatriate workers in the UAE, salary and benefits are usually favourable compared with teachers' home countries but the fact that citizenship is not an option and residence visas are only issued to those with a work contract means that employment is often of a transient nature, leading to a high turnover (Farrugia, 2012).

As faculty is often employed from outside the UAE, many have to make adjustments to the language level of the students if they were previously working abroad at EMI institutions with higher language entry requirements. In addition, they must make adjustments to the general academic level of the students, which - as seen in international benchmarking assessments - is relatively low by OECD standards. Faculty may be employed to teach a content subject or English. Given the prevalence of students needing to complete foundation programmes, the number of English teaching faculty is quite high. This English teaching is not necessarily geared towards EMI; rather it generally follows an EFL syllabus with a specific focus on English for academic purposes (EAP) and preparation for international proficiency exams like the Academic IELTS. Although EFL teachers are accustomed to teaching students who do not have English as their mother tongue, many are surprised and challenged by the low level of English exhibited by the students. However, given their area of expertise, they generally have the tools to deal with this. On the other hand, content teachers may not have training in teaching EFL, so the adjustments they have to make to adapt to the students' level of English will most likely be greater. The population of this study consists of

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those content teachers who are tasked with delivering classes in undergraduate programmes to students who do not have a recognized international standard in the medium of instruction. The study will consider teachers' attitudes towards EMI and their views on how EMI policy is enacted in the UAE federal university context.

3. LITERATURE REVIEW

Having described the nature and significance of the study as well as examining the context in which it was conducted, this chapter provides the conceptual framework (see fig. 1) which, along with the researcher's experience and beliefs, laid the foundations for the primary research into teacher views on English medium instruction (EMI) and its enactment in the research context.

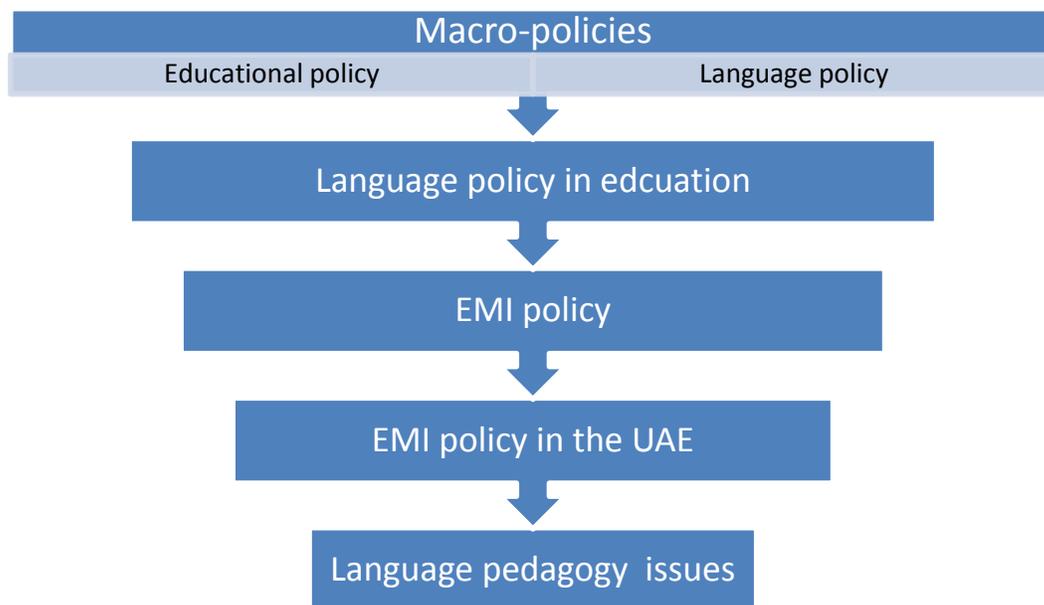


Figure 1: Conceptual framework overview

Drawing on both theoretical and empirical sources, the chapter first considers two macro policy areas which underpin and impact on the use of EMI. These are educational policy and language policy. The former considers why and how policies are created, the policy process and attendant problems with policy implementation. The latter considers language promotion and protection in an age

of globalisation and the spread of English before focusing on EMI policy in higher education (HE) globally, regionally and in the UAE. Finally, the language proficiency and pedagogical consequences of EMI are considered in the research context. Sources contesting educational policy, language policy and EMI tend to predominate in the literature, reflecting the pervasiveness of critical theory analysis in this particular domain. For this reason, while this review will highlight the theoretical advantages of EMI policy, the various problems and challenges which underpin and emanate from it take precedence.

3.1. Educational policy

According to Santos (cited in Robertson, 2011) education plays a "central role in the reproduction and transformation of societies" (p.10). In other words it has the power to regulate behaviour or to emancipate it via the formulation of educational policy. In principle, policy which is developed to transform for the better should be seen as a positive step, as in Lewin's theory of change management (Hayes, 2002; Burnes, 2004). However, just as Lewin's theory recognises that change is rarely smooth, the same is true for policy, as it will benefit some but not all (Bell & Stephenson, 2006). The fact that government is responsible for large scale educational decisions means policy will reflect government ideology and those who oppose it will lobby. This is evidenced when analyzing the educational policy process.

3.1.1. The policy process

Generic policy process models like the Geelhoed-Schouwstra framework (Schouwstra & Ellman, 2006) identify the steps of policy idea, policy formulation and policy implementation. Policymaking will start with a strategic goal and then be followed by objectives, goal-setting, action plans, implementation monitoring and outcomes measurement over a given period. On paper, this scientific approach sounds efficient but Bell and Stephenson (2006) suggest that the process is “fuzzy, messy and complex” (p.2) and Braun, Maguire and Ball (2010) state that policy should not be seen as unproblematic but as something to be contested. Ball (cited in Ball, 2007b, p.44) elaborates: “Most policies are ramshackle, compromise, hit and miss affairs that are reworded, tinkered with, nuanced and inflected through complex processes of influence, text production [and] dissemination”. Finally Bell and Stephenson (p.9) argue that “policy...is about the power to determine what is done. It shapes who benefits, for what purpose and who pays. It goes to the very heart of educational philosophy - what is education for? For whom? Who decides?” A major obstacle then will be competing ideologies emanating from the various influencers in each stage of the process and Ball (2007b) explains that in national educational policy each stage of the process will give both state and pedagogues a new opportunity to lobby.

Trowler (2003) describes some of the more common ideologies that may predominate in educational policy. These include traditionalism with a focus on transmitting cultural heritage through education; enterprise, which aims at providing an efficient workforce via a focus on core skills; progressivism, which

promotes equality, choice and personal development; and social reconstructionism, which looks to bring about positive social change. While one ideology may predominate, Lingard and Ozga (2007) observe that lobbying will ensure this predominance is diluted. In the UAE context there is also evidence of competing ideologies as it looks to promote traditionalism, progressivism and enterprise in building its nation with the latter being given precedence, in line with current Western notions of higher education being primarily a training ground for employment. This reinforces the idea that education and the economy are more closely aligned than ever (Winch & Gingell, 2004). In essence, it appears that the UK and other Western Anglophone educational models are providing a structural template for educational reform in the UAE. The following sections on educational policy formulation and implementation show examples of this Anglophone development and its impact on the Emirati context.

3.1.2. Policy formulation

In formulating policy Taylor, Rivzi, Lingard & Henry (in Bell & Stevenson, 2006) list a number of factors which influence what they refer to as the 'context' stage of the educational policy process. These include the political and economic climate at the time, the historical precedence of policy decisions and the influence of special interest groups, all of which ensure that the policy text is still ripe for critique, analysis and interpretation (Ball, 2006) so the final document will betray the complex processes of appeasement that took place in its development. Critical research into the formulation of UK educational policy focuses very much on the question of whether education is a public service or a commodity (Ball & Yondell,

2007) with the conclusion being that the importing of ideas, practices and techniques from the private sector mean that “endogenous privatisation” (ibid., p.8) is taking place. Rivzi (2007) critiques these neo-liberal tendencies which mark a move away from the state’s obligation to provide social well-being for its people while Whitty (2002) bemoans the increased regulation of practice - what Lingard and Ozga (2007, p. 68) refer to as “policy by numbers” - with international measurements such as PISA and TIMMS becoming prominent. Hill (2006) sees this as a move to a more neo-conservative focus on traditionalism and skills training rather than critical thought and personal development; an observation also noted by Robertson and Dale (2006). Bell and Stephenson (2006) observe how this human capital theory links learning to citizenship so students are inculcated with nation state values to be productive citizens. They continue that this is even more important in centres of cultural and ethnic diversity, which would, of course, include the UAE.

Another emergent goal in UK educational policy formulation appears to be globalisation to promote opportunities to expand educational operations, products and service beyond its borders. Whitty (2002) sees this marketization of education from Anglophone countries as being "related to a broader economic, political and cultural process of globalization"(p.94-5). Rivzi (2007) views this globalization of education as detrimental to traditional cultural practices as they are replaced by a post-modern consumer culture which purports to promote progress, prosperity and peace. From a value-free perspective, if a superior model for education is available then it may make sense but Rivzi continues that such hegemonic

discourse and unidirectional cultural flow from West to East limits local policy innovation. It also marketises the degree itself by devaluing its worth as an opportunity to learn; turning it instead into a reified commodity to own (Molesworth, Nixon & Sullivan, 2009).

Evidence of these modern approaches to educational policy formulation is also apparent in the UAE. It has a need to diversify its economy (Ibrahim, 2011) and is looking to create a nation of Emiratis who will be internationally-oriented active members of the knowledge economy. Mufti (2006) questions whether these human capital goals in HE are not a little far-reaching and calls for more to be done to assist students who lack academic capital first. While this may be catered for to an extent via various HE foundation programmes, the umbrella vision according to Clark (2006) shows “missionistic” (p.232) rhetoric of progressive education linked to nation-building. Findlow (2005) believes that UK and US influence is still strong and the Ministry of Higher Education and Scientific Research (MOHESR) has indicated that the education system needs to keep pace with global best practice (Nahayan, 2011). Randall’s documentary research (2011) explains that this means a socio-economic model for HE is apparent, as evidenced in HE institutional goals. Kirk (2011) suggests that this is also evident in some other Gulf States where “western notions of education, and the building of ‘knowledge societies’ are gaining support” (p.41).

Examples of these replicated notions include educational quality control mechanisms (Armstrong, 2012), the use of Western accreditation bodies (Findlow, 2005), and the widespread use of educational advisors even since the 1990s

(Warnica, 2011). This influence from the West brings with it the danger - real or perceived - of subordinating local culture (Al Qutami, 2011). Indeed, Winch and Gingell (2004) suggest that cultural reproduction is almost unavoidable in such circumstances. Al Qutami continues that this can become particularly sensitive when it enters the domain of religion with representations of peace-building efforts addressing perceived Arab-Islamic aggression in a post 9-11 age. Findlow (2005) believes that these potential negative influences leave UAE society with conflicting issues which politically might be subsumed under a conflict between autocratic tribalism and democracy and may be seen as a threat to constructs of national identity. Farah and Ridge (2009, p.6) are of the view that "nowhere is national identity more clearly defined than through the public school curriculum" and there is evidence that this is being addressed with a renewed focus on national values in educational curricula (Al Qutami, 2011). These examples of Westernization and the need to meet the concerns of those who feel that national identity is being compromised indicate that UAE educational policy is no different from any other. It is subject to external and internal influences which contest or affect policy ideas right through the stage of policy formulation and beyond.

3.1.3. Policy implementation

The final stage of implementation is often referred to as enactment by critical commentators, suggesting that policy is interpreted and contested by educational institutions and their employees (Braun et al., 2010). The authors sense that the complexities of policy enactment environments are often naively ignored by policymakers. This means that these ignored implementers are more likely to

enact policy. Various commentators have their own perspective on this phenomenon. Trowler (2003) indicates how teachers tasked with implementation of policy may operate within a "phenomenology of innovation" (p.128) by interpreting change, which leads to refraction and distortion as it is implemented. Hill (2006) refers to the "unintended consequences" (pp. 73-4) that arise when implementers are excluded from formulation; Bell and Stephenson (2006) allude to the forming and then reforming of policy at this stage, while Ball (2007b) uses the terms translation, recontextualisation and even cannibalisation of old and new to describe what occurs. As a result, institutions "sometimes generate their own policies that elaborate on and embed aspects of...policymaking into their own cultures and working practices" (p. 548) and have to make "careful, and sometimes painful, decisions about where their policy priorities lie" (Maguire, in Bell & Stephenson, 2006).

Trowler (2003) uses the metaphor of noise interference to describe how an encoded policy document is often erroneously decoded by its end-users. One reason for this lack of clarity may be policymakers' attempts to pre-empt institutions' disenfranchisement by avoiding explicit rules of implementation. Ball (in Braun et al., 2010, p.19) explains: "Policies do not normally tell you what to do, they create circumstances in which the range of options available in deciding what to do are narrowed or changed, or particular goals or outcomes are set". While this may show policymakers' awareness of potential local contextual differences, it will also naturally facilitate the rise of unintended outcomes. Arguably the main reason for interference, however, will be the clash of ideologies and beliefs between

policymakers and implementers: that is, institutions, teachers and students. Using a business analogy, if companies are not customer-driven and do not listen to the market their products will not match customer needs (Jobber, 2004; Kotler, 2000). These customers may be external end users (e.g. students) or, especially in service industries, internal – that is, the end providers of a service to customers (Palmer, 2005; Kasper, Helsdingen & Gabbott, 2006). In this context that would mean educational institutions and teachers. This may mean that if internal customers are involved in the process of service design, they will believe in the service, so service delivery will be optimal whereas a policy which is developed in a top-down fashion may only receive lip service from those tasked with its implementation. Even within the implementation environment, educational institutions will have to deal with the multifarious beliefs of its own stakeholders (e.g. teachers, students, parents, guardians, board of governors, sponsors etc) who may support or reject governmental policy to one degree or another. Herein lies a major challenge in implementing policy which is centrally formulated and does not include policy implementers at every stage of the process. If policymakers do not recognise environmental factors, diverse belief systems and the ensuing complex organisational culture of each educational institution when formulating policy, the probability of successful outcomes is compromised.

3.1.4. Educational policy implementation in the UAE

Warnica (2011) describes how Western educational methods are challenging in the Arab context as they require a rethink on methodology and carry with them cultural baggage which can act as a barrier to change. He continues that one of

the greatest challenges is the use of foreign consultants and advisors rather than local ones and claims that this policy is not working, as it carries with it the imposition of a method of learning which clashes with those previously used. Dakkak (2011) suggests that the move away from a rote memorisation model in the UAE is further complicated by the speed with which it is being implemented. He cites how large scale failure in exams with higher order questions led parents to lobby successfully for a return to rote learning assessment. Although this is just one critical incident, it serves as a good example of how difficult it is to ensure that policy is implemented and interestingly, how lobby groups still hold sway in forcing policy amendments even at the post-formulation stage.

3.2. Language policy

The second macro-policy which informs language policy in education is general language policy and as will be seen, much of the theory behind education policy is equally valid for national language decision-making. Moore (2000, p.62) describes language as a two-faced phenomenon that is "...as capable of enslaving, controlling and limiting us as it is of liberating us and expanding our potential". Ricento (2006) concurs that language policy is not abstract but will affect people on a personal level while Spolsky (2009) sees it as political in that it can restrict choice for some while pursuing a government's own ideological agenda. Tollefson (2000) identifies various approaches that might be adopted nationally. These include a pluralistic policy of promoting multilingualism, an assimilation policy of encouraging the use of a language or a monolingual policy which converts a language into an essential representation of success and power. Whichever is

chosen, it is likely to be connected to the promotion of a dominant tongue or the protection of an indigenous one. While the latter might align to a pluralistic approach, a monolingual approach is often chosen in situations where ethno-linguistic tensions are rife (Tollefson, 2000; Tollefson, 2013b; Brumfit, 2006). However, in modern times, it is the exponential growth of globalization and the subsequent spread of global English which has been most influential in national language policymaking.

3.2.1. Globalization and English

Pennycook (2007) suggests that the concept of globalization is not new. It can be linked to the era of exploration and colonial times both of which were relevant in spreading English. Crystal (2001) adds that since the Second World War the rise of the US as an economic power has helped to cement English in the world so that it is no longer just prominent in post-colonial settings. While in new settings its role may have a more neo-liberal hue, in those post-colonial settings it is still often linked to prestige and governance (Luke, 2005; Kumar, 2006). Its pervasiveness shows influence in many fields. It is the dominant language of the music industry (McPhail, 2006), the working language of many international organizations and major news channels (Fairclough, 2006) and is seen as an integral part of global commerce, tourism, travel, media, advertising, broadcasting and education (Brown, 2007b; Crystal, 2001). Its influence enters the arts and academia where writers whose first language (L1) is not English must now consider if they will use it to reach a wider audience (Crystal, 2001) and non-L1 academics (who have L2 or even L3 English) must write in English to be published (Braine, 2005b). According

to Brown, more than half of the one billion users worldwide use English as a second language (ESL) or as a foreign language (EFL). At the turn of the century it had official or special status in 70 countries and was being learned as a foreign language in more than 100 (Crystal, 2001).

Whether the spread of English as an international language is beneficial has been widely debated. One argument in its favour is its potential role as a lingua franca in multilingual societies (Ferguson, 2006; Jenkins, 2007). Ferguson adds that such societies are increasingly common due to increased migration. Its prestigious position means that it is seen as indispensable for success in the global economy (Lin & Martin, 2005). However, this neo-liberal tendency is often frowned upon (Holborrow, 2006; Tollefson, 2000) as one person's economic success can mean another person's failure. Indeed, Shohamy (2006) sees global English as a class marker while others consider it a hegemonic tool. Pennycook (2007, p.90) believes it serves "Western powers, global capitalism, the developed world [and] neoliberal ideology"; Canagarajah (2005) argues that it has aided in usurping decolonization efforts; and in a similar vein, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) describes how it has weakened the nation state. Its dominance has led to the terms such as language shift and endangerment (Ferguson, 2006), linguicism (language racism) and language death (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000) indicating its power to marginalize and even kill off local vernaculars. The extent to which these terms are valid is also an area of debate with some arguments suggesting that all languages have a life cycle. However, Shohamy (2006) hypothesizes on the consequences of a future

monolingual society, with Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) and Phillipson (2003) asking, perhaps ironically, if it will lead to bilinguals and multilinguals forming the new elite.

3.2.2. Promoting and protecting languages

The previous section showed the impact that English has had in the age of globalization and this requires nation states to embrace it, to reject it or to find a happy medium. This section highlights some of the issues that may provoke action on policy. The issue of language death is sensitive as language is often considered part of culture (Brown, 2007b). Ferguson (2006) is of the opinion that although culture will survive if language is lost, it will suffer some change so countries may be driven to take measures to control the influx of English to minimize language obsolescence (McGregor, 2009). Other countries, however, appear to embrace English. While there is evidence of resistance in Africa, Makoni and Mashiri (2007) suggest that many African governments prefer to promote colonial languages. Ferguson (2006) describes how in many decolonised African and Asian countries the colonial language is used to bind ethno-culturally diverse societies living within borders which were arbitrarily drawn up by their former colonial masters. Even in English L1 countries policies are introduced to protect the dominant language from the influx of immigrants (Tollefson, 2013b); the English Only movement in the United States being a prime example of lobbying affecting policy decisions (Schmid, 2000; Auberbach, 2000).

The fall of communism and the ensuing (re)emergence of small states along with devolution of powers in some countries have given rise to the promotion of regional languages (Ferguson, 2006) but this is happening in the same era as

globalization, which may diminish efforts to protect indigenous tongues (Tollefson, 2006). It is not only smaller nations that feel this pressure; although Ferguson believes that European countries have sufficient power to resist global English, Spolsky (2009) cites France as a country which is feeling its force. As Arabic is the fifth most widely spoken language in the world, one might put the pressure it feels from English in the same category. This pressure has led countries like Hungary, Sweden and Poland to introduce protective legislation (Phillipson, 2003) and Grin (2006) supports the position that language policy must not be left to market forces. Therefore purist policies like that of the *Academie Francaise* which looks to keep Englishisms out of French (Scovel, 2001) or general status planning to ensure that the indigenous language is used in certain parts of society like the government should be promoted. The UAE Arabic Charter described in Chapter Two is one such example.

3.2.3. Enacting language policy

As with education so with language: efforts to implement language policy are not always successful as the implementers (the citizens and residents of a country) will act according to their beliefs, their traditions or their need. If interlocutors share a common language, that will be their lingua franca regardless of national policy (McGregor, 2009). If effective communication requires them to code-switch between English and their mother tongue (e.g. *Arabizi* – Arabic and English), that will be the approach (Crystal, 2001). If they are required to communicate in English and they do not master it, they will use whatever linguistic devices are at their disposal. This means that the monolithic concept of English as a lingua

franca (ELF) is inaccurate as there are potentially many ELF's which develop naturally depending on the context and the people involved (Jenkins, 2007). As these interactions do not involve English L1 users, this means there must necessarily be a tolerance for diversity where an L1 standard cannot be expected (Seidlhofer, 2006).

The use of these English varieties led to seminal research by Kachru in the 1980s which led to the concept of World Englishes (Scovel, 2001; Brown, 2007a). In his research, Kachru identified three circles of English centred around Inner Circle countries where it is used as a first language; then Outer Circle countries where it is used as a second language or holds equal status to the indigenous language(s); and finally, Expanding Circle countries, where English is learned as a foreign language. Phillipson (1992) refers to the central circle as the Core, while the other two are referred to as Periphery. While Kachru's work has been important in recognising and legitimising varieties of English around the world, it is questionable whether this has led to any real change in the status quo regarding what is accepted as 'good English'. In fact, Pennycook (2007) argues that by highlighting the different varieties one may also be implicitly encouraging discrimination among them. Regardless of that debate, the evidence is clear that users of English may not subscribe to the need to learn an Inner Circle variety even if it is mandated but will constantly appropriate English to serve their communication needs (Shohamy, 2006).

If the examples of enactment thus far have focused on the appropriation of language on pragmatic grounds, the following ones reflect resistance. Kumar

(2006, p.17) argues that "language rights cannot be separated from social, political and cultural rights" while Tollefson (2000) claims that language has always been contested both socially and historically. When language is imposed, it rarely leads to conformity (Brown, 2007b) and this is especially so if end-users are not consulted at the policy formulation stage (Shohamy, 2006). One of the issues is the linking of language with a nation state. Shohamy explains that languages are not geographically enclosed entities to which Holliday (2005) concurs when critiquing essentialist views of culture. The fact that there are more languages than nation states (Makoni & Mashiri, 2007) and that they can form part of a multilingual country or be transnational is an even clearer argument for seeing a national language as an artificial, colonial construct (Canagarajah, 2007; Tollefson, 2013a) which allows nation states to "create ideologies of uniformity, cohesion and control" (Shohamy, 2006, p.41). Hence, linguistic groups may shun national languages in favour of their mother tongue to promote their own identity. Spolsky (2009) also describes how users will manage their own language use according to their beliefs while Tollefson (2013a) believes that language policy will only be successfully followed when language is planned based on community input. A final consideration is the enactment of using English when national policy promotes the revitalization of the indigenous language. Phillipson (2006a; 2006b) highlights the growth of English in Europe despite European Union (EU) multilingualism policies. McGregor (2009) and Ferguson (2006) also describe the gradual language shift to higher status English emergent in many countries, paralleled by a recessive shift away from the mother tongue (Brown, 2007b). Such instances lead Pennycook

(2007) to call for the demythologizing of English so that other languages can survive.

3.3. Language policy in education

If the attendant issues in educational policy and language policy are merged, it is safe to assume that education language policy (ELP) is a domain that will have similar challenges. In due course EMI will be considered, but to set the stage, ELP themes which involve the use of English will first be reviewed. The way language is applied in education can be high stakes in a number of ways. Ferguson (2006) considers education as the most crucial sector in society for planning the standardisation or revitalising of languages. Shohamy (2006) points to the political nature of ELP by showing how ideology can be enforced through the use of English medium tests and materials in non-L1 English environments while Makoni and Mashiri (2007) assert that ELP does not look at what best suits learners but filters policy through a nation state and national language paradigm. The role of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992), that is the explicit or implicit imposition of one language (in this case, English) on speakers of other languages in their own countries, is also apparent in the teaching of EFL as it is dominated by UK and US interests (Braine, 2005b). Coupled with this is the reified model of Western learning which assumes that Kachru's Inner Circle countries export a superior method to Outer Circle and Expanding Circle users; the pre-conceived Core notion being that Periphery users are not able to learn autonomously (Holliday, 2005).

This reification of Western education and the Core means that non-L1 users are othered in the educational domain; evidenced by a preference for L1 English users

to teach English if available and affordable despite there being more non-L1 (bilingual) teachers globally (Brown, 2007b). Shehadaeh (2005) explains how such bilingual teachers can bring much to the table that is beyond the capabilities of a monolingual L1-user but in current times in certain contexts they are marginalized just like students who may feel their culture being othered (Holliday, 2003) and find their opportunities to access education blocked due to language deficiencies (Tollefson & Tsui, 2014). Whatever ELP policy is employed, it will draw bottom-up resistance and enactment from those who do not agree with it. Mohanty, Panda and Pal (2010) cite the three language policy in India (local vernacular, Hindi and English) as an example where ELP is enacted according to linguistic tradition, ability and beliefs. Ramanathan and Morgan (2007) suggest that when faced with such impositions teachers and administration will always find ways to “craft workable solutions” (p.448) as they see policy not as an entity but as an engagement. Though there are many ways in which English can impact in Periphery educational environments, perhaps the most invasive and therefore the most potentially challenging is that of EMI.

3.3.1. English medium instruction

In determining the best way to incorporate English into a curriculum there are a number of options. The first is to use the mother tongue medium and teach EFL; the second is to teach ESL as part of a bilingual framework; and the third is to choose EMI. Choosing the latter is a major decision which will have far-reaching consequences politically, economically and culturally. Troudi and Jendli (2011) refer to various eminent global English commentators' views on EMI to emphasise

the level of contestation. For example, Canagarajah (1999) believes in appropriating English by using the local vernacular in post-colonial settings while Jenkins (2007) advocates the development of an international lingua franca, which is supported in some quarters by Western researchers (McKay, 2006; Promoduru, 2006). EMI in HE is not new - according to Crystal (2001) it emerged in the 1960s while Shohamy (2013) explains that its development is normal given that historically universities have tended to use prestige languages. Its eminent position means that more than 50% of all international HE students use EMI (Graddol, 2006) and the rise in importance in recent years of university rankings with criteria for internationalisation means that EMI's position has been bolstered further (Wilkinson, 2013). Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) contests the use of EMI, believing that students should have a right to study in their mother tongue. In line with this view, Troudi and Jendli call for debate on why mother tongue usage is side-lined, suggesting that EMI in HE is often an "uncontested practice in many Arab countries" (p.41). This necessitates a review of EMI policy to seek out evidence to justify its use. This starts with an analysis of its possible advantages and disadvantages.

Pros of EMI

Though there are various reasons to support EMI policy, two possibly predominate: economics and the rise of multicultural societies. The first emphasises the economic benefits of importing programmes of study from abroad. On the one hand, it may be cheaper to use existing programmes rather than develop new or existing ones in the mother tongue (Kydd, 1997). On the other

hand, by using curricula or assessments which already have an international standing via accreditation and the associated reputation that accompanies it, governments can guarantee their people an education which has a proven quality and is recognised beyond the country's borders (Lloyd & Davidson, 2005; Hardcastle, 2007). Al Sudairy (2005) indicates that the majority of global educational materials are written in English. One might ask why more Arabic materials are not used but Kirk (2011) shows how in current times book production in the Arab region is low. For example, while the ratio of Arabic speakers to Greek speakers is 20:1, five times more books are published in Greek than in Arabic.

The second reason is borne out by the increasing mobility of labour and students. It makes sense to use EMI in multilingual classrooms (Wilkinson, 2013; Crystal, 2001) and Wilkinson sees economic benefits in attracting international students to study. EMI can facilitate access to further study and employment abroad as applicants will have internationally recognised qualifications (Kirkpatrick, 2006). Linked to this trans-national aspect of EMI adoption is the elevated position of English as an international lingua franca (McKay, 2006). English has made the transition from the language of the global marketplace in the 20th century to the language of the information-based economy in the current one (Rudby & Saraceni, 2006), thereby perpetuating the linkage of English with modernity (Syed, 2003; Ahmed, 2010). It is seen to be an essential skill for individuals who are looking to succeed in a global economy. If this is indeed the case it would make sense to give one's nation every chance to compete globally and that would include achieving competence in what is currently the world's international language. A

caveat, however, is highlighted by Janks (2010) who believes that this serves only the elite. To have a competitive edge this privilege cannot be afforded to all as a wholesale move to EMI would defeat the object of creating differentiation.

Whatever economic benefits there are for Periphery recipients, these are unlikely to match those of the Core as they are the providers of many curricula and materials which are used outside their shores. This is an economic boon for educational publishers and institutions that are looking to have a global presence (Troudi, 2009). It also creates employment in the Core countries in relevant sectors as well as providing employment abroad for Core country nationals as educational managers, consultants, trainers, regional representatives or teaching staff. The global usage of English as a lingua franca in business and communication means that the need to know English remains strong. There is evidence that stakeholders in countries where EMI is practiced recognise the necessity for global economic reasons and for motivations linked to the prestige that English has garnered in those societies (Canagarajah, 1999; Syed, 2003; Tollefson, 2000; Lowenburg, 2000). However, there may be a sense of imposition from those who believe that education should be provided in the native language of the country (Zughoul, 2003; Holliday, 2005; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). One final reason for using EMI should be pedagogical; that is, it is the best model for learning. However, Troudi (2009) points to the fact that there is very little research on the pedagogical benefits of EMI and what exists is based on scientism as opposed to in-depth qualitative analysis (Troudi & Jendli, 2011). All of the politically and economically motivated decisions for employing and promoting EMI

hold weight for those who benefit. Nevertheless, the pedagogical arguments in its favour appear to be minimal and this is one of many areas where EMI policy may be considered inappropriate and problematic in certain educational contexts.

Cons of EMI

In addition to the pedagogic question marks which hang over EMI, its role in linguistic imperialism is often considered as the most problematic perspective when justifying its use, encompassing as it does, political and economic hegemony, and issues of national identity, which in turn encompass issues of mother tongue, heritage and self-worth. All of these aspects may activate resistance among stakeholders as they suggest inequity of culture and opportunities in life. While the promotion of English materials may indeed be a pro for Inner Circle countries and provide teaching opportunities for Inner Circle teachers (Ball, 2007a; Janks, 2010; Troudi, 2009), this is to the economic detriment of the target economies' own educational publishers and the many Periphery teachers who are shunned in favour of "native speaker" educators. Another example of inequity would be the disadvantage that non-L1 users would experience in EMI environments (Troudi, 2009; Spolsky, 2009). This suggests that EMI is, in fact, a phenomenon which favours the privileged, be that in linguistic ability or economically, as an EMI education will often cost more and will aim to afford learners better opportunities in life. Indeed, Janks (2010) senses that "elite languages and elite literacies often act as gate-keepers that control inclusion and exclusion" (p.142). English language teaching perpetuates then a post-colonial, neo-liberal agenda (Pennycook in Clarke, 2006) and Rui Yang (in Al Sudairy,

2005) indicates that this is reflected in a superiority complex whereby “global education is seen as the new colonizer, insensitively spreading its views of the world onto developing nations in the mistaken belief that they are actually helping people” (pp.5-6).

Pragmatic examples of inequity may include some of the following. If curricular outcomes are assessed internationally and uniformly regardless of the language background of the students, non-L1 users are clearly at a disadvantage. Consider, for example, whether it is fair to ask students to study in a language which may lead to poorer performance compared to studying in their native language (Spolsky, 2009). Is it fair to ask teachers to teach in a language which may lead to poorer performance compared to teaching in their native tongue? These questions allude to deficiency in language brought about by a policy which does not take into consideration that not all learners, and indeed teachers, are proficient in the language in question (Shohamy, 2013). As such, EMI does not necessarily empower learners to become globally-oriented members of the knowledge economy but actually alienates learners and teachers who do not master English and violates their right to teach and be taught in their mother tongue (Troudi & Jendli, 2011). This has led many ex-colonies to re-establish the position of their native language to rectify the impact on the ecology of languages (Kumaravadivelu, 2006; Doiz, Lasagabster & Sierra, 2013b) and as already noted, in the UAE context the precarious position of Arabic has also been widely debated with the first signs of a backlash against EMI.

One final area for contestation looks to the future by analysing the unsustainable nature of English as an eminent language in the world (Graddol, 1997). While Janks feels that the rise of other languages is inevitable, this is unlikely to affect it as the language of choice in HE – what Phillipson refers to as the “lingua academia” (Troudi & Jendli, 2011, p. 35). This rather grandiose term is a reflection of the elitist sense of hegemony attached to EMI. However, Janks suggests that in time the increasing use of vernacular English between L2 users for pragmatic purposes may lead to the need for a rethink on how English should be used. Having considered many of the pros and cons of EMI, this review continues by analysing how EMI has been employed in various non-Emirati contexts before looking in-depth at EMI-related research in the UAE.

EMI outside the UAE

While examples of studies into the protection of English in Core countries exist (see, for example, Auerbach, 2000, Schmid, 2000), the majority of language medium studies consider how Periphery countries are coping with studying in an L2 or L3. Interestingly, while neo-colonial contexts have remained the main source of EMI studies, recent years have seen a rise in position papers and studies on EMI in HE in new contexts like Europe. Ferguson (2006) points to the increasing usage of EMI in Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Switzerland while Tollefson and Tsui (2014) describe how its exponential growth in the last 20 years has had a knock-on effect in the use of EMI in schools to prepare students for tertiary study. Doiz et al. (2013b) cite a 2008 study by Waechter and Maiworm which showed a 340% increase in EMI HE programmes in Europe since 2002 and this increase

has led to a number of empirical studies in the field. This section precludes an analysis of EMI issues in the UAE by highlighting the most pertinent themes that resonate globally.

An overriding aspect of recent studies is the perceived importance of English acquisition in a globalized world. Kagwesage's qualitative study of student views at a Rwandan university (2012) highlighted their understanding of the importance of studying in English for their future. Tollefson and Tsui (2013), in a review of recent EMI studies, expressed how the rise of EMI across Asia has made English an indispensable asset. Examples include Li's documentary research at the Chinese University of Hong Kong (2013). Chang (2010) in Taiwan and Mahn (2012) in Vietnam, both found that students and staff see EMI as necessary while similar findings were reported by Shazad, Sajjad, Ahmed, & Asghar (2012) in Pakistan. Despite the European Union's efforts to make the continent multilingual, research evidence suggests that EMI is becoming the medium of choice in HE. Tatzl's mixed methods study in Austria (2011) with both students and teachers identified a positive outlook on EMI. This support for EMI was also found in regions where local languages had much to lose from the growth of English such as the Flanders region of Belgium (van Splunder, 2010) and Catalonia in Spain (Bots, 2013). In Denmark, Jensen and Thorgesen's survey among lecturers (2011) suggested that younger faculty were positive about EMI while Sert's case study in Turkey (2008), which canvassed views of both lecturers and students, indicated that EMI, though not perfect, was preferable to EFL.

Despite this apparent clamour for EMI, position papers and empirical research have continued to contest the value and measure the negative impact of the policy. Tollefson and Tsui (2013) cite China as a country which has become particularly attracted to English, but explain that it is expensive, elitist and in some cases excludes English medium teachers from reaching full qualified status until they show language mastery. Janks' research (2010) into English usage in South African HE highlights how EMI has also othered non-L1 users and how it has been contested on hegemonic grounds based on the colonial past of the State. She cites Ndebele who looks for historical reconciliation before English can be accepted by claiming, "English is not innocent, its guilt must be recognized before its continued use is advocated" (p.138). According to Janks, controversy over the use of EMI has led South African language and educational policy to officially use English as an additional language. This realignment of the position of English in South Africa is exemplified by van der Walt and Kidd (2013) who highlight how at Stellenbosch University both English and Afrikaans were given as optional media of instruction for the same course and code-switching between media of instruction and local vernaculars was encouraged to aid learning. In Asia, Tollefson and Tsui (2013) indicate that in Hong Kong debates on EMI policy have been prevalent since sovereignty in 1997. They also refer to the situation in Malaysia where language of instruction policy has gone back and forth since its own independence as it wrestles with the need to respond to globalization while managing ethno-linguistic tensions. In Europe, Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2011) found via group discussions that in the early stages of EMI at a Basque University, Basque-speaking teachers generally rejected the policy. A later study

by the same researchers (2013a) indicated that while Basque students supported it, they were against using English as a lingua franca outside the classroom.

While the afore-mentioned studies consider hegemonic elements of EMI, various researchers have also investigated the pragmatic challenges of studying in an L2 or L3. Van Wyk's 2014 case study at the University of the Free State in South Africa indicated that most students had problems in dealing with academic language in English; a longitudinal study by Evans and Morrison in Hong Kong (2011) highlighted student challenges in technical vocabulary, understanding lectures and writing while Hu, Li and Lei's case study in China (2014) compared the difference of rhetoric from policymakers and the realities of difficulties faced by students. Other studies in Rwanda (Kagwesage, 2012), Taiwan (Chang, 2010) and in Vietnam (Mahn, 2012) all speak in general terms of challenges faced in the implementation of EMI. The predominant reason for difficulties appears to be language proficiency, as indicated by studies in Sri Lanka (Vidanapathirana & Gamini, 2009; Navaz, 2013), China (Lei & Hu, 2014) and Austria (Tatzl, 2011).

Most of the studies which describe challenges also describe or recommend solutions. Evans and Morrison in Hong Kong (2011) highlighted how students overcame challenges through hard work and peer help. A Korean study by Joe and Li (2013) found that students' needed more mother tongue summaries while Hengsadeekul, Koul and Kaewkuekool (2014) surmised from their study that Thai students needed more affective support. Shazad et al. (2012) concluded that good support networks and study skills aided learning in EMI environments while the study by Navaz (2013) indicated that more interactive lecture styles facilitated

understanding for students. This focus on teaching ability as compensation for lack of English proficiency among teachers and students was mirrored in a study in the Netherlands by Grifta, Meijerb and van der Salma (2012). Finally, Tatzl's mixed methods study in Austria (2011) with both students and teachers saw reduction of content as a solution to insufficient language mastery.

What is clear from these studies from The Far East, South East Asia, South Asia and Europe is that despite possible challenges in the implementation of EMI, there is support, albeit grudging at times, for its use. What is also of note is that support, contestation, challenges and solutions are not necessarily region-specific. It is, therefore, unsurprising to find similar outcomes from the minimal studies in the Arabian Gulf. EMI has been willingly adopted in countries like Qatar, Kuwait and Bahrain (Troudi & Jendli, 2011). However, signs of rejection have been noted in Qatar according to the media as some supported U.S. branch campuses have reverted to using AMI for some courses (Guttenplan, 2012). A longitudinal study in Qatar by Pessoa, Miller & Kaufer (2014) with mainly Arabic speaking students found that initial challenges in reading, vocabulary comprehension and academic writing showed gradual, if minimal, improvement in later years of study. Al Bakri's exploratory study of tertiary EMI in Oman (2013) indicated that students were generally positive about it but faced many challenges. Abdel-Jawad and Abu Radwan's study (2011) into pervasive English usage in Sultan Qaboos University in Oman suggested that although not all courses were EMI, English had effectively become the lingua franca of the institution. The invasion of English and its potential effect on culture was the focus of Pessoa and Rajakumar's mixed

methods pilot study among predominantly Qatari students (2011). However, results showed students' pragmatic awareness of the use of English for professional and practical purposes.

3.4. EMI policy in the UAE

Although EMI has been evident in the UAE HE sector since the 1970s, there has been little research into its positive and negative effects on teaching and learning. Why this might be is open to question. One reason may be that so much public investment has gone into the provision of EMI at the possible expense of Arabic medium instruction (AMI) that from a political standpoint, criticism on policy would not be welcomed. A second reason may be that the speed of development of education has been too fast for research to be conducted in time to inform future policy. However, just as in other Gulf countries, the research that exists is recent and therefore provides important insights into the state of the art of EMI in HE in the country.

Certain themes arise from a review of these UAE-based position papers and empirical studies, many of which reflect findings outside the UAE borders. The first is a confirmation that EMI is an integral part of the country's efforts at nation-building. Al Ateequi (2009) notes that "the UAE's leaders recognize that having a good command of the language of technology and commerce will undoubtedly facilitate the UAE's access to the global business arena" (p.87) while Al Marzroui (2011) and Troudi and Jendli (2011) both allude to students' beliefs that it is an economic necessity for their futures; a point noted by Dahan (2013) and

elaborated on by Clarke (2006) who explains how the study of English is valued in UAE society and recognized by students as key to nation-building and positioning itself globally. He continues that English is linked to new educational approaches, thereby accentuating its link with modernity. Troudi and Jendli believe that this uncontested view manifests itself explicitly in using the 'native speaker' or Core country model as the point of reference in the HE sector and Troudi (2009) senses that this perpetuates a self-imposed legacy of colonialism.

A second theme which emerges from UAE-based research is the potential threat that EMI poses to the Arabic language and an Emirati's national identity. MOHESR has expressed the belief that fluency in foreign languages is a necessity and not inconsistent with loyalty to one's culture (Nahayan, 2011) but some commentary indicates that EMI is indeed a threat (see, for example, Al Qutami, 2011) while Findlow (2005) explains that because many subjects perceived as relevant to the UAE's nation-building goals are taught by Western or Western-educated teachers, students are likely to associate their own culture as inferior and an Anglo-oriented one as more desirable, although Dahan (2013) believes that students' identity is not unduly affected. In addition to the potentially negative influence that these teachers may have on issues of national identity, the role of educational experts is also pinpointed as an area where imposition is felt; perhaps more so in this case by teachers whose own educational values are contested as they are obliged to apply 'foreign' methodology (Dakkak, 2011). Indeed, Farah and Ridge (2009), who also criticize the use of foreign experts, question how long this practice can be economically sustained. If education is an integral part of nation-building, at some

point it would be assumed that the baton would have to be handed over to local expertise. However, while there is still a reliance on foreign input, the chance for this local capacity-building is weakened and by association the chance to influence educational reform within the parameters of Emirati culture may be lost. If EMI is problematic for some teachers, Clarke's study (2006) indicated that students do value and accept English but remain protective of their own local culture and traditions. The Arabic language is at the forefront of that and is a third theme which arises from UAE-based research.

Troudi (2009) believes that Arabic is educationally marginalized in the UAE due to its associations with literature, theology, social interaction and local tradition and these associations clash with the internationally-oriented economic goals of nation-building. In his study into why English is preferred to Arabic in the study of sciences he concluded that it was not used due to lack of resources, textbooks and translation costs but countered that this did not stop other Far East nations from teaching science in the mother tongue. Troudi and Jendli (2011) found that in the UAE HE sector Arabic proficiency is often assumed and therefore there is no national curriculum for Arabic at the tertiary level. This is possibly due to the main focus being on English in HE and increasingly in schools. As discussed in Chapter 2 there is evidence that student progression in schools is weak in both languages with increased hours in English from grades 7 to 9 leading to no discernible improvement (Farah & Ridge, 2009). Despite this dual challenge for the learning of languages, the asymmetric relationship between English and Arabic in the UAE is sustained in education.

A fourth strand of research is what happens in the EMI classroom in schools and HE. Durham and Palubski's research (2007) indicates that at a government HCT college "few, if any, allowances are made for potential language deficiencies" (p.84) and argues for more scaffolding in language and methodology in foundation programmes as students are faced with a cognitive load which may be overwhelming. They elaborate thus: "While facing the initial challenge of using English as the primary study medium, students must simultaneously adapt to a student-centred teaching approach and adopt a self-directed learning style which requires them to take ownership of their learning" (p.86). Other studies have highlighted similar classroom challenges. Rogier (2012) found that although students do improve over time, more language learning support was needed in EMI environments. Belhiah and Elhami's survey of teachers and students (2014) pointed to struggles caused by low proficiency. McLaren's mixed-methods case study (2011) suggested that faculty were unconvinced of the appropriateness of EMI while Mouhanna's small-scale study among teachers (2010) suggested that students' L1 should be used when needed to combat challenges in comprehension. It is apt to point out that EMI may not be the only challenge facing students in HE. Jewels and Albon's action research study (2012) indicated that the issues faced by students went beyond that of language as they were lacking in other academic study skills which compromised their success and obliged teachers to adapt their teaching accordingly while Durham and Palubski focused on how EMI can lead to "continuing uncertainty, insecurity and confusion" (p.86). Troudi (2009) concurs that studying in a foreign language may be intimidating for students and refers to a 2002 study by Mustafa which found that there was a 73%

negative attitude towards English from students in government schools. Despite this potential negativity Al Ateequi (2009) explains that English language literacy is the first mandate of foreign educational experts in the UAE in the content classroom at schools, which may be justified by the fact that English proficiency is a university entry requirement. Currently the school system is falling short of employing EMI across the curriculum but is experimenting with a bilingual model. However, researchers still sense that such a model veers towards English as it reflects prestige, power and entry into HE (Al Qutami, 2011; Troudi, 2009). Despite this, Al Farra (2011) calls for a bilingual model to be promoted in preference to EMI in the HE sector as well, and given students' low level of proficiency in English in the UAE, it is an option which needs consideration.

As can be seen, efforts in the Emirates to implement EMI in HE and a bilingual model in schools has a political and economic motive, which is nation-building, but this may create tensions emanating from elements of linguistic imperialism. One of these elements is the issue of inequity that such a policy creates among cultures but also among users of English. This sense of unfairness is not lost on Troudi and Jendli (2011) who point out that students from EMI schools are better prepared for HE EMI. They continue that a family's attitude to EMI has a great effect on a student's attitude so parents who believe in it will most likely put their children through EMI education from an early age and these students will not feel the same frustrations in HE that students from an AMI background might. Troudi and Jendli go on to consider the fairness to teachers with mother tongue Arabic who are obliged to learn English (Sanassian, 2011) and may have to pass the International

English Language Testing System (IELTS) exam to keep their jobs or be replaced by Core country teachers.

This theme of 'native speaker' preference is key when conducting a study into teacher views on EMI and the TESOL sector has often been accused of promoting an Inner Circle agenda. Jenkins (2007) claims that research which drives the field tends to be predominantly from a Core country source and Moussly (2010) and Hourani et al. (2011) suggest that most tertiary TESOL positions in Gulf settings are given to L1 users. Holliday (2005) indicates that native English-speaking teachers (NESTs) hold a privileged position in the field compared to their non-native English-speaking teacher (NNESTs) counterparts and many commentators refer to this as the native speaker fallacy (Findlow, 2006; Promodoru, 2006). The fallacy is reinforced as NNESTs in some instances will go so far as to try to assume a native speaker accent (Kennetz et al., 2011; Tupas, 2006). Kumaravadivelu (2006) refers to this as an example of self-marginalization. However, such an accusation may be considered extreme if one is merely trying to adapt in order to secure employment, which is after all an economic necessity. The native speaker fallacy would appear to be most apparent in countries where economic wealth is unevenly distributed, elitism is rife and funds are available to employ native speakers from abroad. However, it is also apparent that educational policymakers in some wealthy countries reject native speakerism and EMI by choice. For example, Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) points to very successful EFL models in the Netherlands and Norway. Braine (2005a) alludes to the multicultural nature of many modern day societies by suggesting that students are actually very

tolerant of NNESTs as long as they are good teachers. Despite this, the UAE HE sector follows the fallacy to a great extent for TESOL and with the rise of EMI, Inner Circle teachers will have one less requirement to qualify for employment as they will already speak the language of instruction. Periphery content teachers, on the other hand, will be faced with the challenge of delivering their content expertise in what is for most, their second language and, if they are L1 Arabic, they will do so despite sharing a first language with their students. It is unlikely that the reverse scenario would ever be countenanced in an Inner Circle country and this perhaps more than any other example shows the imbalance in how languages are perceived in many parts of the world.

On reviewing these themes one can see the tremendous upheaval that EMI can create. UAE learners have to cope with changing pedagogy which moves learning to a more problem-solving model. This can be seen as a positive step. However, they are doing it in a foreign language, thereby compromising the possibility that they will adapt to new methodologies. In a possible realization that this is the case and fuelled by students' low language proficiency in HE, there is evidence of more intensive English learning in schools. However, Al Qutami (2011) sees little current chance of students being well prepared for EMI HE study which uses a more student-centred approach due to embedded views on the transmission of knowledge in schools and an assessment framework which drives it. Finally, Troudi (2009) questions whether EMI is actually needed at all in the UAE. He argues that "the sociolinguistic situation in the UAE and the status of English do not justify the EMI policy" (p.3). By this he means that the way English is used

within the country by various Periphery country nationals including Emiratis does not necessitate a mastery of Core country English. He reiterates that while research into the use of L1 in monolingual settings has indicated that it is beneficial, little research exists on the pedagogical benefits of EMI. Although he feels that the decision to implement EMI has probably been made with the best intentions, the arguments that support it are weak.

3.4.1. Pragmatic choices

The five themes emerging from the previous section included nation building, threat to identity, the position of Arabic and linguistic imperialism, all of which consider political, economic and cultural factors. The last theme focused on classroom challenges, which considered the pragmatics of what happens in the classroom in the research context. This section picks up on that theme by considering what the policy enactors are faced with once EMI is established as policy within their educational institutions. Two major areas of import are highlighted: language proficiency and language pedagogy.

Language issues

Deciding on EMI in HE when it is not the mother tongue of the students and, in some cases, the teachers, would seem to demand a minimum language proficiency requirement to ensure that stakeholders are able to operate effectively in the learning and teaching of curriculum. However, as explained in Chapter Two, entry requirements for most UAE institutions which offer EMI courses to Emirati students are very low by international standards and by the recommendations of

international academic proficiency exam providers. These low requirements are probably driven by the low proficiency levels which prevail in the UAE. This has created the need for foundation English courses which focus on preparing students for EMI tertiary study. While this appears a logical step, there is a sense of it being too little too late. In other words, by the time students reach HE, the English they have learned may be fossilised (Brown, 2007a) so embedded mistakes need to be unlearned. Similarly, any positive or negative sentiment towards English will have been firmly embedded by this time, which is problematic when it is the latter. Al Marzroui (2011) highlights some of the negative situations that low proficiency can create. For example, students are likely to experience language shock in EMI settings where feelings of frustration, anxiety and powerlessness abound as they wrestle with materials and instruction in English. Such anxiety-inducing experiences are unlikely to endear a language to a learner with low proficiency and Abdullah and Ridge (2011) reiterate what has already been alluded to; that despite a recognition that English is important for their future, students in UAE schools often see English as their least favourite subject and, in the case of male students, it is their worst subject in Grades 10-12 and therefore a major obstacle to HE entry. In fact, the low intake and persistence of males in HE is a major issue in the UAE (Daleure, 2011). While their level of English may not be the only reason for this, it would appear to play an important role.

The question arises then why it is left so late to try and get students' English level up to speed in preparation for EMI tertiary study. As has been seen, there is a drive to teach more English in the school system; the logic being that the earlier a

student learns it, the easier it will be at the HE level. However, second language acquisition (SLA) theory and empirical studies do not always support such a simplistic resolution. While such theory and studies are important to understand what the best time is to learn a language, a caveat would be that many commentators find general SLA research findings to be formed on insufficient evidence. Despite this, it is useful to look at some outcomes from SLA research to inform this study, as despite learning English in schools, it appears that many Emirati students have made little progress by the time they enter HE. Vygotsky's Zone of Proximal Development, or ZPD, cited in Child (2007), argues that students will learn through social interaction pitched at a level just above their own. However, it is questionable how much contact Emiratis have with the target language outside the classroom to do this. Linked to the concept of ZPD is the argument that the language learning process should allow the development of interlanguage (Scovel, 2001; Brown, 2007b), characterised by using transitional language skills which may include, for example, errors in grammar and syntax. But in an environment which appears to target native speakerism, such interlanguage is likely to be viewed as deficient rather than emergent. This is likely to demotivate learners and this may be even truer for adults who are more likely to suffer from embarrassment at making mistakes (Lightbrown & Spada, 2006) and be more inhibited as a result (Scovel, 2001).

There are other "maturational constraints" (Lightbrown & Spada, 2006, p.73) which may delay their SLA compared to younger learners. These include language ego (Brown, 2007a), when learners see the target language in negative terms (e.g.

politically and culturally), thereby negatively affecting their motivation to learn it. A further characteristic is that adults are expected to learn more complex language more quickly so may adopt generic skills (e.g. problem-solving skills) rather than language learning skills or natural acquisition (Lightbrown & Spada, 2006). This may explain why adults initially learn a second language more quickly than children (McGregor, 2009) but then stall at a basic communicative level, which would not be sufficient for HE. Indeed, the contested Critical Period Hypothesis (CPH) argues that learners are most likely to acquire or learn a language up to and including puberty (Brown, 2007a; Scovel, 2001) and Lightbrown and Spada have noted that in the US, immigrant adults often struggle to master English while their children achieve L1 proficiency, including the adoption of an American accent. This inability to acquire an accent would question why Emirati learners who have passed the critical period for learning a language would need L1 English teachers to mimic an accent they may never master. Although these theoretical assumptions are critiqued for lacking sufficient evidence for generalisation, they do bring up some interesting angles for debate and McGregor (2009) believes that age is the most important factor in acquiring or learning a second language.

Morrow's UAE-oriented literature study (2011) on when best to learn English as a second or foreign language for use in HE indicated that there are no clear cut answers and questioned some of the generic theories cited above. He found that learning English early does not necessarily help with academic English although it is likely to induce a positive attitude to the target language. Those who learn it after pubescence will tend to catch up quickly with their early acquisition

counterparts as they can rely on more linguistic schemata and declarative knowledge. However, exposure rather than age is key and subsumes some of the disputed theories of acquisition such as CPH. If exposure is paramount then the next question would be whether it should be immersive or bilingual. While the former creates more opportunities for exposure, Morrow criticises EMI at an early age as it robs learners of the flexible cognitive learning that bilingual education provides. Al Marzroui (2011) also counters that a bilingual model supports L2 as students who are bi- or multilingual can draw on more metalinguistic awareness.

If there is an insistence on EMI when students share L1, then another area for debate is whether L1 should be used to facilitate the learning process. In other words, to what extent should code-switching be allowed or even promoted. This is an issue which has been researched in the UAE context by Mouhanna (2010). Al Marzroui (2011) recommends L1 use to reduce anxiety and the cognitive and cultural load on students. Another reason for use of L1 is the affective nature that it may have on developing a cultural bond between Arabic speaking teachers and their students. In addition to this, it may be particularly effective for non-Arab teachers who learn Arabic in breaking down possible feelings of resentment towards the imposition of an alien tongue in the classroom and other broader hegemonic sentiments that may be present.

Which model?

When choosing an appropriate linguistic model to employ for students who share a mother tongue, one needs to meet personal, national and even global requirements. As has been highlighted, the global aim of UAE nation-building

requires its nationals to develop the skills to be internationally-oriented members of the knowledge society, which in turn requires them to adapt to a student-centred, critical thinking-based approach to study. As Durham and Palubiski (2007) have already pointed out, this is a major challenge in itself, which is exacerbated when it has to be executed in the medium of English. For this reason, it would make sense to look to the field of language teaching to see what methods could be transferred to the content classroom.

The concept of teaching English for specific purposes (ESP) has only gained currency in recent decades. With the emergence of EMI, an umbrella term for mixing content with language which has entered the field of language education is content and language integrated learning (CLIL). It is defined as “an approach in which a foreign language is used as a tool in the learning of a non-language subject in which both language and the subject have a joint role” (Glossary, 2009, p. 2). Tapia (2007, p.8) reverses the focus somewhat by stating that it is “an educational method where subjects are taught through a foreign language with dual-focused aims; namely, the learning of content, and the simultaneous learning of a foreign language”. Finally, Ball (2011, para. 2) expresses the generic nature of the term thus:

If you teach EMI (English as a Medium of Instruction), LAC (Language Across the Curriculum), CBI (Content-based Instruction) or CBLT (Content-based Language Teaching); if you work in Bilingual Education; if you're a subject teacher working through the medium of a foreign language, or a language teacher bringing in content into your English lesson, you work within the area of Content and Language Integrated Learning

Brown (2007b) refers to it as content-based instruction and proposes two models: *sheltered* where a content teacher simplifies language use to facilitate learning; and *sustained* where explicit language support is added to content. Although English foundation programmes in the UAE tend to have a focus of assisting students in achieving a required level in international proficiency exams like the IELTS or the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL), there is little evidence of content integration at this level. However, Lloyd and Davidson's UAE-based study (2003) found that there were holistic benefits when content and language were synthesised. The logic would be to extend that synthesis post-foundation in EMI environments, thereby promoting a CLIL approach where content and language teachers collaborate. De Jong and Harper (2006) believe that all teachers should be responsible for academic and language development but this may be wishful thinking. Content teachers may be challenged by having to educate students at an undergraduate level in their subject area when students do not have the linguistic skills to cope. Indeed, it is also possible that the teacher may be challenged by having to teach in English. Therefore, it would make sense to use language teacher support.

While collaboration seems a logical path to take, there is the contention that the divisional nature of HE environments where EFL teachers tend to be confined to foundation programmes makes such collaboration a challenge. Dudley-Evans (2001) advocates that English teachers and content teachers should be active and equal collaborators in aiding learners in CLIL environments so Foundation EFL teachers might be used at the undergraduate level as well but Hutchinson and

Waters (2005) suggest that content teachers are loathe to collaborate equally as English teaching has a perceived lower status. Cozens (2006) cites Gvardjancic by suggesting that TESOL is often seen as a “necessary evil” (p.8) in HE as administrators would prefer to direct funds to Bachelor’s programmes. Hutchinson and Waters continue that TESOL teachers may also be wary of becoming involved in content areas for fear of looking ignorant in the classroom and feeling their skill set and self-esteem are being threatened, while Morrison (cited in Turner, 2005) refers to concern they may feel about increased workload. These internal challenges are obstacles to creating a collaborative environment where student learning takes centre stage and the chance for TESOL teachers to assist their content counterparts is compromised as a result. If integration is pushed through, this should be well planned. However, Cozens (2006) suggests that in the UAE context, institutional decisions on integration tend to be made quite ad hoc and are therefore unclear. He explains thus: “Identifying where the roles of the content [...] and [TESOL] teachers integrate is an administrative task that is frequently very explicit in 'mission statements' but in reality rather confused with conflicting messages being sent to all” (p.13). Bell (2002) advocates CLIL as a positive model with the proviso that teachers are curious, collaborative and confident. However, working within the parameters of a policy which may be contested and unpopular for some and introduced without proper training and piloting is perhaps not the ideal foundation for such enthusiasm.

Another option is a bilingual model where students follow some courses in English and some in the mother tongue and this has widespread support in the literature

(e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Shohamy, 2006; Spolsky, 2009; van der Walt, 2013; Krashen, 2000; Brown, 2007b; Al Marzroui, 2011; Janks, 2010; Morrow, 2011). Such a policy would help to eradicate many of the potential problems with EMI in the research context. These include language ego, negative feelings of self-worth, differing levels of language in the classroom, insufficient levels, the added burden of learning new methods in a foreign language and the teachers' burden of creating learning opportunities in an environment which is not designed to facilitate the same. Indeed, Shohamy (2013) posits the idea of a multilingual university for multilingual societies to allow vernacular use when English and national languages are not the students' mother tongue. While a bilingual or multilingual policy would seem to provide solutions to many of the attendant problems of EMI, Tollefson and Tsui (2014) suggest that they are rejected; not on pedagogical grounds but because they are considered ultimately too expensive. One would need to ponder whether the expense of rectifying an insufficiently skilled workforce which has not been able to reach government goals due to low HE achievement caused by not studying in its mother tongue might not ultimately be even more expensive.

3.5. Framing the study

This review has reflected the broad and multi-faceted underpinnings of the use of EMI in HE in the United Arab Emirates. Working within a framework of the policy process, various stakeholders will look to exert influence before the policy becomes official and after that it will be implemented faithfully or enacted depending on level of influence in the earlier stages, beliefs and realities on the

ground. As face-to-face providers of the policy, teachers will not deliver it in a value-free manner. As stakeholders, the extent of their input in the formulation process and satisfaction with the final policy will determine the extent to which they implement or enact in their institutions. Based on these theoretically underpinned assumptions, this study considers teacher views on EMI policy in HE before looking at how those views impact on their level of and approach to enactment. Themes arising from the literature that will inform this study include the exclusion of implementers from policy-formulation; how Emirati students view EMI in relation to their own ability, their national identity and their mother tongue. All of the above areas of focus are political in nature and will impact on teaching practice. However, alongside the political is the pragmatic – that is how a teacher deals with teaching low proficiency students. This study seeks out teacher views on what level of English is needed by students and what methodology is most appropriate when that level is not apparent. While recognised pedagogical approaches and methods will be identified as part of the study, deeper qualitative research looks to pinpoint specific classroom enactments which reflect teachers' efforts to reconcile the pragmatics of educating their students within the parameters of their own belief systems and the potential limits of EMI policy.

4. METHODOLOGY

The literature review gave an insight into the main themes and concepts which proved pertinent to the study, based on my own experiences in the research context. This chapter explains how the relevance of these themes fits into the overall research framework for the collection of primary data. This research framework drives the justifications for the ensuing explanation of methodological decisions; so after reviewing the research questions, the research design will be explained and justified before sampling procedures and sample description are given. Research methods are then explained and justified before addressing the data collection process and data analysis. The chapter ends by explaining the steps taken to ensure credibility and trustworthiness, ethical dimensions and limitations.

4.1. Research framework

If one draws a broad demarcation between general traditions in empirical research, the simplest division is that made between quantitative and qualitative approaches. Whereas quantitative approaches veer towards a more positivistic, scientific perspective, this study was qualitative in nature as its aims were more closely aligned to research literature descriptions on what qualitative study entails. Burton, Brundrett and Jones (2008) point to the theory building that occurs in such an approach. In other words, in its purest form there are no preconceived notions or theories (Wiersma & Jurs, 2005) so a qualitative researcher begins with a non-prescriptive plan and allows the research design to emerge (Boudah, 2011; Burton

et al., 2008). This approach is therefore inductive and takes place in naturalistic settings (Wiersma & Jurs, 2005). It recognizes that in such settings respondents' views are pluralistic and it aims to make meaning from these views (Newby, 2010). Punch (2009) sees this as capturing the perceptions of actors empathetically whilst personal preconceptions are suspended. While such an approach is sometimes considered unscientific, Newby (2010) indicates that it makes a significant contribution to academic knowledge and it must be rigorous, systematic and transparent. In addition, any claims that are made from resultant data should be credible. Kvale (in Burton et al., 2008, p.63) sums up metaphorically the essence of a qualitative researcher as:

[a] traveller on a journey that leads to a tale to be told upon returning home. The (researcher) - traveller wanders through the landscape and enters into conversations with people encountered. The traveller explores the many domains of the country, as unknown territory and with maps, roaming freely around the territory.

These descriptions of a qualitative approach give a generalist view of how it differs from quantitative research. However, as Punch (2009) indicates, its paradigmatic position has been widely debated inasmuch as it is difficult to encounter research environments which are completely devoid of preconceived notions and perspectives of researchers. Radnor (2001) explains how the researcher "is influenced by informal, personal and tacit theory about research" (p.30) and continues how, as researchers, "we interpret experiences through the filters of existing knowledge" (p.3); notions with which Richards (2003) agrees, and which are relevant for this study.

General research literature often confusingly refers to quantitative or qualitative paradigms but these are less paradigms (ways of seeing the world) and more approaches – that is analyzing data numerically or, for example, thematically. In much educational research literature, paradigms are differentiated by assigning labels which focus more on epistemologies and ontologies than approaches. The educational research paradigm most commonly associated with a qualitative approach is interpretivism (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). Burton et al. (2008) identify it as one of the two main paradigms – the other being positivism – which show opposing world views. While traditionally positivism is scientific and supports the view that there is one answer and one truth which needs to be attained via research, according to Newby (2010), interpretivism takes on a more post-modernist angle in that it recognizes that the world is multi-layered and any research conducted in such a world will be influenced by its context. He continues that it recognizes that views are diverse so the aim of research within such a paradigm is not to look for one answer but to make sense of the “subjective, shifting, relative ‘truths’” (Holliday, 2002, p.180) by which it is characterized. Burton et al. (2008) support this recognition by defining the interpretive researcher as someone who “aims to explore perspectives and shared meanings and to develop insights and a deeper understanding of phenomena occurring in the social world” (p. 60). They continue by stating that the research process must be democratic in giving voice and some ownership to the participants by welcoming a diversity of views to any one phenomenon as this will provide deeper knowledge and understanding of human behaviour and thought. Finally, Newby points to the common use of the paradigm in educational contexts.

As with any paradigm, it will be formulated based on a specific ontology; that is, how reality is perceived (Punch, 2011; Richards, 2003); and a specific epistemology; that is, how knowledge is created (Burton et al., 2008; Richards, 2003). When conducting research, the interpretive researcher will use their own ontological perspective on reality to determine how best to produce knowledge via research methods, analysis and reporting. Within the interpretive paradigm, the ontological perspective on reality is naturalistic, relativist, “multi-dimensional...ever-changing and dependent on different frames of reference” (Burton et al., 2008). Bearing this in mind, Wiersma and Jurs (2005) see any epistemology of qualitative research as including a holistic perspective on the phenomenon under investigation, a natural setting for the research, concern for context, plurality of respondent perspectives and the avoidance of a priori assumptions.

The aforementioned descriptions of qualitative research, its accompanying ontological and epistemological perspectives and their alignment with the interpretive paradigm are all relevant to this particular study but are insufficient when formulating its research framework. This is primarily because the more generalist perspective of theory generation propagated by qualitative and interpretative ideologies favour the notion of avoiding preconceptions. In this study such a perspective was questioned for a number of reasons. Firstly, literature argues that conceptual frameworks may be developed ahead of a study (see, for example, Punch, 2009) and Burton et al. (2008) add that such frameworks can often compare and contrast authors' views, highlight exemplary studies, highlight

research gaps and conduct debate concerning appropriate methodologies. Secondly, Burton et al. (2008) continue that prior research, contextual consultations and the assumptions and experiences of the researcher will all influence the framework on which the study is based.

In interpretivism, subjectivity and bias are not necessarily anathema to research and should be declared (Burton et al., 2008; Holliday, 2002) and this would tend to support the inclusion of previous experiences and assumptions in the framework formulation. As Newby (2010) points out, "researchers come with their own personal baggage, their subject culture, their research preferences, their personal goals" (p.479) so even if conscious efforts are made to eradicate researcher bias from a study, it may be there in a sub-conscious form. For this reason, this study took the position that the researcher's assumptions and experiences would be recognized as an integral part of the research framework.

Crotty (2003) suggests that all paradigms are arguably constructions as they do not recognise the validity of the others. There is even conflict within paradigmatic domains. Newby (2010) offers, "While there are characteristics that bring qualitative researchers together, there are epistemological, political and social perspectives that produce debate (and division) that is every bit as fierce as that which once existed between quantitative and qualitative protagonists" (p.454). Given these competing definitions within the qualitative domain, it was felt that the interpretive paradigm within which the study was framed needed to be informed by aspects of pragmatism. Teddlie and Tashakkori (in Punch, 2009) link pragmatism with focusing on "what works" (p.291). Punch explains that pragmatism is based

“on the idea that the methods used in research should be determined by the questions asked” (p.290). This concept of research questions driving the methodology is elaborated on by Newby (2010, p.19):

The best guidance anyone can be given at the start of their research career is to understand all the models of research practice but when it comes to the research itself; do not start with an ideal procedure, start with the research issue. Do not contort your research to fit in with the ideal.

He continues, "Research paradigms and models offer researchers a comfort zone. The real world requires researchers to deal with complexity and problems". This study was framed within the interpretive paradigm but given my own beliefs about research, my own experience of the area of research, my knowledge of the existing literature and my knowledge of the practicalities of the research context, the underlying framework was supported by pragmatism and it is on this basis that ensuing methodological decisions and justifications explained in the remainder of this chapter were made.

4.2. Research questions

Based on the research framework the study aimed to investigate the following research questions:

- What do content teachers think of the use of EMI in governmental tertiary settings in the UAE?
- How do content teachers view enactment of EMI policy in governmental tertiary settings at the curricular and classroom level?

The study mapped teachers' views on and enactment of EMI onto the educational policy process explained in Chapter Three. Research Question One aimed to canvass teacher opinions on EMI policy and its relevance for students' future. It also sought to discover their awareness of student views on EMI, and in relation to this, what teachers think about issues of linguistic imperialism, which manifest themselves in this particular context in the form of national identity and, as an integral part of that, the Arabic language. In addition, the issue of student proficiency was analysed and finally, teacher views on the appropriateness of current methodology were sought given the perceived low proficiency of the students. Research Question Two elaborated on many of the themes from Research Question One by considering how views on the EMI policy may lead to enactment by students as seen through the eyes of their teachers and enactment by the teachers themselves.

4.3. Research design and justification

This study employed an exploratory approach (Boudah, 2011) where in essence the researcher is going in to see what they will find, albeit in this particular case, armed with knowledge of theories and concepts gleaned from literature and experience of the research context. The two research methods employed, open questionnaire and semi-structured interview, are explained in due course. First the sample for these two methods is described and justified

4.3.1. Sample

When seeking a sample for a study of this type, Newby (2010) states that a sampling frame should be formed from the target population and be representative inasmuch as it is authoritative, knowledgeable and credible. As long as those conditions are met it will then be selected according to focus, cost and speed. Taking this into account, non-probability sampling was conducted for both research tools. Newby points out that this is often seen as less rigorous, especially among proponents of positivism, but it is typical in qualitative research as it serves the needs of providing sufficient informed respondents to provide rich and deep data. Punch (2009) indicates the difficulty in describing the differences in sampling techniques as there is some overlap. So, from a pragmatic perspective, this study utilized a number of techniques to identify and reach a suitable sample.

The sample required consisted of tertiary content teachers operating in the UAE federal sector who were teaching classes of Emirati nationals. The main sampling technique employed was purposive sampling, sometimes referred to as typical case sampling (Wiersma & Jurs, 2005; Boudah, 2011; Cohen et al., 2007), which uses researcher judgment to identify respondents with specific characteristics and traits (Burton et al., 2008). In this sense selection was necessarily strategic (Boudah, 2011). Elements of convenience sampling were also employed in the sense that a pragmatic approach was taken to reach those who fitted the purposive sample (Boudah, 2011). For the questionnaire, the initial search for respondents was conducted among acquaintances who either fitted the sample or might know others who fitted it; thereby incorporating snowball sampling (Wiersma

& Jurs, 2005) as well. A link was given to the questionnaire, which was issued online. As this meant that there was no control over who might answer it, appropriate category questions were employed to ascertain that respondents were indeed part of the sample. Mindful that there were two phases to the study (questionnaire and interview), some intermittent selection was also used; that is, choosing different participants for each phase - a common practice in qualitative research (Polkinghorne in Wiersma & Jurs, 2005; Boudah, 2011)- as most questionnaire respondents chose not to participate in the second phase interview.

Although 102 persons started the questionnaire, only 57 completed it. Of those 57, category questions indicated that 12 were not part of the purposive sample, which left a final sample of 45. Reasons for this are possibly due to the lengthy questionnaire description and ethical statement (which was a requirement) and the realization, once the questionnaire had been entered by respondents who had not read the description and ethical statement, that it was an open questionnaire, which would take a longer time to complete, and that they were not part of the sample. Table 1 below gives a breakdown of the first languages of the respondents. As can be noted, the sample consisted predominantly of English L1 teachers.

Table 1: Questionnaire respondent breakdown

First Language	No.
English	30
Arabic	4
Bilingual Eng-Arabic	2
Bilingual Eng-Other	5
Other	4
Total	45

While more were targeted, Cohen, Manion and Morrison (in Burton et al., 2008) indicate that a number of 30 is sufficient for the descriptive statistics that were conducted to analyse data and identify pertinent themes for the ensuing semi-structured interviews. For the interviews, respondents were selected based on the same sample criteria as that employed for the open questionnaire. The same sampling procedure of purposive, convenience and snowball sampling was also employed. Given the proposed length of each interview and the need to collect sufficient data for analysis, 13 people were interviewed from which 9 were selected. It was felt that these nine would provide the most varied and pertinent data as they were all actively working in and had varying degrees of experience of the federal education system. Also, as five were English speakers and four were Arabic speakers, this allowed for a relatively equitable amount of differing perspectives on language, which was an integral part of the data collected.

In the interview sample overview below in Table 2, pseudonyms have been used. As indicated, five were teaching in the field of Business, two in Education and two in General Studies. Five were working in the conurbation of Dubai and Sharjah and four in a smaller regional city. Eight were experienced (7 to 25 years), had reasonable to extensive experience teaching Arab students in the UAE (3.5 to 25 years) and were teaching different levels ranging from Foundation (FND) to Year 4 (Y4). The exception was Mike who was relatively new to teaching and was only teaching Year 4. All respondents described themselves as native speaker English users. Of relevance is that five respondents were formerly or concurrently EFL teachers.

Table 2: Overview interview respondents

Name	Subject area	Experience in years (yrs)	Yrs teaching Arab students only (TASO)	Yrs TASO in the UAE	Levels taught	Mother Tongue
Hafsa	Business & Finance	17	17	6	Y1-Y4	Arabic
Kassim	Education	23	23	19	Y1-Y4	Arabic
Abdul	Business	9	5	5	Y2 & Y4	Arabic
Bashir	Ed. Technology	27	25	25	FND-Y4	Arabic
Jamie	Math/Business/IT	30	12	10	Y1-Y4	English
Martin	General Studies	17	6	6	Y1-Y3	English
Rita	General Studies	16	12	12	Y1-Y4	English
Brian	Business	7	3.5	3.5	Y2-Y4	English
Mike	Business	0.33	0.33	0.33	Y4	English

4.3.2. Instruments of the study

The study employed a qualitative multi-method sequential approach in which one method preceded and informed the design of the other (Punch, 2009). This section describes and justifies the methods employed.

The open questionnaire

In line with the chosen framework, an online open questionnaire was designed to gauge initial views on the topic of EMI in the research setting (see Appendix 5). The purpose of the questionnaire was clearly explained to increase the likelihood of response (Burton et al., 2008). The questionnaire opened with category questions on both subject and student types taught to ensure that respondents fitted the sample and remove those who did not. It was then formulated of three open questions which reflected the research questions. The aim was to get a broad perspective on the themes that mattered to the sample, which allowed the respondents to refer to the themes emanating from my own experiences and the

secondary research but not to be bound to these themes only. The questions were:

1. What are your views on teaching in English in UAE-based tertiary educational institutions when students share Arabic as a mother tongue?
2. From your perspective how do your students respond to being taught in English?
3. What strategies (if any) do you employ to facilitate teaching and learning in English in your classes (If you do not employ any specific strategies, please state this and explain the reasons behind it)?

The final wording of the questions was determined based on feedback given on a pilot conducted with 11 TESOL teachers who taught in the same environment (see Appendix 2). This pilot sample was chosen following Newby (2010) who recommends that a pilot group be framed as closely as possible to the final target sample. Various practitioners in qualitative research were also consulted to aid in formulating accurate and effective questions (Newby, 2010). My own knowledge of the population helped in ensuring that question style and content was appropriate (Denscombe, 2007). The open questionnaire allowed respondents freedom from the restrictions of a structured or semi-structured questionnaire and helped to ensure that no pertinent view or opinion was missed (Dornyei, 2003). It also allowed for richer and more complex responses (Newby, 2010) which could be analysed, coded and categorized.

Interviews

The interview design employed was semi-structured. A semi-structured interview allows for depth as the researcher probes and clarifies (Newby, 2010). Also, its

design can be positioned on the continuum between structured questions and open discussion according to the needs of the research (Richards, 2003). The interview design in this study used themes rather than loosely-formulated questions so interviewees were not bound by sequencing norms (Wellington, 2000) and they could sometimes assume a directive role to facilitate the emergence of new themes (Freebody, 2003). However, by using the emergent themes from the questionnaire as an initial guide, there was an insurance that the overall interview remained focused (Burton et al., 2010; Punch, 2009). The aim was to conduct interviews of approximately 45 minutes each. To ensure that all initial themes were covered, an interview schedule was designed (Newby, 2010; Boudah, 2011), which included boxes for each category to check and to take notes in (see Appendix 7). The design ensured that if the respondent veered away from the prescribed order of themes, these could still be checked off with minimal effort (Denscombe, 2007).

4.4 Research procedures

This sub-section explains and justifies decisions made on research procedures (see fig. 2). These consist of the data collection process, the credibility and trustworthiness of the data and ethical dimensions. In addition, challenges and limitations are explained.

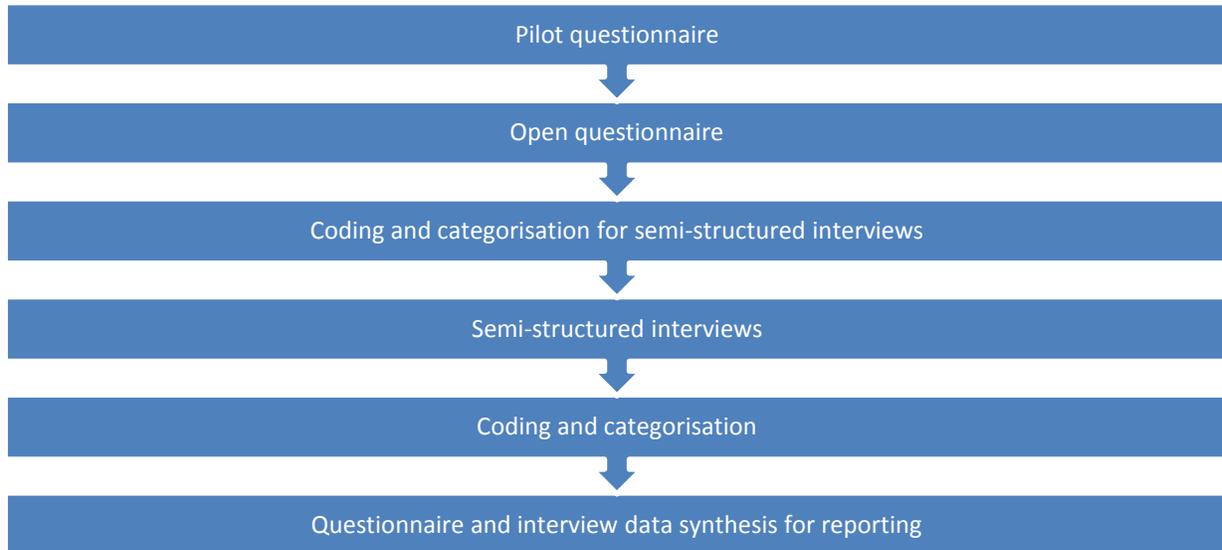


Figure 2: Research process overview

4.4.1. Data collection

As explained earlier, the open questionnaire was developed and piloted among TESOL teachers working in the UAE tertiary system who were contacted using personal email and social media networks (See Appendix 1). Based on their feedback wording was adapted. The questionnaire was then made available online and personal networks and social media were used to raise awareness of its existence (See Appendix 4). The decision to put the questionnaire online was made to improve reach and literature suggested that such a format would receive higher response rates to sensitive questions (Burton et al., 2008). As EMI policy is potentially sensitive, it fitted into this category. Once around 100 responses were received, data were downloaded for analysis. Analysis of the questionnaire data coupled with my experiences and the literature themes led to the formulation of a number of categories for inclusion in semi-structured interviews which were

conducted with nine respondents. Although questionnaire respondents were invited to participate in interviews and many expressed an interest to do so in the questionnaire, only two chose to continue their involvement. This led to the interviewing of 13 participants in total (see Appendix 6) of which – as mentioned earlier - nine were chosen. The interview schedule included category questions to ensure that the respondents fitted the sample and provided sufficient background information to be able to describe them for differentiation purposes in the study. Though designed to last 45 minutes each, eventually the interviews lasted from 35 minutes to 55 minutes depending on the speed and length of answer and the respondents' willingness to elaborate. As all respondents had declared that they spoke English fluently, all interviews were conducted in English. The semi-structured interviews should allow for the opening up of issues and the exploring of beliefs, feelings, values, knowledge and behaviour (Newby, 2010; Boudah, 2011; Denscombe, 2007). However, this may not be achieved by the questions alone so as researcher/interviewer I ensured that interview location and/or mode of communication (e.g. face-to-face, online, video-based, audio-based etc) was determined by the respondent and I made every effort to ensure that during the interview I remained calm, friendly, neutral in my own views and non-judgmental (Denscombe, 2007). As full and clear answers were sought, I also prompted and asked for clarification where necessary. Some interviews took place face-to-face and this was the preferred option but where this was not possible, these took place via video conference. All interviews were audio-recorded to reduce the level of intrusion (Burton et al., 2008).

4.4.2 Data analysis

Prior to analysis of the questionnaire, outliers were removed based on category questions so that the 45 remaining were all active content tertiary teachers whose students shared Arabic as their L1. The data were entered into NVIVO 10, a qualitative research analysis software tool, and coding of data was conducted by assigning data extracts to single or multiple codes. The option of digital multiple tagging made the process of code-tagging more efficient than manual coding.

Questionnaire data consisted of 6,039 words (an average of 131 words per respondent). 39 codes were initially identified; to which data were tagged 278 times. Data were downloaded from NVIVO 10 to Microsoft Excel for further analysis. The codes were grouped into 5 initial categories (see Table 3).

Table 3: Initial questionnaire codes and frequency of tagging

Category	Frequency
Students	116
Strategies	75
Teachers	59
Future	24
Arabic	4
Total	278

Of the 278 references, the codes which were tagged most frequently (5 or more times) are displayed in Table 4:

Table 4: Most frequently tagged questionnaire codes

Rank	Code	Frequency
1	proficiency	37
2	students positive about EMI	29
3	teachers negative about EMI	24
4	students negative about EMI	23
5	teachers positive about EMI	22
6	good for students' future	21
7	student behaviour	16
8	best method	14
9	clear instruction	9
10	recycling vocabulary	9
11	student neutral about EMI	9
12	translation	7

In the next stage of analysis, connections across categories were sought by cross-referencing codes. For example, Table 5 indicates the link between various codes under strategies and students' language proficiency.

Table 5: Example cross-referencing of questionnaire codes

Category	Code	Comment
strategies	clear instruction	link to proficiency
strategies	recycling vocab	link to proficiency
strategies	visual aids	link to proficiency
strategies	concept checking	link to proficiency
strategies	simplify language	link to proficiency
strategies	extra support weak ss	link to proficiency
strategies	focus on oral aural	link to proficiency
strategies	group work	link to proficiency
strategies	practical work	link to proficiency
strategies	reading	link to proficiency
strategies	work with English faculty	link to proficiency
strategies	draft writing	link to proficiency
strategies	EL learning strategies	link to proficiency
strategies	error leniency	link to proficiency
strategies	presentations	link to proficiency

Similarly, although there were only four initial tags for Arabic, possibly as a result of the few Arabic speaking respondents, a number of codes in the strategies category had a clear link to the use of Arabic in teaching, thereby supplementing this initial low frequency of references (see Table 6).

Table 6: Cross referencing questionnaire codes strategies and Arabic

Category	Code	Comment
strategies	translation	link to Arabic
strategies	allow Arabic	link to Arabic
strategies	peer help	link to Arabic
strategies	relate to context	link to Arabic
strategies	create locally relevant mats	link to Arabic

This cross-referencing led to the formulation of the following ten themes for use in the ensuing interviews (see Table 7) which are displayed along with frequency of reference tag in each case. Full questionnaire results analysis is provided in Appendix 13.

Table 7: Final interview themes with tagging frequency

Rank	Theme	Frequency
1	Proficiency	82
2	Strategies employed	75
3	Student views on EMI (teacher	61
4	General views of teachers on EMI	47
5	Relevance for future	24
6	Student enactment of EMI	16
7	Arabic usage in the classroom	13
8	Effect on national identity	7
9	Teacher's voice	2
10	Strategy success	0

It will be noted that some of the chosen categories had low frequencies. However, from a pragmatic perspective they were included based on my own experiences

and the low number of Arabic speakers in the questionnaire sample. Regarding teacher's voice (frequency =2), as the conceptual framework had indicated that enactment was caused by disenfranchisement and other categories suggested some negativity to EMI and enactments such as using Arabic in the classroom, I made the decision that what is not mentioned is sometimes what is most interesting. As for strategy success (frequency =0), respondents had not commented on whether the strategies alluded to in the 75 strategy tags worked or not so I felt this merited further investigation. In order to analyse data all interviews were transcribed (see Appendix 14 for an example of transcription and analysis). Both Evans (2002) and Richards (2003) suggest that exact transcription is difficult to achieve so while every effort was made to transcribe accurately, emphasis was given to ensuring that the spirit of the message was conveyed, to be confirmed by later member-checking among respondents. These data were uploaded to NVIVO 10 for thematic analysis. Denscombe (2007) warns of the dangers of allowing pre-conceptions to determine a priori codes and categories when analyzing qualitative data. On the other hand, Burton et al. (2008), Punch (2011) and Newby (2010) all argue that codes can be pre-determined from literature, professional practice and experience in combination with open codes for emerging data. So a priori codes and categories from the questionnaire and interview schedule were used as a guide, but analysis was started afresh in order to allow for the emergence of new codes and categories.

I think we don't have to worry about Emirati and national identity. There is definitely a differentiation among Emiratis with regard to their lineage. So we get students whose mothers are Egyptian. They are teased for not being really Emiratis. You know, that sort of thing – the colour differences. I don't think learning in English is too much of a threat to national identity because in the end, they come to the college, and they study in English and then they go home. That's where their lives are, that's where the majority of the focus is on, family and these sort of traditions. And they will always refer to themselves as Emiratis first.

Arabic in society
effect on culture
rategies

I wonder if the parents don't complain about, maybe more the technology, the texting in iPads and whatever being a threat to the culture because they are using that culture of sitting around and being together as a family rather than everybody sitting with their own device – sitting in the same room, but everybody is sitting on a different device doing something different. So I don't think the English education is too big a threat.

sing Arabic
english level too low
MI
s say on policy
rabic in society
effect on culture
oding Density

Figure 3: Snippet multi-coded text from Rita

Denscombe (2007) views coding as rarely smooth but continues that familiarization aids coding so data were analysed to tag multiple codes twice (see Figure 3 above for an example with the most frequent codes highlighted). Then code summary sheets were extracted and analysed to ensure that data extracts were correctly assigned (see Figure 4).

<Internal:WAM transcript EDR>- 5 2 references coded (4.75% Coverage)
Reference: 1 - 2.01% Coverage
I get the sense that the people that make the decisions higher up, I don't think that they're fully aware of the situation or they are and they're pretending they're not and so I don't think they like people to point out the obvious. I think people get fired for that so no I don't think they want to hear my opinion or respect it. I think it's better to keep your mouth shut. You continue to do it or you quit, so I quit.

Reference: 2 - 2.74% Coverage
Yeah and on our behalf a certain amount of compliance is expected. we can't speak out or we get fired. You hear the stories all the time. There's no freedom of speech. It's not a real academic community at all, especially in that sense that you can speak your mind or be shown the door and probably not in a very pleasant way either so, y680. It's fear in that way. They're very generous and take very good care of people and I like that a lot but you don't want to cross the line and in a way I can see that. I mean I am grateful and I'm not openly critical of these things.

<Internal:VBB transcript EDR>- 5 1 reference coded (2.22% Coverage)
Reference: 1 - 2.22% Coverage
I've never seen a case where people were afraid to say an opinion about something. I speak for myself because I've been here forever I am always vocal and as Arabic is my first language I have no inhibitions about speaking my mind and I get other teachers asking me to speak on their behalf.

<Internal:VJM Transcript EDR>- 5 1 reference coded (5.13% Coverage)
Reference: 1 - 5.13% Coverage
I think that the way the organization is structured, teachers have very little impact and very little voice on strategy. It is a very top-down organization. And teachers may voice a lot of displeasure but it has to come from 2 ways. It comes from the top, senior management, or it could come from families who are

Figure 4: Code summary sheet example

This counteracted the danger of relying solely on software analysis. As with the questionnaire, data extracts were single or multiple-coded (Newby, 2010). This assisted in the later realignment of codes and the subsuming of categories into each other (Newby, 2010; Boudah, 2011). This and all subsequent analysis was conducted using Microsoft Excel. Care was taken to avoid excessive fragmentation of data (Punch, 2011) so once a manageable number of codes had been identified, remaining data for analysis was linked to those codes as much as possible. Literature discusses the problems of identifying when data are saturated. In this particular instance NVIVO 10 was useful in that it was relatively easy to identify when the majority of respondents had been tagged to a specific code and to measure which of the codes appeared in 70% of the subjects' data (n=6), as

proposed by Bowen (in Newby, 2010). It should be noted that 63 codes initially emerged but on reviewing the list, a number of pertinent codes were outside the 70% threshold. Therefore, further analysis sought to see whether these could be genuinely subsumed with those already earmarked for reporting. This left a final list of 47 codes, 35 of which met the six-respondent threshold. These 35 codes were categorised under the headings in Table 8 in preparation for reporting and discussion. Full analysis of data is given in Appendix 15.

Table 8: Final category-research question alignment

Category	RQ1	RQ2
Policy	X	
Relevance for future	X	
Proficiency	X	
Arabic	X	X
Student enactment		X
Teacher enactment		X

4.5. Credibility and trustworthiness

This study has recognized the influence of the researcher's background in determining initial areas of focus which has the potential to cloud objectivity from the researcher's perspective. Boudah (2011) highlights the importance of remaining objective to maintain the credibility of the research and Denscombe (2007), citing Schutz, talks of the need to stand back, lose predispositions and take the stance of a stranger. However, the extent to which this is possible has also been questioned. Denscombe argues that "At a fundamental level, it needs to be recognized straight away that no research is ever free from the influence of those who conduct it" (p.300). For this reason within an interpretivist paradigm the

aim should not be complete objectivity but confirmability (Newby, 2010) in which bias is recognized and declared, thereby championing the honesty and integrity of the researcher.

If the quest for objectivity is more stringent for positivist research, the same could be said for validity and reliability, which aim to ensure that methodological decisions mean what is planned to be researched will be researched and if similar research is conducted elsewhere, similar outcomes will result. However, as Boudah (2011) intimates, in qualitative research validity and reliability are seen through a different lens. For example, Burton et al. (2008) discuss the need for internal validity as opposed to external validity i.e. generalisability to a wider context. In a similar vein, they continue that reliability in qualitative research is difficult to attain as variables between different research contexts are often not fixed. For this reason qualitative studies need to have slightly different goals in determining the credibility and trustworthiness of the data. These are all based on the collection of rich, thick data which will allow for confident transferability in similar settings (Burton et al., 2008); will lead to dependability (Newby, 2010); and will employ triangulation of methods and data sources. By creating transferability this may allow others to generalize in further studies (Boudah, 2011). It is not the business of the qualitative researcher to generalize but allow the reader to consider transferability due to the clear description of the sample, procedures and setting (Denscombe, 2007). Regarding triangulation, the use of various methods and sources aids corroboration of evidence (Newby, 2010) and provides self-validation, peer validation and academic validation (McNiff in Burton et al., 2008).

It also increases the trustworthiness of the data as it demands a search for “convergent messages, thereby strengthening the validity of a claim” (p.167).

As explained in the introduction, as the researcher of this study, I had experience of teaching in Arabic L1 environments and had taught both TESOL and content in the Arabian Gulf context. The rationale for this study was driven by my own motivation to investigate tertiary teacher views on EMI policy in Arabic L1 settings given my own experiences - and to a certain extent, misgivings - about the appropriateness of such a policy in this context. As such, my own biases were recognized as a potential threat to objectivity, which led to extra care being taken to ensure that the research design did not hinder respondents' ability to answer freely. Given the interpretive nature of the study, detailed attention was given in Chapter Two to the various contextual factors which were related to the study. As my own professional and research background meant that I was already aware of EMI-related literature, rather than employ a grounded theory approach, secondary data were analysed prior to primary research to acknowledge the existence of relevant theories and studies related to EMI and to identify that a research gap existed in the particular context of this study.

The exploratory approach employed allowed for depth, flexibility and triangulation of methods and perspectives. Respondents were found and selected from a purposive sample frame in accordance with the research question demands, and method design ensured that those respondents were able to answer free of any researcher bias. Design decisions incorporated not only the methods but also how those methods were conducted as I endeavoured to put respondents at their ease

and avoided leading questions linked to my own biases. In relation to this, it is recognized that some respondents were known to me and some might have been aware of my views. In these instances, I encouraged them to see the study as exploratory, thereby emphasizing the need for data based on their own genuine opinions (Newby, 2010). Respondents were also required to member check the data that was attributed to them in the results and discussion chapter.

Care was taken to ensure that the amount of data collected was sufficient to be able to formulate categories whose sub-themes contained rich and thick examples from a number of different respondents. In total, responses from the three open survey questions provided over 6,000 words of data for analysis from the 45 respondents, thereby providing 10 themes for the semi-structured interviews. For the 9 interviews, seven hours and thirty minutes of data were audio recorded, from which 46,360 words of raw data were transcribed. After data reduction of my own input and data that, after careful consideration, were deemed to be outside the research focus, 36,145 words remained for analysis.

4.6. Ethical dimensions

Burton et al. (2008) describe the role of the researcher from an ethical perspective as a person who acts as a gatekeeper of knowledge which has been collected and can be disseminated. The researcher has a “duty of care” (p.50) to ensure that the data are collected in an honest way and that it is treated in such a way that any stakeholder will not be harmed. Punch (2011), following Miles and Huberman, gives a comprehensive list of ethical considerations for the researcher which include ensuring the competence of the researcher, gaining informed consent from

respondents, considering harm and risk for stakeholders, building trust through honesty with respondents and ensuring their privacy by striving for confidentiality, if not anonymity. To this, Denscombe (2007) adds protecting the interests of participants, avoiding deception and misrepresentation, gaining ethics committee approval, only collecting the necessary data, keeping that data secure and keeping it no longer than necessary. While it may not be possible to meet all requirements to the letter, the researcher should strive to meet as many of them as fully as possible. Below, a description is given of the steps taken in this study to meet the recognized ethical requirements.

Ethical considerations relating to respondents will be considered shortly but consideration also has to be given to other stakeholders. First, I had a duty to my University to ensure that my research followed good practice to protect its standing in the academic community. In relation to this, ethical approval was sought (see Appendix 12) and requirements for changes to the study were honoured. Secondly, I had a duty to my University employer to ensure that the research I conducted was of a standard that would reflect positively in the academic community and follow an approach that would not lead to complications for the University by association (e.g. a critical approach to EMI policy). Ultimately, the above considerations all needed to be taken into account when practicing a duty of care to myself, regarding my own academic and personal reputation, my employment and my residency in the UAE.

For respondents, the open questionnaire included a detailed description of the study and its purpose and contact details of both researcher and supervisor in

case of further questions or withdrawal of data from the study (see Appendix 5). Participants were anonymous to the researcher unless they shared their details when expressing interest in participating in the interview phase of the study. For the interviews debriefing and information sheets were shown to respondents prior to the interview (see Appendices 8 and 9) and informed consent forms were signed (see Appendix 10) with one copy each being held by researcher and respondent. These documents explained the purpose, breath and nature of the study, the role of the researcher and respondents, aspects of confidentiality, and respondent rights regarding withdrawal. Again, contact data were given of both researcher and supervisor. Hard copy data (interview schedules, data analysis sheets etc) were kept under locked storage and all soft copy data were at a password protected location. For transcription, the external transcribers used lived outside the UAE, were unaware of the research context and would therefore be unlikely to be able to identify respondents. Both transcribers also signed confidentiality agreements (see Appendix 11). On all documentation and recorded data, reference to respondents' places of work was avoided and pseudonyms were used in all soft copy data. Where names were used on hard copy documents these were first names only. A final step to increase confidentiality was in respondent description in the results. While a study of this kind requires a rich description of the participants, the potentially sensitive nature of the topic along with the mutual familiarity of workers and employers in the UAE federal tertiary system meant that only years of experience, first language, previous countries worked in and the subject area in which they worked were referred to. This is despite the fact that many respondents did refer to the employer by name, their

home town, their nationality and their subject area in interviews. While this meant that some data had to be adapted (without changing the essence of meaning), it was considered a necessary step as part of duty of care. Before dissemination, all interview respondents received copies of the results where they were referred to by their pseudonym to member check by a given deadline. One small semantic detail was changed in the case of one respondent which did not change the meaning. This was the only change requested.

4.7. Challenges/limitations

In general terms I tried to foresee potential challenges before starting the study and this alleviated potential issues further down the line. I was concerned that people would avoid participation as the topic was potentially controversial so an exploratory approach was used. However, it proved challenging to find questionnaire respondents so several calls for participation had to be issued. In designing the questionnaire I was concerned that the open question design would deter completion and that proved to be the case as many left the open questions blank. I was also aware that in meeting the ethical requirements of rich description of the study and who it was aimed at on the questionnaire, this might lead to respondents not reading it as it was too long. This appeared to be the case as many respondents started the questionnaire and finished it despite not being part of the target sample.

The study had originally aimed to also consider the views of teachers whose L1 was neither English nor Arabic to give further triangulation to perspectives. However, very few from this category responded to the questionnaire and attempts

to reach members of this group for interview proved fruitless. For this reason alone, they were not included in the interview sample. As most of my previous research had been conducted with TESOL teachers it was a slight but not insurmountable hurdle to find content teacher interviewees. It was more challenging to reach Arabic L1 teachers who would be interviewed though eventually an adequate number were found. Although this study was not looking to be representative, I considered it important to include teachers from different Emirates; particularly those from both cosmopolitan and Emirati environments for the purpose of comparison if needed. This did require travel to adhere to the preferred face-to-face option but, as mentioned earlier, when this was not possible, video conferencing was used. To increase the credibility and reliability of the study, I had wanted to conduct some classroom observations to give my own perspective on teacher and student enactment. However, efforts to gain access to tertiary classrooms to conduct such data collection proved fruitless in both the public and private sector.

All of these challenges were naturally limitations and as can be seen in some cases, solutions were found or compromises made. Other limitations to contend with were my own biases. Punch (2009) and Newby (2010) both cite biases as potentially limiting at all stages of the research including the possibility of reality reconstruction post-analysis. I therefore made every effort to keep an open mind throughout. While a researcher can always look to collect more data to increase the trustworthiness and credibility, it is difficult to judge how much is needed. Although more data would have been advantageous, literature suggested that the

number of respondents in the questionnaire was sufficient for quantitative analysis and supervisory advice along with the minimal number of new code identifications after the fifth interview analysis suggested that data saturation was being approached and therefore the data collected was sufficient to provide meaningful results.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

In reporting on and discussing the findings, and in line with the exploratory approach to the study, data from both the open questionnaire and the interviews are synthesised in this chapter to answer the research questions. For each question the final categories, their themes and sub-themes identified in Chapter Four are addressed in turn (see fig. 5).

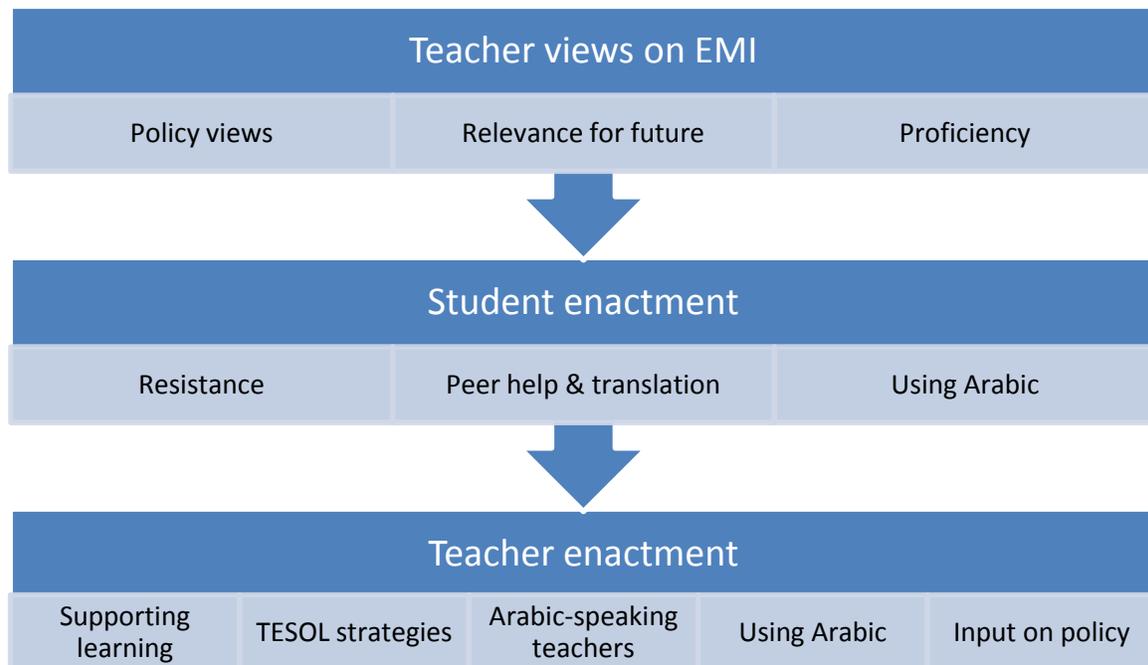


Figure 5: Results and discussion overview

For the first research question teacher perspectives on EMI include how they perceive that students see the policy, the extent to which the policy is unfair, how conflict on policy is avoided and how its impact is subject dependent. The second theme is its relevance for students' future, in which its necessity in society and in the private and public employment sectors is considered before looking at mother

tongue endangerment. Finally, language proficiency is addressed with a focus on deficiency, differing levels in the classroom and the contention that language is not the only challenge for students. The second research question on teacher views on enactment first considers their observations of students' level of resistance, use of peer help and translation as well as Arabic interaction. Subsequently, teachers' own enactment is reviewed in analysing how they support learning, their use of TESOL strategies, their use of Arabic and the benefits that brings and finally their views on the amount of input they have on EMI policy decisions. Interview respondents are referred to by their pseudonyms while quotes from questionnaire respondents are indicated by the respondent number assigned to them (e.g. n9 = respondent no. 9).

5.1. Teacher views on EMI

The three major themes related to teacher views on EMI policy in the tertiary sector in Arabic L1 settings are views on policy, relevance for the future and proficiency. Where appropriate, themes related to Arabic have been incorporated.

5.1.1. Policy Views

The sub-themes related to policy views incorporate teachers' perceptions of student views on EMI; the contention that EMI is unfair; avoidance of conflict on policy; and its applicability according to subject.

Teacher perceptions of student views on EMI

Codes related to students formed the most frequently tagged category from the questionnaire (n=116; 42%) and regarding the perception of student views on EMI there was a 56:44 tag ratio indicating that they felt students supported the policy. All nine interview respondents also referred to this support students showed. A major reason for this seemed to be the prestige they attached to it. Examples cited included having foreign trained teachers and preferring English to Arabic. Regarding the latter, Abdul said:

English is recognized as a prestige language, as the language of success; where they think 'If I'm fluent in English, people are going to respect me more'

Related to this, Brian pointed out that “a lot of students are proud of the fact that they are better English speakers than they are Arabic speakers”. As for having foreign teachers, Hafsa explained, “I do agree with this. Let me say frankly; I would sometimes trust the Western world more”. In line with Hafsa’s perspective, Abdul said, “Not only are they learning in English but the fact that their teacher is a native speaker...is also another prestige factor”.

Despite the evidence of student support, there was also a sense of acceptance. Rita said, “They have no power, they have no control over the situation so it’s just a fact of life here that higher education is delivered in English”. Martin elaborated by saying:

I think they've been told how this is the future of the country...education is a gift from the government. It wouldn't be right to say you're giving us free higher education but we want you to change it. It's like biting the hand that feeds you.

Jamie pointed out that as the policy had been in place for decades, “they may be resigned to the fact that this is the way it is”. Finally, Mike felt the increasing pride and prestige alluded to earlier might just indicate acceptance among his Fourth Year students: “They have come this far; I see very little negative attitude towards having to learn English...it is second nature, they haven’t complained about it”.

The fact that there is a perception of support for EMI in general terms mirrors Mouhanna’s UAE-based research (2010), that of Al Bakri in Oman (2013) and many others in non-Gulf contexts (e.g. Wilkinson, 2005; Sert, 2008; Tatzl, 2011; Kagawesgae, 2012; Chang, 2010). The prestige given to English in the UAE and beyond is referred to by numerous commentators (e.g. Canagarajah, 1999; Tollefson, 2000; Lowenburg, 2000; Clarke, 2006). Inherent within this view is the apparent overvaluing of English, as highlighted by Janks (2010) and the subsequent undervaluing of Arabic and its surrounding culture, as alluded to by Findlow (2005). The various underlying reasons for this support become apparent in later discussion but it would be interesting to analyse in more depth whether student views on prestige, pride and acceptance are intrinsically motivated or influenced by societal assumptions. Later findings suggest that students may indeed attach prestige to English but not necessarily because they like it; it is a more utilitarian view linked to the perception that it will guarantee employment, which in the UAE appears to be intertwined with a belief that native speakership is the ultimate goal. However, the extent to which that goal is realistic is partly addressed when considering the fairness of the policy.

EMI is unfair

The questionnaire tag ratio on positive policy outlooks from teachers was 46:54, suggesting they felt themselves to be more critical of it than their students. This emanated from a sample, two thirds of which consisted of L1 English users. Eight interview respondents referred to this topic. Commenting on the policy, Martin explained:

I can understand the logic behind it; the reason for adopting it, but it's really tough to do it well. Some of the content courses are more challenging than others but teaching them in English makes it that much harder.

Respondent n13 said, "I feel it penalizes those students who find language-learning hard but who may flourish if teaching and learning occurred in L1", while Jamie stated, "It just becomes apparent that it is way beyond the capability of most of the students". In addition to this, Rita explained how some students fail the foundation programme due to their inability to meet the English language requirement: "I think it is a tragedy because so many students are being excluded from higher education". As respondent n8 said, "Those students who have poor language learning skills have incredible barriers to overcome".

As Rita intimated, language proficiency was at the centre of the issue of unfairness and referring to those same Foundation students she added, "I see students who are obviously bright and they cannot get past an IELTS 5.0 requirement and that's a real shame". Abdul also pointed out that as not everyone is good at learning languages, EMI was not suitable for all. Hafsa described the challenges students faced once on the Bachelor's programme when having to write in English while

Jamie, in reference to the language issue, said, “I think they penalize a lot of the population for the wrong reasons”.

Despite the predominant feeling of unfairness among the chosen sample, there were others who, for different reasons, did not view it so negatively. Mike, in reference to his Fourth Year students’ relatively good level stated, “Obviously, if you are proficient in English it will make it easier to understand and express answers in English”. When asked if the policy was a potential attack on students’ human rights to study in their own language, Brian argued thus:

I don't know if that's an attack on human rights. The choice is there. It's not like the choice is being denied, and the UAE is a country that is not poor in any way. So I think there are options available. I mean, gosh, an attack on human rights is more severe than being unable to go to college. In a lot of countries you don't even have the possibility to go to college at all. I wouldn't say it's an attack on human rights.

Finally, Kassim drew on his own experiences of the benefits of learning English to explain that “it is doable... it's important to keep them thinking it's doable”. In fact Respondent n24 felt, “It's incredible that they adapt so much”. This perspective was juxtaposed with the English L1 teachers who found the concept of studying for a degree in an L2 or L3 language quite alien. As Rita explained, “If you asked the French or the Germans to switch their education system over to English, they would laugh you out the door”.

Some findings indicate that the policy appears to be elitist, as suggested by Janks (2010). A counter argument might be that as EMI is universal in the UAE, this removes any elitism but as Bell and Stephenson (2006) claim, there are always winners and losers in educational policy decisions and in the case of this policy

context, findings indicate that graduating requires a major effort by both teachers and learners, above and beyond what might be expected in L1 environments, whether they be English or Arabic, and ultimately, there will be those who may never reach graduation, given their level of proficiency in the language of instruction. This link between proficiency and success has been found in related studies in Sri Lanka (Vidanapathiranal & Gamini, 2009) and in the UAE (McLaren, 2011) and leads to the *othering* of students with poor English – a phenomenon found in studies in China (Hu et al., 2014) and the UAE (Troudi, 2009; Troudi & Jendli, 2011). This *othering* extends to the teaching profession, where English L1 content teachers may be preferred (Holliday, 2005; Findlow, 2006; Promodoru, 2006). However, it is salient to note that this aspect was only referred to by one respondent, which suggests that the Arabic L1 teachers canvassed are either unaware of being *othered* or possibly accept the practice as they are personally not the victims of it, having secured employment alongside their L1 English counterparts. A question which must be posed, then, is if it is harder to teach and learn in English for these students why are other methods for incorporating English seemingly ignored? Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) argues that it is the right of students to study in their mother tongue. Brian suggested that the option to do so is out there; but it is not free. While options may be less favourable in other contexts, this does mean not that it is justified to make an L1 English option free at the literal expense of a mother tongue option.

Conflict avoidance

Eight interview respondents referred to this topic and a number of sub-themes emerged. The first was the sense that teachers avoided giving negative feedback on EMI to avoid undesirable consequences. As Rita explained, “We don’t give opinions on this particular policy and our supervisors don’t want to criticise a policy that puts them out of a job”. Martin’s view was as follows:

A certain amount of compliance is expected. The people that make the decisions higher up are not fully aware of the situation but they don’t like people to point out the obvious. I think it’s better to keep your mouth shut.

Linked to the above feelings was the sense that decision-making was very much top-down and the domain of Emiratis. Rita said, “In the case of the government institutions, action is taken unilaterally without necessarily thinking of the consequences”. Jamie had a similar view, feeling that “teachers have very little impact and very little voice on strategy”. He went on to suggest that Emirati families had power to exact change if students were struggling and Rita also felt that “if we have enough outraged parents and students, this would create a big enough stir so [the authorities] would need to take action on it”. Abdul explained that even teachers who might be more attuned to local culture had little say if they were not Emirati. He said, “I’m still an expat teaching in this environment, even if I speak Arabic or I might have a similar name to them, I am still an expat”. Interestingly Bashir, who had been teaching the longest in the study context, had a different perspective:

I am always vocal and as Arabic is my first language I have no inhibitions about speaking my mind and I get other teachers asking me to speak on their behalf.

Kassim questioned why teachers would necessarily need to be vocal on strategy.

While recognising that system-wide the policy was top down, he argued that:

In my class I don't feel the policy is top down; I believe what I do is good for my students but it is not something that we are consulted about; I mean there's nothing that is being discussed on how to do it right, what is wrong, how to improve; only in my classes, of course, I do what I think is right.

Both Mike and Brian questioned why there should be any conflict. Mike felt that among faculty "it just seems to be taken for granted, it's not an issue that comes up" while Brian recognized that "usually when language comes up, it is in terms of how weak the students are" rather than faculty being excluded from policy decision-making. Finally, an opinion that was proffered was the belief that some faculty accepted their role as implementer of someone else's ideology. Jamie elaborated on this view:

We've got to remember, most teachers here are expats. They don't really have a big stake in it. Many people have been here for 10-15 years but still see it as a temporary move. You are not going to get a strong opinion from teachers whether we agree with the policy or not.

While Braun et al. (2010) believe that policy should always be contested and Troudi and Jendli (2011) indicate that this does not seem to happen in relation to EMI in Gulf countries, the findings suggest that contestation will not be overt; rather it will happen via enactment of policy. This is particularly relevant when referring to Kassim's response that what he does in his classroom is what counts. The suggestion is that once the classroom door is closed, teachers will determine

what works best, regardless of any policy requirements. It is interesting to note that Bashir felt confident to voice his views without fear of reprisal. This may be down to his individual personality or his long experience and possible standing in the research context. As will be seen when referring to enactment, the belief that Emiratis have more power to influence policy is pertinent in an environment where few Emiratis are actually employed in teaching positions. Finally, the utilitarian approach to seeking employment in the UAE and accepting the consequences in the knowledge that it is a well-paid job is worthy of comment inasmuch as it suggests that teachers will follow policy to the letter. However, as intimated by Kassim, that is not necessarily the case.

Dependent on subject

Of the seven respondents who referred to this topic, five taught in the business-related field and most responses refer to that subject area. In fact, Abdul was of the view that it was essential to teach business in English as it was “the language of business all around the world”. Both Hafsa and Mike indicated that subjects which require less reading and writing were more suited to EMI. Hafsa compared courses like accounting, which require numerical work, with courses like marketing and felt that students performed better in the former due to a lighter linguistic load.

A number of respondents cited students’ lack of specialist vocabulary knowledge as a general cause for concern. Referring to business, Brian stated that in addition to learning English “they are learning another terminology of the business language so you do really see a struggle”. Rita also noticed this in her subject:

There is a lot of very specialized vocabulary that they have to learn. I am sure they feel sometimes like why do I have to learn these words that I will probably never use again? I am sure there is some frustration.

It was also suggested that in some subjects Arabic translations were inaccurate or did not exist. Hafsa admitted that in accounting “both of us, student and teachers, as Arabic speakers, are lacking the real technical professional words that are used”. Jamie indicated that it was the same for Maths, suggesting that some Arabic speaking teachers had never used certain words in Arabic. Abdul expressed a similar perspective:

There are certain words which are available in English and we haven't found the Arabic words for them, so that's where the challenge exists; in certain fields it would be very hard to teach using Arabic.

Kassim's take on the suitability of EMI for his subject, education, was interesting as his students were going to become English teachers but he was frustrated by the insistence of language competence being linked to the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) exam. He explained:

It's not just the language; its language mixed with teaching skills; they cannot be looked at separately for me. If I talk about my students, I would say they should just be able to model the language that they are going to be teaching; so that makes it not just about language but about everything related to teaching the English language; you know, strategies and techniques. There are so many variables that intervene there; it's not just the language.

The fact that respondents felt that EMI was better suited to certain types of subjects would be supported by Bell and Stephenson (2006) who assert that it is very difficult to apply a policy in a blanket fashion. While Kassim's suggestion that students only need to use the English required to perform effectively in their future

careers is a logical one, it does also question the need for the study to be delivered in English if that required level is lower than current tertiary requirements. In addition, if there is recognition that it is best suited to more hands-on topics or subjects, and students are not comfortable when there is a lot of reading and writing, this raises the issue of whether the degrees that are being offered would meet international standards. It also indicates that a bilingual model may work better where text-heavy subjects could be taught in the mother tongue. The claim that the vocabulary for certain subjects does not always exist in Arabic will be contested by later findings which indicate that industry feedback to institutions is critical of graduate students' knowledge of Arabic terminology on entering the workplace. If the claim is true however, a further argument could be that vocabulary be learned in English to facilitate understanding of related literature while general tuition could be in Arabic.

5.1.2. Relevance to future

Of those codes generated from the questionnaire which were not on general views, this theme was the second most tagged (n=22; 8%). The sub-themes relate to the prevalent use of English in society and the need for English in the workplace. In relation to this, the requirements of the public and private sector and the position of Arabic in society are considered.

The need for English

There was a general consensus among all nine interview respondents that English was a requirement in modern Emirati society. Hafsa commented, "[Students] do feel they need the language. I don't know to what extent they appreciate studying

in English but I do think they come to realise that it is important to them". Rita focused on the value of functioning in society in English:

I think it is beneficial for them because they would still have to interact in English in hospitals, when they travel abroad, in a hotel...but that would be more functional English, rather than academic English.

Respondent n6 said:

It seems necessary bearing in mind that English is an international language, and Dubai clearly sees itself as having an important role in the international community regarding trade, business, banking and tourism.

For Kassim, this need justified EMI: "It's a necessity; it is not an option; it's not a choice. It is essential for them to guarantee success by having English language as the medium of instruction".

While it is recognised that there are various lingua francas in the UAE, English was considered the most important. Jamie stated, "Look at the demographics of the country. Really, the first language is English, regardless of what anyone says". This appeared to be accepted by the Arabic-speaking teachers too with Hafsa reiterating the need for English instruction of some kind:

I also come from an Arabic speaking country and am an Arabic speaking person but everything is in English which I do find very necessary, you know, and any other nationality that you want to talk to, you have to talk English because it is the common language. I do believe that learning should be, if not 100%, at least partially in English.

Some respondents also put a lot of emphasis on the need to ensure that it was practised not just in class but outside as well. Kassim referred to the steps he took as a language learner to emphasize the importance of this:

I believe to learn a language you need to learn it by using it - that's how I learned English; by trying to use it as much as I could and trying to ignore all those moments where I felt ridiculous, where I communicated it in a wrong way and people commented. I just got over it because I think that was a learning moment for me.

He tried to instil this attitude in his students and rejected the use of Arabic within the college environment arguing that “students outside the college have enough time to practice their Arabic whereas for practicing English they have only those few hours when they are at university or the college so we should give them more chances”. Jamie lamented that even in the college their use of English was limited to the classroom setting.

Sometimes in competitions not many of them volunteer anything in English apart from the scores. Even when you are playing table tennis with them, they will say all their scores in Arabic although their skill in numbers in English is far better than mine is in Arabic. Somehow I think English between staff, between teachers, between students is business only. There is not a lot of small talk.

Bashir's lament was his perception that English was not practiced off-campus. He said:

If we could convince them to use it outside with tourists or anyone whose first language is English, they would really benefit from it and connect it with what they are learning in the classroom.

Finally, Kassim pondered whether it was really feasible to expect students to gain a genuine mastery of English in the research setting. He explained:

They come now from an Arabic-only speaking school environment into a more or less Arabic-only speaking college environment, and suddenly they have to learn English.

The recognition that English is widely used in global environments is one identified by McKay, (2006) and Rudby and Saraceni (2006) among others. In addition, respondent views on the relevance of English as lingua franca in the UAE are also evident in research literature (see, for example, Fox, 2007; Piller, 2009; Syed, 2003; Zughoul, 2003). A question that arises is whether students really need to use academic English to function in this environment. Jamie and Bashir both felt that functional English was not being used inside or outside college by students. To this end, Troudi (2009) questions whether academic English is what is needed for students to function in UAE society. Another aspect to consider is whether students should be expected to use English outside class if the society they live in is Arabic-speaking. While it is recognised that the conurbations of Abu Dhabi and Dubai are cosmopolitan, the fact that Emiratis constitute only a small demographic of the population may mean that it is important for them to preserve their mother tongue in communication and this is indeed only natural when all students and many staff are L1 Arabic users. The debate which arises here is whether an EMI model should be employed or an ESL/EFL model. In other words, are they learning to study in English or to use it in society? A final point for reflection regarding the need for English is its sustainability as the global lingua franca. This debate surfaced in the literature many years ago (see Graddol, 1997) and is still relevant. When one considers the alternatives (for example, Chinese or Spanish) the former also seems to be embracing English as an elite option (see, for

example Lei & Hu, 2014) while Spanish appears to be geographically bound to the Americas and the Iberian Peninsula. Indeed, literature shows how EMI variants such as content and language integrated learning (CLIL) are also being promoted in Spain (e.g. Doiz, Lasagabster & Sierra, 2013a). All evidence suggests that while history proves that dominant languages change, English is currently the language that the world wants to master, and in the UAE context, the assumption indicated by respondents is that its current position is strong and will remain so into the future.

English for work

Most of the nine who referred to this topic showed an awareness of government strategies to create an internationally-oriented workforce as part of the global knowledge economy, with English mastery playing an integral part. Various reactions to this showed support for EMI as a suitable method to achieve this goal. Abdul felt with EMI “you are able to provide a platform for them to be global citizens” while Kassim pointed out that it would make them more employable both at home and abroad. However, Brian recognised that the strategic goal was a challenge due to the speed at which it was being targeted. While he recognised that the challenge was not insurmountable, other respondents were more pessimistic. Martin said:

It's a lot harder to do that than just making English the language of instruction. There are a lot of other things that come into play". I think as things are now it's very unlikely they'll be able to fulfil this role that has been assigned to them by policies like EMI.

Jamie was of the view that students' knowledge of the world was too narrow:

How far away [curriculum] is from the students' culture is just extraordinary. So they have another problem – language, culture, understanding, everything else.

While Brian did see the benefits of sharing cultures as part of internationalising the economy, he was also acutely aware of its dangers:

Cultural exchange entails a lot of negative effects like globalization and the West coming in. There are a lot of potentially negative aspects but that's a choice that society has to make for itself.

Finally, Rita reiterated her concern for those who were not good language learners so could not reach this goal of global player. As she pointed out, "If they have to study in English and they cannot graduate, they are being denied an education and their chances for a job".

The procurement of employment was seen as one of the main goals of EMI by the majority of respondents with Hafsa recognizing that at a certain level of professionalism, English proficiency was essential and Abdul explaining that "it is an added skill to put on the resume". Bashir felt that Arabic was being overlooked and that a bilingual approach would ensure that graduates could use both languages effectively in their jobs. However, Jamie questioned whether students were in fact able to use either to a sufficient level. In reference to their English he said, "I think students come from secondary school and think 'My English isn't too bad', but it's not enough for a Bachelor's degree or business contact". This was not the view of all with two respondents referring to their conversations with former

students. Kassim explained that “many of our students come back to say how much the English they learned at college has helped them in getting and being successful in their jobs” while Abdul referred to his students who were now employing their English skills successfully in media relations and the airline industry. He also indicated the importance of English in the private sector. Mike had a similar view:

From my short experience in the private sector I know that most business there is done in English with a small bit through Arabic so where my students will be working, they are likely to be doing a lot of work in English”.

Respondents appeared to be very aware of the government’s goal of creating an internationally-oriented Emirati workforce, as alluded to by Farrugia (2012) and Ibrahim (2011) among others. Findings also indicated that English was an integral part of that. This follows the views of Al Ateequi (2009) and Rudby and Saraceni, (2006) and reflects what Trowler (2003) refers to as the enterprise model of education: that is, future employment being the main aim of education. In general terms, respondents did not seem to question this neo-liberalist approach, which Hill (2006) and Robertson and Dale (2006) suggest has supplanted a social development focus for education. Indeed, Bell and Stephenson (2006) make the connection between this human capital theory and citizenship which is linked to nation state values – the argument being that contesting a policy like EMI, which is an integral part of the government’s goals, may be linked to a lack of patriotism. However, if respondents did not question the good intentions of the aim of developing this modern workforce, they did question its feasibility, given the students’ academic background, thereby reflecting the view of Mufti (2006) who

felt more needed to be done to promote academic capital rather than human capital. If EMI as part of a global enterprise model toolkit is accepted, then it would only hold weight if the English level that graduates had were internationally transferable. However, this does not appear to be the case, and if indeed students end up in the public sector, it is also questionable whether it needs to be the case.

Private and public sector

The seven interview respondents who referred to this topic generally accepted that English was the private sector lingua franca, with Jamie suggesting that students with more fluent English would most likely work there. However, Abdul estimated that only around a quarter of his students would meet that criterion. Brian showed awareness that “the government is trying to push them out of government jobs into more privatized jobs” but Martin saw this as problematic as “[Emiratis] know that they can get higher paying jobs in the public sector”. Finally, Brian highlighted the danger of making distinctions between the private and public sectors being exclusively monolingual by sharing the experiences of his students who go to the private sector:

[They] get into industry and they start working with Arabic colleagues. They work in companies that primarily speak Arabic and they don't know how to convert their English business terminology into Arabic.

This suggests that some Arabic medium tuition may be needed to ensure bilingual knowledge of appropriate terms.

The public sector was considered a predominantly Arabic speaking environment by most respondents. Regarding English usage, Rita believed that “for the most

part they will not be using English as a work language [because] if they are going to sit in an office all day and stamp papers, they really don't need it". Respondent n4 had a similar perspective: "For the majority once they leave university they will never write English at a higher level and are unlikely to read English again", This led Jamie to assume that their English level was likely to deteriorate but Hafsa was more concerned with the deterioration of their Arabic prior to working in the government sector. She told of her experiences when taking students on work visits and finding that Arabic was the medium of choice. She showed further concern when discussing student experiences of language issues on work placement:

A lot of the employees are complaining that the students do not know terms in Arabic, you know, it's not that they do not know accounting, it's just that they don't understand the employers addressing them about a certain issue that they don't know the Arabic word for, so I do believe that being in an Arab country, being Arabs, they do need to know the things in Arabic too.

Just as Brian had pointed out earlier that graduates in the private sector needed some Arabic, he also felt the reverse was true:

If they want to go into the government, Arabic is very important but I think for most students, even if they are going into the government, a certain level of English is necessary.

In relation to this, Respondent n11 said:

For the student to be fluent in English and Arabic, this makes them more marketable and more able to work in more business environments with a more diverse group of cultures and staff.

Responses do then question the assumptions of the English speaking private sector and the Arabic speaking public sector. Of note, is Hafsa's observation that her students are lacking in Arabic terminology when on work placement, which may question the belief of certain respondents that some terminology is not translatable into Arabic. The context of this study showed the government is very keen to have more Emiratis working in private companies (*UAE 2010, 2010; United Arab Emirates, 2012*) but Abdul's estimate of only 25% of his students entering the private sector again puts a question mark over the appropriateness of EMI for the majority of students. Even if, as Brian feels, some English is needed in the public sector, it is unlikely to be of an L1 standard. If it is accepted that both languages are relevant in both sectors, from an educational perspective one must again question if EMI is the best way to guarantee that. The current system seems to put unrealistic expectations on the use of one language while virtually ignoring the other. For the good of students' future careers, a rethink may be needed on how best to ensure that both of these crucial languages can be incorporated most effectively into the curriculum so that both can be learned to the level required for the workplace.

Losing Arabic

If Arabic is overlooked in HE, there is arguably the danger of its obsolescence. Seven interview respondents referred to this topic and one area for debate was the extent to which Arabic formed part of local culture and whether a focus on English endangered that culture in any way. Respondent n15 said, "I take an additive approach to bilingualism. In this sense, I am not fundamentally afraid my

students will lose their Arabic”. However, Martin explained, “This place has its own cultural identity and language is a part of that. I think they would have to give up a part of that to become better English speakers”. Jamie had a different perspective:

I don't think that it is language that compromises national identity; it is what people wear, it is how people behave... I think there are many other things that alienate Emiratis from their culture than language.

Brian imagined it must be frustrating for locals to, for example, order food in a restaurant in English sharing that, “I think there's some identity loss that goes along with that”. In relation to the discussion on language in the workplace, while the need for English at work was accepted by most, some felt that Arabic also needed to be taken seriously as a career language. Bashir was particularly vocal on this point:

I think [EMI] lacks a balance between the two languages. Considering that our graduates graduate and go and work in the government and the work they do will be mostly in Arabic I think a mix of the two should be the ideal solution. Feedback from our graduates and from possible employers show our students lack the confidence in speaking and writing in their mother tongue and that's really sad - good in English, good with the content areas and with IT but they are very lacking in their mother tongue.

He added that graduate feedback to him showed that “they wish that we had covered Arabic as well, at least just before graduating so it would still be fresh in their minds”. Hafsa also felt that in order to counteract this issue, English should not necessarily be their main language of instruction.

In spite of this perceived need for Arabic there was evidence of Arabic being sidelined. For example, Mike remarked how his students complained when having to answer a survey in Arabic. In recognition of students' mother tongue issues, Brian

was in favour of some increased Arabic tuition in higher education (HE). Regarding some of his students' ability to speak English better than Arabic he said, "I don't know if that is wanting so much to be able to relate to a lot of western cultures – they just seem fascinated with western culture". Continuing this theme, he added, "From the cultural identity perspective it is a little surprising because [Arabic] is their language; culturally this is who they are". However, Rita felt that the Gulf Arabic vernacular was considered to have a lower status than English which would be another reason for its marginalization.

The above examples all give possible reasons why students' Arabic proficiency might be compromised and Rita felt that this lack was "another issue the education system needs to address". Abdul went further by suggesting that both English and Arabic proficiency were potentially being compromised. He painted a picture of the typical Emirati student:

[They are] not well rooted in Arabic but ...spent K12 learning in Arabic and they never really became proficient in that language and all of a sudden you put them in another environment which is English.

He continued that if they do not really pick up this new language "then you have a situation where they're not proficient in English and not proficient in Arabic".

While Zughoul (2003) and Holliday (2005) suggest that education should be provided in the native language of the country, most respondents did not seem to find a focus on students' English development as problematic. This mirrors findings in Flanders, Belgium, where the need to educate in English was believed to hold no threat for the native Flemish (van Splunder, 2010). Such a perspective

again supports the enterprise model framework (Trowler, 2003) of educating for employment as opposed to the traditionalism model of transmitting cultural heritage through education. There is evidence of government strategy including cultural heritage and identity as key to its long term educational goals (Farah, 2009; *The Ministry of Education*, n.d.) but focusing on English is not seen as detrimental to those goals (Nahayan, 2011). Trowler explains that these models of education can be combined but that is challenging when, as in this case, they appear to contradict each other. Respondents did show concern for students' Arabic, however, and there is evidence of concern in the wider community (Salama, 2010; Lepeska, 2010). The recognition of students having poor Arabic and the belief that Arabic should take on a more prominent role in the students' education both support the views of Al Issa (2012) and Farah and Ridge (2009). However, respondent findings also recognise that some students seem to favour English over their mother tongue, which Findlow (2005) believes may be driven by its image as the language of a better future. This move to a focus on English in education is happening in other Gulf countries, as highlighted by Abdel-Jawad and Abu Radwan (2011) in the Omani tertiary context. If culture is considered a living entity then change is not necessarily something to be feared and there is no reason why a culture cannot incorporate another language while retaining other symbols and icons. The question is really how important a language is to a culture. There is a danger in assigning monolithic terminology like *Arabic culture* or *Emirati culture* as this assumes geographical boundaries which are abstract constructs. However, to assume the language one speaks does not bond people would be a naïve proposition. These findings do suggest that if Arabic is considered an

integral part of Emiratis' culture and identity, its position within the educational system would need to be monitored to see if the current status quo needs modifying, not just for reasons of culture but for employability too.

5.1.3. Proficiency

Findings thus far have indicated that students' proficiency in English is a key factor in the formulation of respondents' views on policy and its relevance for students' futures and this is reinforced by the fact that it was the most tagged code in questionnaire data, (n=37, 13%). The following sub-themes elaborate on this aspect of proficiency by considering students' low level of English; the broad variance of proficiency among students and the belief that proficiency is only part of the challenge that students face.

Insufficient level of English

All nine interview respondents provided a wide range of perspectives including the view that students were not up to the required level and that they were stronger in some language skills than others. Judgements on level were often made by comparison with previous students the teachers had taught and also, regular reference was made to the students' previous education. Bashir felt only half of his students had the minimum level to succeed, and then only if they received sufficient support. Jamie said, "I just have this frustration sometimes. There are students who really shouldn't be there", while Mike said, "You ask students 'Do you know that phrase? Have you heard it before?' and they'll say 'yes' or you get a blank stare". While interview respondents showed some empathy and understanding for the students' plight, Respondent n12 felt that many teachers did

not, so students' challenges enabled "teachers to confuse poor English with general stupidity". Rita blamed the poor level of attainment from high school and some questionnaire responses expressed similar views. Respondent n9 felt, "The secondary school system in the UAE really drops the ball on English instruction leading to a lower level of student exiting high school" while Respondent n14 said, "Until it becomes a priority for teaching in the primary education system, it will remain a huge obstacle to the tertiary education goals of the country". Despite this criticism of students' current level, both Abdul and Kassim felt that in time students could attain the required proficiency. However, Kassim reiterated his view that the dependence on IELTS as a yardstick for achievement was unhelpful:

In my programme students take IELTS when they are in Year Two and they should get Band 6.0 to proceed in their studies. I don't believe the IELTS test is a good indicator when it is related to our programme because the kind of English which is tested on IELTS is not the sort of English our students are going to use as teachers.

There was a general consensus that speaking was the language skill that students were best at. For example, Mike said that "in terms of speaking they seem much more comfortable than actually writing". Rita suggested that preference was skill dependent. She explained, "Some of them tell me they would rather write in Arabic than in English and I understand that. But then others say they would rather speak in English". While writing was identified as a weakness, reading appeared to be the skill where students had most difficulties. Mike said:

There are assigned textbooks that I don't generally refer to because they are over and above the level that most of the students will be capable of getting a lot of benefit from.

Rita explained, “There is some reading that students often struggle with because of heavy science-based vocabulary”. Jamie went into the challenges of reading in some depth by stating:

They will only read if it's getting closer to the exam. I don't think they would read beyond the core requirement to get a better understanding of what terminology we are teaching. They would translate what you give them rather than look for an explanation. I think some tend to do that, you know, 'This is the requirement, we have got to do this, we have got to learn this to get through'.

Some respondents also judged proficiency levels based on their experiences of teaching content in other, often L1 English, contexts. Martin felt that “if it was in their first language, I think they would go a lot faster”. Abdul said that “we are only covering a small amount of content than we would if we were in the U.S.”. Respondent n2 also felt using English hindered their progress: “If they could study their content subjects in Arabic it may be an advantage for these students” while Respondent n35 said, “I'm not sure that English is appropriate for communicating complex ideas to students whose mother tongue is Arabic. It is difficult to gauge how well students have understood material”. While recognizing that his UAE students needed more time, Abdul felt that they were not so different from previous students he had taught: “You're going to have good students; you are going to have average students and you going to have bad students”; a view which Mike also alluded to when reflecting on his experience of teaching L1 English students in the past.

Finally, respondents referred to students' previous English language education in explaining their current issues in proficiency. Jamie and Brian both pointed out that only a few students had experienced EMI at the primary and secondary level. With

reference to students who studied at Arabic public schools, Brian said, “They will be the first to tell you ‘We didn’t learn much’”. Bashir went into some detail in criticizing their schooling:

You really wonder sometimes how they pass high school when you see the level they are at. They are thrown at us and here you go”. [When the students] see how much we want them to improve their language and how much effort we put into it, they all ask themselves, ‘Why didn’t they do that for us in school?’

He went on to explain how his students told him that they were taught English through the medium of Arabic. Kassim also commented on how this can affect the transition from secondary to tertiary:

Most of them are taught by second language speakers. I would say many of [the teachers] are not really proficient in English and resort to using a lot of Arabic in their classes so when students join university or college they find themselves dealing with 80% of the staff who are native speakers and that’s a big shock; especially for those who come and join the tertiary level with lots of difficulties.

Hafsa also felt that the teaching of English was not being taken seriously enough in schools and Rita lamented the lack of investment in schooling in general, and English language education in particular, given its relevance for tertiary study, but some respondents pointed to light at the end of the tunnel. Mike explained how his students often discussed how their younger siblings were now getting much better English tuition at school and Bashir said how the fruits of this labour were becoming evident in his college:

I have started noticing that the level of English of students coming from schools is dramatically improving - something is happening in the schools and we are giving this feedback to the Ministry so whatever they are doing, they should continue doing it. Somebody is doing something right and it’s not just the students - it is related to teachers and principals. They are doing something right.

Respondent n2 held a similar view:

I feel the level of English of our students is improving and this can only be attributed to better teaching of English in schools or that more students are attending private schools where they receive a bilingual education.

The findings indicate that the students' language level impacts negatively on EMI teaching and learning and poor schooling is seen as a major cause of this level. Similar outcomes on student level were found in other international contexts (van Wyk, 2014; Evans & Morrison, 2014) and in the Gulf (Pessoa et al., 2014; Al-Bakri, 2013; Belhiah & Elhami, 2014). This supports Farah and Ridge's 2009 findings on English and Arabic performance in schools and is evidenced by poor Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) and Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) showings (Farah, 2012). Some respondents commented on the lack of readiness for college-based EMI among some students, as reported by Fox (2007) and Al Qutami (2011). Bashir's contention that students blame their school teachers for their lack of language progression supports governmental research into the lack of language skills and teaching qualifications at the pre-tertiary level (*Educational Statistics First*, 2011). The consequence of this is highlighted by the low entry level referred to by respondents, driven by low average scores on international proficiency tests (IELTS Researchers, 2011). There was the suggestion in the findings that anything that could be done for weaker students at the college level would be a question of too little, too late. Morrow's UAE-oriented literature study (2011) on the best time to acquire a second language suggested that exposure was key but given respondents earlier perceptions that students were not using English outside the classroom, it might

be assumed that if EMI is to work in HE, then teaching of English needs to improve in schools to increase that exposure. To this end, the recent positive experiences mentioned by Bashir of improved English from new entrants suggest that recent moves to bilingual models of tuition in some schools may be having an effect. But this does not solve the current issues of older students and does not hide the fact that the current entry level and subsequent exit level is too low. Accreditation and validation bodies for Bachelor's education will often be looking for a specific number of written words and reading loads in candidate programmes so if these skills are being avoided, such programmes cannot be viewed as Bachelor's level education. This is a cause for concern which will be confirmed in later findings regarding student and teacher practice in compensating for this lack of ability.

Differing proficiency levels

It should be highlighted that not all students struggle due to poor English but their numbers are few. All nine respondents referred to the varying levels of proficiency among their students and all confirmed there was disparity in their own contexts. Mike felt, "There are very few that might have what you would call native English proficiency; you could count them on one hand". Rita talked about how challenging it was to teach content with such variety while Brian described how weaker students sought help from their peers, especially when wanting to communicate with teachers who do not speak Arabic:

The ones who don't have great speaking abilities would probably only do it in desperation the day before the test when they don't know something and, by and large, many of them would send a class representative to you, who speaks English very, very well.

This reflects the *othering* of students as their sense of self-esteem and inferiority becomes apparent. Hafsa also referred to the effect varying proficiency had on Arabic use, explaining that students with good English complained if Arabic was used.

Some respondents referred to the reintroduction of a diploma level of study, which was linguistically less demanding and was geared towards those students who could not get an IELTS 5.0 in the foundation programme or who found the Bachelor's programme too demanding. Bashir felt this allowed students to give up too easily. Jamie was of the view that many tried to stay in Bachelor's by using support systems for language deficiency such as classmates and family members. Another phenomenon relevant to the EMI focus was the return of many ex-Diploma mature students who now wished to top up to a Bachelor's level. A number of respondents noted that this particular group really struggled linguistically. Jamie felt "their language level has almost stalled". Abdul also commented that as these students studied in the evening, they missed the opportunity to be in an English-speaking environment all day although evidence of day-time students' lack of English usage outside class makes it questionable if all respondents' institutions were genuinely English-speaking environments.

Also of note was the observation of an increasing proficiency over the four years of the Bachelor's programmes. Hafsa said that "when they reach Year Three and Four, they are fine...they are very confident at that stage". Abdul said that "it's a really positive experience to see them transform, just seeing how good they have become at speaking English." Parallel to this increased proficiency was a drop in

resistance and awareness of the value of English acquisition. However, Jamie still questioned if this was enough: “There’s been some improvement but bearing in mind the courses are more difficult as we progress it is nowhere near the requirement”.

Regional findings in Qatar (Pessoa et al., 2014) and the UAE (Rogier, 2012) both suggest that students’ level of English increases over time. While it is positive to see that students in this study appear to progress linguistically over the four years of their degree, Jamie’s view that the level is still not good enough at the end again questions whether an EMI degree offered with linguistically challenged students can be considered of sufficient quality. Linked to this is the question of whether it needs to be EMI if most graduates will remain in the UAE and use minimal English in their work. The concept of teaching differing levels may be a common challenge in the EFL classroom but the content classroom context is different in that the teacher may not have language teaching strategies to deal with this. Another issue is the situation when there is no difference in level but almost all the students are weak as in the case of the mature students who study in the evenings. This will inevitably have an effect on how EMI policy is enacted and examples of this will be seen once enactment findings are reported and discussed. It is pertinent to note that although Arabic proficiency of students is questioned, the disparity between the most and least proficient is likely to be less evident. This would suggest that learning via their L1 would eradicate many of the current challenges of differing levels in English.

English not the issue

It was interesting to note that all nine interview respondents looked beyond English when trying to identify why students might be challenged. As Hafsa said:

It is other things that might make the difference; it's not the English; at least not after four years of study". If they studied in Arabic, I believe that they would still have some difficulties.

One theme that came up was the perception of some respondents that students did not like studying. Martin said, "I do feel that there is resistance on the part of the students - not necessarily to English; just to school". Bashir felt that English was the scapegoat for an underlying unwillingness to work hard: "You find resistance all the time to the language and to do what they have to do but that's not due to the fact that it's English; it's due to laziness". He also felt that if the education were in Arabic, the situation would not change because "they don't want to do research and summarize and re-phrase. They just copy and paste". Regarding this perspective, Brian said that "students don't want to struggle; they talk about how they don't like to struggle. But some struggle is necessary".

Other examples of non-English proficiency issues included a lack of independence; a lack of world knowledge; and a lack of study skills. Indeed, Respondent n37 said:

Their general knowledge, critical thinking skills and ability to apply knowledge are more limited in the first year of higher education because of the way they are taught at school.

Hafsa described how they would only study if they received guidance while Abdul explained how their lack of independence impacted on teachers:

As an educator you have to wear more than one hat; you are a coach; you are a facilitator; you are a student working with them on projects; you are a lecturer - Again, there is that challenge where you are holding their hands, regardless of the language of instruction. You have a set of students who are needier than in other environments.

Lack of world knowledge is pertinent inasmuch as government goals appear to desire an internationally-oriented Emirati workforce, but as Jamie pointed out, “Most of them have no idea what goes on [outside the UAE]”. Rita explained how due to this lack she had tailored her course so that it only applied to the Middle East. However, the lack that held most resonance with the sample was study skills, which incorporated maths, reading, test-taking and critical thinking. Rita felt their lack of basic maths skills limited what content she could deliver while Jamie explained how their inability to read and understand test questions meant that often they answered them incorrectly. Brian, being relatively positive about students’ abilities to succeed, acknowledged their low level of English but felt it was sufficient to get by. He felt the issue was more with “critical thinking, evaluative thinking [and] decision making”, but he did admit it was a conundrum for him: “I am sitting down and thinking, is this an English issue or a critical thinking issue? I’m still trying to figure out”. He felt that the students’ environment might be responsible for the difficulty in thinking critically as it does not “reward...in fact probably punishes critical thinking. I think that’s part of it.” Abdul summed up the challenge faced by teachers thus:

English is one of the skills, understanding concepts is another skill, studying is another skill, test taking is another skill, critical thinking is another skill. The challenge that we have got going on here in an L2 environment is that we have got to work on all of them; not only on the language issue. You have got to address all of these issues.

The idea that English may not be the only issue and that it may not be the most relevant one has been found in the Pakistan context (Shahzad et al., 2013) and in the UAE (Jewels & Albon, 2012). Respondent views on the multiple reasons for students' struggles may be symptomatic of the "continuing uncertainty, insecurity and confusion" alluded to by Durham and Palubski that Emirati students are confronted with (2007, p.86). Suggestions that students are lazy may be more related to being dependent as their prior experiences in school were relatively teacher-centred (Farah, 2012) and based around rote-learning (Dakkak, 2011). This may be subsequently linked to their lack of study skills and their inability to acquire them. Warnica (2011) describes how these new skills are challenging in the Arab context as they require a rethink on methodology, while the speed of implementation does not allow for organic growth of skills, as alluded to by Dakkak. Subsequently, they may balk at new methods of learning and will not see the need to seek out world knowledge if it is not required of them and they have no intrinsic motivation to do so. The challenges faced in this regard appear, therefore, to return to students' previous education. If things are to change, that should happen at the pre-tertiary stage. Meanwhile content teachers are required to adapt their approach to take into account the students they have before them. Interestingly, related studies (Navaz, 2013; Kym & Kym, 2014; Grifta, et al., 2012) all suggest students' views that poor teaching may jeopardise their performance

more than any linguistic challenges they may personally have. But the linguistic challenge inherent in this research context is a burden shared alongside the burden of methodological change. One challenge may be challenge enough, but add to this a further challenge, and this may have negative consequences on students' morale and passion for learning.

5.2. Teacher views on enactment

The previous section reported on the themes emanating from respondent views on the use of EMI in the research context. This section relates to Research Question Two which addresses teacher views on enactment of EMI policy driven by their shared general perspectives. As respondents made frequent reference not only to their own enactment but also to that of students, both teacher actions and their observation of student actions are considered.

5.2.1. Teacher observations of student enactment

The themes related to student enactment were student resistance to EMI, peer help to counteract challenges, verbal translation by students to each other as well as using online translators and Arabic with teachers.

Resistance to EMI

In the questionnaire the concept of resistance was the third most tagged code (n=21; 8%). Despite earlier reporting on the perception of general support of EMI from students, all nine interview respondents also commented on degrees of student negativity. From questionnaire data Respondent n14 said, "Most of my students are frustrated with their inability to study and engage with course

materials because of their limited English language skills". Brian explained that some students say, "We are not native English speakers, we can't do this, this is not easy". Hafsa also experienced complaints about EMI although she suggested that it came second to complaints about teachers. Jamie felt that what they resented was their inability to study in English, with Respondent n37 suggesting that some "settle for their own fossilized version of English and don't really make any attempt to improve". Brian described how he saw "...their look of confusion... deer in the headlights lookthe 'I don't know what's going on' look". As language was a challenge it was sensed that students preferred to focus on key courses rather than electives. Rita said, "I am sure they feel sometimes 'Why do I have to take this course in the first place?' and then 'Why do I have to learn these words that I will probably never use again?'". Hafsa also indicated that frustration was apparent in courses which required a lot of writing. Some respondents spoke of the undesirable behaviour which resulted from this frustration. Hafsa explained that students often opted to skip classes they did not understand. Martin sympathized with their struggle of coming to terms with the requirements. He said, "There are students who will just give up and not take it seriously and try to make light of it, possibly because they feel inadequate; they just figure it's a lost cause". He continued that this often led to bad behaviour:

It's a shame to see it. I think it's exacerbated by the language. It frustrates them so they act out to resist it. I think on some level they just think 'Why do I have to do this?' I certainly would think that if I was told I had to do my degree in Arabic or Chinese. It doesn't seem fair, so yeah, I would say that the language issue is related to that behaviour.

While the frustrations thus far are borne more out of a struggle to study in English, the theme of cultural identity also surfaced. Abdul said:

You've got some students that are sitting here thinking 'Look, I'm here in my country; the official language of the country is Arabic; so why am I being taught in English?'

Kassim said that “some of them look at it from the side of identity, and they believe that when we say that English is essential and we push them to use it, they think that we are trying to minimize their use of Arabic and their belonging to the Arabic world” but he felt that “later on as they mature they realize that protecting your identity doesn't mean you should not learn other languages which are very useful for your future”. A common theme regarding resistance was how it dissipated as students became more proficient in English. Referring to First Year students, Hafsa said, “They complain a lot and don't see the long term advantages but in Years Three and Four they become more confident and they don't complain”. Mike said, “If I was 18 years old I might wonder why I had to take all this extra burden of learning to speak in another language”. Abdul did not feel resistance was so apparent and suggested that it might be more evident in Foundation programmes. However, Kassim did feel that all students who were new to college might suffer initially when faced with mainly L1 English:

This, of course, creates resistance; resistance which comes out of fear of the unknown; the difficulties they are going to face and it's going to be a hard time for them and that is what creates that reaction.

It may then be that it is not just the language they resist but the whole new experience. Jamie said:

I think it is other people, other things, they blame first before they blame the language medium. I cannot recall in my ten years here that they have actually criticized the language. Whether they might be saying that to themselves, I have no idea. I've never once had a student say there was any resentment”.

He put it down to ability by adding, “I know some of the students have said to me ‘I just can’t do this’ but never ‘Why should I be doing this?’”.

This lack of student resistance from the respondents’ perspective suggests that they might not see EMI as an attack on their identity, which is in contrast to literature which alludes to the fear of foreign influence on education (e.g. Dakkak, 2011), and its potential subversion of local cultural norms (e.g. Rivzi, 2007). Rather, there appears to be student support for such policies (Kirk, 2011), as evidenced by the findings, and little overt evidence of personal tensions between the global vs. local, indigenous vs. imported, and traditional vs. modern, as described by Findlow (2005). Efforts are being made to promote the use of Arabic in society (Salama, 2010) but students do not appear to be taking sides in the language debate. Indeed, Pessoa and Rajakumar’s study in Qatar (2011) and Dahan’s position paper (2013) on Arabic in the UAE both suggest that students are fully aware of both their identity and the utilitarian need to improve their English. Zughoul (2003), Holliday (2005) and Ridge (2009) all refer to possible feelings of resentment when EMI is imposed, but findings suggest that this is more related to inability than any sense of imposition, and as students become more comfortable in using English, the concept of contesting policy at the implementation stage, as suggested by Lingard and Ozga (2007), dissipates. It is possible, however, that in later years students may have already formulated a plan

of enactment in conjunction with teachers on how EMI policy works best. It is possible that complaints recede as internal lobbying from the beginning leads to mutual enactment (i.e. students, teachers and even institutions) which is considered to be the best for all involved; resulting in “vernacular education policy outcomes” (p.69). What must not be overlooked, however, are respondent comments on the negative learning experience of those who struggle. While those who progress become attuned to the system, this does not apply to those who drop out or fail to make it past foundation programmes. The poor behaviour alluded to is symptomatic of the struggle they face in dealing with a policy which puts up barriers for them before they even start.

4.4.2.1 Peer help and translation

Initial Arabic-related codes in questionnaire data were minimal possibly due to the low number of Arabic speaking respondents (n=6; 13%). However after cross-referencing initial tags, 21 tags were found to have some relation with the use of Arabic. Eight interview respondents referred to the frequent practice of peer help. This was generally based on some students’ better proficiency in English where, as Jamie explained, the “weaker ones... cling on to someone else’s linguistic abilities”. He added that “it’s almost part of the culture; that he’s my brother so I help him”. Respondent n18 expressed a similar view: “Their culture defines sharing and community support - values that serve Arab communities well outside academic life”. Examples of such peer help were both in-class and outside the classroom. Regarding what happened in the classroom, Brian saw its usefulness, “especially when it comes to a concept. I teach it and then they can say two words

to each other and get it". He continued on how they code switch: "Basically you see them explain...and since they are saying what I just said...you see their heads nod. There is that 'Oh' moment. You do see that". Rita and Hafsa referred to how strategic group forming for tasks allowed peer help to thrive. Regarding help outside class, Martin was "sure they share homework and help each other study for tests". Rita also felt that assignments were often at least partly done by someone else. She explained:

I've had students tell me that they have had siblings do assignments because their siblings are English teachers. So that's probably their strategy for trying to improve their performance in English.

Brian noted how peer teaching for tests sometimes backfired as if the 'student teacher' got a question wrong, so did everybody else.

As can be intimated from the above examples peer help involved a lot of translation and it was discussed that English speaking teachers could not be sure the translation was correct. Bashir said, "For me it's easy to detect, you know, with it being my first language" however Hafsa pointed out that not all Arabic speaking teachers are aware of Gulf Arabic. She elaborated thus:

I do prefer when they translate to each other because we have different dialects so sometimes the words I might use in Arabic are not the same as the ones they might use".

English-speaking teachers also noted how much translation went on among students. Martin said, "If there's a point that a lot of people don't understand, a really sharp student will translate it into Arabic". Mike concurred while Brian again

referred to their use of code switching, "...not to explain the whole thing in Arabic, but there is at least a couple of things that they say and it triggers things for certain students".

As for translation outside class, Mike felt that they "just take down notes which I suspect they don't understand and they will try to translate that in their own time".

Martin and Jamie referred back to the practice of sending a good student to the English speaking teacher's desk to get clarification. Martin said, "Groups of students come to my office to ask about exams and there's often one student who will translate what I say to the others". Jamie explained that often there was just one student representative who came "who speaks English very, very well and they most likely go back and translate into Arabic for everyone". He continued, "I think that is the core problem – the need to translate is quite profound. The ones with less language ability are suffering in silence". Jamie also wondered if translations among students were accurate. He explained that "some of my colleagues who are Arabic but teach in English, always say that when the students translate into Arabic, they just don't get the translation right".

A final common method for translation was online translators like Google Translate. Abdul identified this as a common practice among his mature students in the evening classes and Bashir expressed his displeasure at its use: "Oh yes, don't you just hate that? I always shame them for using it because it's very apparent that it's not coherent, you know, the grammar is terrible". Kassim also explained how due to the inaccurate translations, students were advised not to use Google Translate while Rita said:

I have tried to warn them that they will get some very strange stuff out of that. So I always tell them, you can use it as a start, but you also need to double check it because it is not always right.

The actions described above appear to take matters beyond what Lingard and Ozga (2007) call the lobbying stage of policy and exemplify the dilution of intended outcomes via enactment. Translating at home or via online translators in class, as well as seeking translation from peers or from siblings can be seen as coping strategies to survive and reduce the anxiety of studying in a language in which they are not fully comfortable. This anxiety may have already been planted in students' psyche at school where English is often considered their least favourite subject (Abdullah & Ridge, 2011). The use of translation would follow Al Marzroui (2011) who recommends L1 use to reduce anxiety and the cognitive and cultural load on students. Mouhanna's UAE-based study (2010) also found that Arabic usage was accepted by stakeholders. What is evident from respondents is that translation is the generic coping strategy for students in whatever form that might take, and as that subverts a pure approach to EMI it can be considered enactment of policy rather than implementation. It is also a clear example of the extra effort students have to make when studying in a language they lack proficiency in. In sum, in situations where students need to translate for each other, either the level of student proficiency is inappropriate, the language of delivery is inappropriate, or possibly both.

Teacher-student Arabic communication

Of the seven interview respondents who referred to this topic, the English speaking teachers confirmed that they were not able to understand Arabic well. Of the four Arabic speaking teachers, Hafsa appeared to be the most supportive of an increase in Arabic-Arabic communication, while Bashir, Abdul and Kassim focused more on using English as much as possible. Bashir explained, "If they do ask me something in Arabic, I will reply in English and remind them to switch to English but it depends on each situation". He continued:

[Older students]are more comfortable in English and can express themselves better and they would be shamed by other students if they switched to Arabic. It depends on the level and their maturity and their confidence with the language.

On allowing students to ask questions in Arabic, Abdul said:

I'd tell the students that I will be willing to answer the question in English". I would prefer them to ask in English, and even outside the classroom I do believe that we should really communicate as much as possible in English.

His justification was as follows: "That's the purpose of why they are here; to ensure that they become more proficient in English. There will be Arabic courses to become more proficient in Arabic". Kassim's approach was to wean students off using Arabic:

If I notice they speak in Arabic I do not draw attention to that". He continued, "I give them the chance to show they can say it in English and bit by bit they realize that they can change.

What is pertinent to note is the strong belief among most of the L1 Arabic teachers that students should be encouraged to speak in English as much as possible although other findings here and later appear to contradict that view somewhat. Lingard and Ozga (2007) indicate that stakeholders with sufficient power will endeavour to lobby according to their own philosophy so when that philosophy is in line with the policy they will look to enforce it, as in the case of some respondents. On the other hand, the same respondents accepted that speaking Arabic among students did occur and it did not appear to be overtly frowned upon. Kassim's strategy of weaning them slowly off Arabic usage is one way to address it, although it might be argued that as enactors in the policy, students will determine for themselves the extent to which they use Arabic in class, regardless of the wishes of their teachers. Regarding the L1 English teachers' inability to speak the language of their students, one might assert that more effort should be made to do so as part of a general move towards understanding how students' own background affects their attitudes to learning. This was argued by Troudi (2005) in a position paper with reference to TESOL teachers. There is little evidence in the findings in this and later sections that L1 English teachers do attempt to engage in this understanding. This may be perpetuated by the promotion of EMI as an ideal model and Arabic teachers' seemingly strong support for it, possibly emanating from their own pride and prestige at mastering the language as a stepping stone to their own professional standing within the status quo.

5.2.2. Teacher enactment

If the previous section considered what teachers saw, this section considers what they do. The themes on teacher enactment are general strategies to facilitate learning; the use of language teaching skills in the content classroom; the perceived advantage of having an Arabic speaker as teacher; the use of Arabic by teachers in the classroom; the implementation of English only policy and finally, teacher views on their own input on EMI policy decisions.

Supporting learning in the EMI classroom

In questionnaire coding, teaching strategies was the second most tagged (n=75; 27%). All nine interview respondents referred to this topic in some detail so for reporting purposes responses were split into three themes that resonated: delivery, activities and relationship-building.

Delivery

Various responses alluded to the need to simplify delivery with Mike describing how he summarised source materials. He said, “I will abridge large amounts of material that are potentially available for students down to something manageable”. Rita explained, “I am using things like materials that are made for US High and Middle School”. She also made use of videos with Arabic subtitles. Other emergent themes were pace and word choice. Mike explained how he spoke more slowly than usual as did Brian, “You really have to slow your pace down and make sure that you find phrases that commonly everybody should know”. Respondent n43 agreed that the environment obliged teachers “to lower the rigor of the language used in class and basically dumb it down”. The teaching

of relevant vocabulary also proved salient for many of the respondents. Kassim used vocabulary games to introduced relevant words, Martin created wordlists and Brian pinpointed key words for a class. Jamie spoke of how he would deconstruct instructions and exam questions with students and others also spoke of the importance of ensuring that instructions were clear and guided students towards task completion. Hafsa explained that if they were asked to read a source without targeted instruction “they wouldn’t know how to do that because they would be overwhelmed trying to understand every paragraph or every word”. Jamie agreed: “If you assign a chapter to read or a few pages to read it won’t be done. If you give set questions to find information, they do it”.

Although Bashir encouraged his students to read, general comments suggested it was something to be avoided. Hafsa spoke of their difficulty in reading and said “they need me to read with them, they need me to guide them. On their own...that takes a lot of time”. Mike admitted:

There is no assigned reading. From speaking to other lecturers, students are handed notes, they are handed material and generally are not expected to read the textbooks.

Writing also appeared to be a language skill to avoid. Mike explained that “what we are teaching are essentially tools and techniques so I try to avoid where possible teaching them things where they are required to write”. When they had to write he said, “I try to encourage them to stick to very particular points rather than trying to elaborate”. Rita also tried to focus more on oral work to meet the students’ strengths, getting her students to submit recorded reflections rather than

written ones. One final delivery decision mentioned was to concept check regularly and recast if required. Mike spoke of his use of paraphrase while Brian said, “Sometimes you cover a concept four or five times”. He explained that he would sometimes do this one-to-one outside class if students requested.

Brian’s willingness to give time outside class might seem a bit onerous but as Mike concluded, “I guess you’re forced to some extent to get the job done” so respondents did seem to do whatever it took to facilitate learning. On reflection the above delivery choices and methods suggest that in this particular research arena, teachers do not teach the same way and to the same level as they might if they were teaching students with better language ability in English. To this, one might add that these choices are made due to the students’ general lack of study skills. While clear instructions would seem logical in any teaching environment, pre-teaching basic vocabulary appears to be an extra task. The other choices – simplification, shortening of materials, removing materials, avoiding certain words and avoiding certain language skills – all suggest that what is being offered is a something short of a tertiary degree level.

Activities

Most respondents emphasised a focus on activity-based learning to aid their students. Abdul used his previous experience in class planning “which is very much driven by doing exercises and activities as much as possible”. Mike said that “it’s more about doing something than going off and reading texts from a book”. Rita felt that students would learn more from video homework tasks than from a lecture and believed that things should be “more hands on, bringing reality into the

classroom, or going outside so that they can make that visual connection rather than just lecturing”. To combat lack of reading, Respondent n45 said, “I encourage my students to read (which they hate) but I do it by giving them articles to read in class (not as homework as they won't do it as homework. I've tried)”. Respondent n12 added, “I do very little with texts. I have students write as little as possible, and read as little as possible too”.

These activities were often conducted in groups, facilitating the peer help described earlier. Hafsa said, “I do find a benefit in them working in a team or a group because they help each other and honestly I do find that they do it well”. Abdul also allowed class time for group project work and Kassim ensured that group composition promoted learning “based on their ability levels but at the same time I consider the emotional factor; so I consider their personalities”. Kassim also ensured that the activities his students conducted were applied as much as possible to their future work environment rather than being purely theory-based and both Abdul and Rita explained how the use of local examples made content more accessible for their students.

These choices of hands-on activities often performed in groups, which avoid the use of certain language skills like reading, are in line with the aforementioned delivery choices, students' language level and their study background. However, apart from the avoidance of reading and writing, which are clearly key components of any Bachelor's study, one might initially view teacher actions in delivery and activity choice as comparable to any other Bachelor's degree in other universities and colleges. But adhering to such a view would not be taking into account the

extent to which respondents apply such practices. The fact that respondents need to put so much emphasis on their methods of delivery and activity choices differentiates their practice from other multilingual or L1 monolingual environments, where greater student understanding and ability to study would be assumed. There is a clear recognition from respondents that the actions they feel they need to take mean that what they are delivering is below that of what one would expect at the Bachelor's level.

From both questionnaire and interview samples, there was only one respondent who showed an inclination to work with English teachers collaboratively. Respondent n16 said, "I integrate assignments with their English instructor thus ensuring that both the content and the English are a good standard". This is a perplexing phenomenon when one considers how many EFL teachers are available and is possibly a reflection of the international proficiency exam culture which pervades HE in the UAE and perpetuates a divisional culture between content and EFL faculty (Cozens, 2006). What was not mentioned at all is whether students were aware that their degree was of a lower standard than equivalent degrees from other parts of the world. Subsequently, there is no evidence of how they would react on finding this out. It is possible that if they decide to stay in the UAE and work in the government sector alongside other Emiratis who have had the same education, and they perform according to the requirements of their job, there is no need for them to be aware. However, if they are to work in the private sector alongside expatriates who have secured relatively lucrative employment in the UAE by way of their skills developed in external educational settings, Emiratis

are likely to see how they compare to their expatriate counterparts. If they had not questioned the education they had received till that point, they are likely to do so when making such comparisons.

Relationship-building

A number of respondents explained the importance of building good relationships to counteract the challenge of learning in an EMI environment. Jamie explained:

It comes down to a lot of trust, a lot of your personal involvement... you know, if a student takes to you, that student is much more likely not to feel embarrassed about asking questions.

Brian also gave this a lot of consideration, sensing that without relationship-building, “I don’t get an honest response so it’s really trying to break down those barriers where they feel comfortable”. Respondent n8 explained, “I have conferences with weaker students and encourage them to take advantage of the institute's tutorial/support center”. Kassim also gave a lot of time for one-to-one feedback to meet personal needs: “Students like to have those comments I give them in the one-on-one feedback because they are beneficial in terms of improving their speech or their writing”. He felt that relationship-building was key to “help students overcome that kind of psychological hurdle on joining the tertiary level”. He continued, “They start appreciating that, so in class they will do whatever you ask them to do because they know you are taking them in the right direction”.

Relationship-building, while not exclusive to this context, does seem to be crucial when faced by students who are lacking basic study and language skills to

complete a programme successfully. Again, whether this can be seen as enactment is questionable. It is perhaps relative to the amount of time spent in building those relationships. Where it would definitely become enactment is when the relationship is built through the use of Arabic and this is considered in ensuing sub-sections. When reflecting on responses on the support strategies that teachers use, it does suggest that efforts are made to give students every chance to succeed, in some cases, against the odds. This contradicts Durham and Palubski's UAE-based research (2007) which argued that allowances were not made for potential language deficiencies, leaving students overwhelmed. It does appear that these teachers are adapting what Trowler (2003) refers to as a "phenomenology of innovation" (p.128) by taking a policy and determining how it will work best in their particular environment. Though most mentioned earlier that they avoid conflict on policy, the fact that they recognise that some students lack the skills required to succeed, along with their sense of pastoral professionalism, indicates that they find their own ways to work around policy requirements. While Lingard and Ozga (2007) suggest that stakeholders will normally lobby on policy, in this context it seems that teachers do not have power to do so, but they do have the ability to enact and the support mechanisms they use for their students reflect that.

TESOL strategies in the EMI classroom

There were various examples of questionnaire respondents who declared their TESOL background and how they tried to employ it. All nine interview respondents referred to this topic and it was interesting to compare perspectives of those who

had taught English prior to teaching content and those who had not. There was evidence of the latter giving attention to English. Mike explained how it was difficult to determine if students had misunderstood assignments or were just unable to express themselves clearly in English. Hafsa said that at times she knew students' grammar was wrong but was unaware if the students understood her explanation as she did not know if they had learned that particular grammar point. When considering whether he used any English teaching skills, Mike was very honest: "I presume that there are certain things that I could do differently to assist students but at the moment I'm still going through the process of trying to find out what those things are". Abdul used vocabulary tests to speed up content learning but said, "I leave language teaching to the English teachers". Martin, who taught both content and English, commented on the position of his content teaching colleagues, arguing that they were, in effect also responsible for language: "They have to be whether or not they're trained as language teachers. They're going to be teaching content vocabulary probably so, yeah, I think that's very hard". He added that some content teachers did not acknowledge this English teaching role. He said, "If their students have questions, they'll send them to me but I think that they should be able to deal with these things".

As for those with previous English teaching experience, none of them referred to explicit strategies that might have been learned while training to teach English but most agreed that this training and experience was advantageous in this particular context. Bashir felt he was more easily able to be selective with word choice than content teachers with no English as a foreign language (EFL) background.

Although Jamie did not give specific examples of how EFL strategies helped, he believed it was intuitive for former EFL teachers to do what was best as potential language issues arose. Rita felt that her EFL training gave her versatility in teaching in this environment as with a little content knowledge, EFL techniques could enhance learning content. Finally, Kassim spoke of the extra help he could give in providing detailed explanations in grammar correction; a skill he employed especially in his one-on-one sessions.

Ashcroft (2006) reviewed possible TESOL methodologies that might be used in the UAE tertiary content classroom. In general terms, the review referred to generic strategies that might be applicable to any classroom rather than specific ones. This perspective appears to be the one adopted by the respondents in this study as any advantage of being a former English teacher in this research setting seemed to be applied intuitively rather than by the conscious application of recognised techniques. Apart from Kassim, respondents did not mention any specific language teaching approach, even when prompted. Also of note were the tentative steps taken by those without a language teaching background, where they felt uncertain on giving language feedback to students, with some suggesting it should be left to the language teachers. Literature expands on the debate over who is responsible for language teaching in environments where content is being studied in a second or foreign language. While Dudley-Evans (2001) advocates active and equal collaboration between English teachers and content teachers in aiding learners, findings suggest that this would not go beyond directing a student to an English teacher for help. The belief of De Jong and Harper (2006) that

content teachers are also responsible for language development in these settings is one which appears to sit uneasily with content only respondents. It may not be that they cannot help, but they are unaware of what the students know in English so are not sure they will understand the explanation. Cozens (2006) identifies this confusion of the relationship between content and language in the UAE tertiary sector as an unresolved challenge. Responses suggest good intentions but if EMI is to be sustained, there might be more scope for the training of content teachers in language teaching techniques or targeted recruitment policies for more teachers who have crossed over the TESOL-content divide. While there are economic arguments against the first option, the second is a pragmatic one and there is evidence of this already happening.

Benefits of Arabic speaking teachers

All nine interview respondents referred to this topic. Bashir pointed out that most teachers in his institution were L1 English teachers and he felt this imbalance should be addressed because “it’s always a plus knowing two languages when one of them is the same language as your students”. Hafsa felt the advantage was small but did point to Arabic speaking teachers being able to intervene early if there was conflict among students as they would understand the Arabic used. She cited cases where non-Arabic speaking teachers had been reprimanded for losing control of classes for this reason. As Respondent n35 explained, “The English-speaking content teacher has little idea what is going on in the classroom. Not an ideal situation”. Jamie admitted that not knowing Arabic was a drawback as it was difficult to concept check. However, Brian stated: I am not necessarily

disadvantaged. I am actually doing them a favour by not relying on Arabic". [It] is probably not helping them learn to speak English".

Brian and Abdul also referred to the belief that some Arabic speaking teachers, especially those who studied in Arabic speaking countries, tend to be harsher on students. Brian felt that students liked Western teachers for "the cultural exchange that we offer" and explained how his own students would tell him, "You are very patient, you are very kind, you don't yell at us, you are not critical, you build us up", whereas they shared with him that from their experience, the traditional Arabic style of teaching was critical and harsh. He qualified this by pointing out that these stereotypes did not apply to all.

In contrast to this rather negative perspective on Arabic speaking teachers, there was also reference to them having a special bond, given the shared language. Hafsa did not feel that such a bond was so pronounced although her female students looked for it and expected it. She explained:

I sometimes feel like I am under scrutiny, that they are always judging me. They are expecting things from me which they definitely wouldn't expect from other teachers.

She explained that they did expect her to bend the rules for them. They also expected her, as a Muslim, to share all their cultural perspectives on society, which was not always the case. Hafsa felt that this was something that non-Muslim female teachers did not have to deal with. Rita's responses supported this view:

I think my advantage is that I am an outsider so I probably get bothered a lot less. I am probably not as close to my students as [Arabic speakers]. I think for many of

us our status is outsider and therefore they wouldn't talk to us about certain subjects.

These cultural aspects were expanded on by other respondents. Kassim recognised that “they know that I am close to their culture. I do feel I have a lot of understanding of their culture and I show that in my behaviour”. He explained how they appreciated this and how it gained him respect. Abdul felt that understanding the culture was more important than speaking the language. He explained that any “teachers that spend eight or nine years in this country have an excellent bond with the students”. However, Martin felt that an Arab-American colleague had an edge as he seemed to be far more understanding of student behaviour than Martin himself. Mike felt that not speaking Arabic made the building of a relationship a longer process and even though Brian had spoken of his positive relationships with students, he did admit that an Arabic speaking colleague who was similar to him in teaching style and background “has better relationships with students than I do because of the Arabic”. Finally, Kassim spoke of his position as a role model for his students:

I insist that I am always proud of my origins, my Arabic language, that's one thing, and the other thing is I want to develop my own English. I think they may see me as a good model. They see me as a person who is just like them, whose first language is Arabic, who has managed to improve his English, who uses English in communication.

A number of teachers did refer to the larger number of L1 English teachers in their institutions and this would reflect a lot of literature which highlights perceived inequality based on nationality in teacher recruitment in the Gulf states (e.g. Troudi, 2009; Moussly, 2010; Hourani et al., 2011), which suggests that institutions

and decision-makers have fallen prey to the native speaker fallacy (Findlow, 2006; Promodoru, 2006). Responses suggest that there are both advantages and disadvantages in being an English only speaker or bilingual. Not knowing Arabic does facilitate the implementation of a strict EMI policy but it does not stop students conversing in their mother tongue and this creates a language barrier between teacher and student. The ability to offer affective support in EMI tertiary settings was a recommendation made in the Thailand tertiary context by Hengsadeekul et al. (2014). While there is an argument that sharing a language facilitates a special bond between teacher and student, some responses indicated that close bonds can also occur in the L2, especially if it incorporates cultural knowledge of the students' social and cultural environs. On the other hand, when there is no bond, detachment can be advantageous to avoid students requesting favours from teachers. What was of interest was the theme of stereotypes, with the Arabic teacher being painted as tyrannical and the L1 English teacher being benevolent. However, responses from Arabic teachers suggest that the former stereotype is inaccurate or may be more related to school teachers from students' past. Indeed, most of the Arabic L1 teachers did seem to suggest that they had an advantage in relationship building, despite Hafsa's sometimes negative experiences. As L1 English teachers did not sense that bond as strongly, one might ask why more of them are not willing to learn Arabic as part of developing their cultural competence. This is answered in part when looking at Arabic use by teachers.

Arabic use by teachers

Eight interview respondents referred to this topic with Martin feeling that views were divided on whether teachers should use Arabic. However, he admitted, “I would use it for sure - it would really help. I wish I could”. As respondent n25 pointed out, “There is no point in trying to explain a difficult meaning when giving the translation is better”. Indeed two non-Arabic L1 questionnaire respondents described their own efforts to learn enough to facilitate comprehension.

Respondent n41 said:

Ideally, it would be good if all instructors had a good command of Arabic even when teaching courses in English. I have learned to go into class with certain key words already translated into Arabic to save wasting valuable time trying to determine key phrases/words needed in the lessons.

Rita also felt that Arabic speaking teachers should use it. However, Jamie explained:

As instruction is in English, and it's likely to remain that way, then the best case scenario is for them to be in a world of getting everything in one language. If they are going to be assessed in English, then maybe immersion in that language is better.

Although her starting point was always English, Hafsa felt that sometimes detailed translation was needed when students were struggling. Others spoke of their use of code-switching between English and Arabic. Bashir said, “If I say the Arabic word, immediately you can see the light bulb. That is something I will continue to do - it's much faster”. Hafsa held a similar perspective: “I don't see any problem if we can help them with a few words to give a little bit of confidence”. She added, “I don't do it to jeopardize their English; I want to help them”. Finally, Kassim

explained how he might use Arabic for non-content, affective reasons, when it related to their feelings.

These views were proffered in the backdrop of what were supposed to be English only environments. However, some respondents were unaware if there was an official policy in their institution on language use. Regarding using Arabic, Martin said, "I think that people would not want to be too vocal about the fact that they were doing it". Jamie's advocacy for keeping it English was mirrored by Abdul who argued that "it is just better if you keep it all in English and they become much more versed in that language". He continued, "For the most part I am a strong believer that it is an English medium education". He added that students had complained that they get confused if "they are taught in Arabic and tested in English". However, it appeared that in some cases a more flexible approach was in operation. Kassim said:

Most bilingual teachers I know allow more flexibility in the classes. They believe that English is not the most important thing that they have to focus on. It is the content.

He explained that this did not match his own philosophy but said that "there is no one who is really asking them to do it differently". On formal policy he continued, "I think that's officially written somewhere, but I don't think anybody is going around enforcing it". This lack of enforcement led Abdul to state:

I think it would be more appropriate if it was clear from the beginning: this is the policy, you have to follow the policy, and then everyone sings from the same sheet, but we have got a situation right now where A is doing this; B is doing this, C is doing this and if it's all working out, everything is OK but the minute a student complains, A, B and C will have to sing from the same song sheet.

He continued on this theme of student input on policy by concluding thus:

The way I see it, you can be flexible as long as students are not complaining. The students can be viewed as the customer and once the students start complaining then the policy will become enforced.

It is interesting to note that the views of whether teachers should use Arabic are divided not by teachers' mother tongue but by their philosophy on teaching. It is also salient to point out that those who advocate adherence to the policy also accept - maybe even believe - that compromise is acceptable and even desirable. Similarly, those who have more actively supported the use of Arabic have also indicated the importance of ensuring that English should be the main language used, and that EMI was in the students' best interests. A further pertinent observation is the somewhat vague application of English only policy. Respondents were often aware of such a policy but it did not seem to be strictly monitored. This suggests that it is not only teachers who are enacting policy but institutions as well, prompted perhaps by their own awareness that a strict EMI policy is impractical given the students involved. This observation that not just students and teachers are enacting but also the institutions where they work and study, would concur with Braun et al. (2010) who explain that any actors with competing ideologies to those of the policy-maker will take steps to make a policy work in their own particular context. As Bell and Stephenson (2006) state, this leads to the constant cannibalisation of old and new perspectives on how policy should be applied, and pertinently this is most likely to happen when implementers are ostracised in the policy-making process.

Teacher input on policy

Although some respondents were initially reticent to discuss this theme, six did eventually proffer views. Rita said that although teachers do make their concerns known, “we don’t have a say over these policies”. Bashir acknowledged the political nature of the theme but was ready to question the status quo: “I’ve been very vocal and critical about the lack of means for teachers to give feedback or at least share opinions with management on such topics”. He accepted that on rare occasions such opportunities were given but questioned whether feedback was taken seriously. As an example he referred to online course evaluations “so that’s an opportunity but there is this belief among teachers that it is all for nothing and you are not talking to the right people”. On such opportunities he mused, “I wonder if all the comments and suggestions with regards to an issue like this are taken and forwarded or discussed afterwards. We will never know”.

Another common theme was the centralisation of decision-making. Jamie felt that all decisions emanated from college directors upwards and Bashir agreed that middle management within colleges were just top-down intermediaries between senior management and teachers. Kassim added that “there’s nothing that is being discussed on how to do it right, what is wrong, how to improve”. In fact some respondents felt the students and their families were more likely to be listened to than teachers. Jamie sensed that if families see their sons and daughters are struggling with English, they might lobby for change.

As respondents felt that faculty were ostracised from the decision-making process, some believed this led to indifference on policy. As argued earlier by Kassim,

regardless of what the policy was, you still had the power to do what you felt was right in the classroom: “That is an advantage, at least for me, to know you have your own area, your philosophy, and as long as the students are working well, you are not questioned”. Despite the apparent lack of teacher input into policy, Abdul did see a potential change, driven by national and international accreditation needs. He commented:

Within the last year I have seen a lot more faculty committees being set up in our college so I think that in the future we might be more involved in decision-making but right now the answer is no.

The findings on this theme give a fairly clear indication that respondents feel they have no real say on EMI policy and there is no clear evidence that any feedback requested from them is considered in policy reformulation. Despite their key position in implementing the policy, they appear to have less power and influence to lobby according to their beliefs than their students and their families. If teachers have little lobbying power, they would appear to have three options: adherence, indifference or enactment. Farrugia (2012) indicates that the transient nature and guest worker status of expatriates in the UAE does invite indifference to policy mandates and the lack of consultation of teachers on policy is recognized as quite common by Trowler (2003). Although Wallace (in Braun et al., 2010) discusses how policy is often formulated loosely to allow for local interpretation, the perceived top-down nature of governmental tertiary institutions means that teachers may not want to overtly interpret policy for fear of reprisals. So, teachers, when unable to lobby and when sensing that feedback requests are paying lip service to inclusivity, may just comply. However, given their own professional

standards and the pastoral and nurturing nature of their profession, they are more likely to enact. The evidence of various steps taken to enact policy in the findings suggest that this enactment is driven not by what teachers believe tertiary education should be but by what they believe best serves these particular students. Primarily, this takes into account the students' lack of independent study skills and their challenges with English, which means that delivery is adapted, certain key elements of tertiary study are avoided, and the use of Arabic in the classroom setting to one degree or another is evident and accepted as a necessary part of learning in this particular EMI setting.

5.3. Summary of the findings

Given that teachers seem to believe that students generally support the concept of EMI, one must question why teachers identify so many issues with it; above all the belief that it is unfair to those students who cannot display necessary levels of English language competence. The recognition that EMI is generally more appropriate for some subjects over others requires an analysis of why the policy should be applied in a blanket fashion. While there is a general recognition that English is relevant for students' futures, there is a question mark over whether this needs to be of a native speaker variety given the type of English used in society which may include various ELF's among English L2 or L3 users. One may believe that EMI is a threat to Emirati culture and identity, but within an enterprise educational construct it is perhaps its absence from much of the HE curriculum that is more of a threat, given its relevance in both the public and private sectors. The fact that students cannot reasonably be expected to achieve the native

speaker level of English which appears to be the goal of EMI strategy within a global citizen framework means that expectations; the pedagogical approach or both need to be analysed for their relevance to students' needs. To ask students with such proficiency to study in a foreign language and to employ new learning methodologies may be a bridge too far.

Despite the perceived support (or perhaps acceptance) of the policy by students, the fact that there are signs of resistance suggests that all is not well. It may be immaterial whether this is adjudged to be a reaction to hegemonic imposition or their frustration at their inability to cope; the fact that there is resistance means that the appropriateness of the policy needs to be reviewed. The evidence that students are relying on peer translation, online translation and are looking to communicate with their Arabic-speaking teachers in their mutual mother tongue is another reason to contest the current policy.

This questioning of the policy runs into teacher enactment as well. If the HE curriculum is to prepare students to be internationally-oriented global citizens, it follows that this curriculum should match the quality standards of similar curricula around the world. This is compromised when teachers feel the need to simplify materials, shorten syllabi and avoid the use of certain essential undergraduate skills like reading and writing. When the ability to teach these students at their level in a foreign language is valued over the ability to impart knowledge in the teachers' own area of expertise, quality is also compromised. All of the themes summarized here lead one to question if the current policy is indeed the one which best serves its students. Key to this contestation is the role of Arabic as an

essential skill for the workplace and as a possible medium of instruction. If English is to remain in the curriculum (and findings suggest that it must), then the question is how that should be applied. All of these questions will be addressed in the conclusions and recommendations to this study.

6. CONCLUSION

Having reported on and discussed the findings of this study, this chapter aims to conclude the research process by summarising the main findings and then explaining their implications. While data were collected from teachers, the implications indicate that ensuing recommendations are directed both at teachers in their practice and, perhaps more importantly in a study aligned to policy, at decision-makers. The chapter will then make suggestions for further research before closing with a personal reflection on my experiences of conducting this research and what I have learned as a result.

6.1. Summary of main findings

Research Question One considered tertiary teacher views on EMI in the UAE federal sector and the three major themes that emerged were general views on the policy, its relevance for students' futures and its feasibility give the students' level in English. Regarding general views, four sub-themes were highlighted: teacher perceptions of student views, the perceived unfairness of the policy, the avoidance of contestation and how the policy suited different course types. In general terms teachers felt that students either accepted or supported the policy but the teachers themselves expressed some misgivings including the difficulty of teaching in the research environment; the fact that it discriminated against those with poor English; and, for the L1 English teachers, the strangeness of studying in a foreign language in one's own country. However, respondents felt that it was better to avoid expressing concerns on policy in the research context, given the

top-down nature of decision-making that they encountered. There was a general belief that courses which required less reading and writing were more appropriate for EMI with some claiming that in business subjects, for example, there were no really clear Arabic translations for some terms so teaching in English was preferable.

English was seen as very relevant to students' futures given its position as a lingua franca in the UAE but it was suggested that students did not necessarily take full advantage of the fact that they could practice it outside the classroom. Respondents showed awareness of the government's strategic goal of creating an internationally-oriented workforce but questioned whether it was feasible due to students' lack of world knowledge and their level of English. Arabic was also discussed as a requirement for the workplace and there was a general recognition that the division of the private and public sectors into English and Arabic speaking environments respectively was too simplistic: both languages were necessary in both sectors. Although there was a suggestion that students were showing preference for English, some teachers suggested that students did not feel this compromised their identity or culture unduly.

There was general agreement that students' level of English was insufficient for Bachelor's study although it was recognised that they were more proficient in speaking than in reading and writing. Although some respondents felt that students could do more to improve, there was a general sympathy for their situation with pre-tertiary education seen as the main culprit. It was recognised that students came to tertiary education with very different levels of English and

though they seemed to improve over time, one respondent suggested that it was still not indicative of a Bachelor's level. Finally, it was suggested that English was just one of the challenges students faced and other challenges might create more difficulty for them; the prime example being their lack of study skills, which were linked to the teacher-centred rote learning they experienced at schools and the subsequent dependence that it created.

Research Question Two considered enactment of policy by teachers as well as their observations on how students enacted it. In general terms, it was felt that frustrations students felt were more related to an inability to cope than a feeling of imposition. For those who really could not cope, they left or dropped down to the re-introduced Diploma. It was accepted that there was an element of culture shock for students on joining an English-medium environment with many foreign teachers but if they managed to get through those early experiences, they settled down and any resistance dissipated. It was observed that students relied on each other to overcome any difficulties with the medium of instruction, with stronger students translating for their peers. Other coping strategies included the use of online translators and using ghost writers for assignments. Respondents saw these various strategies as a double-edged sword. While they felt that in general terms peer-translation helped, L1 English teachers were concerned that translation might not be correct and all were not in favour of online translators and ghost writing. It was recognised by L1 Arabic teachers that students tried to use their mother tongue with teachers and responses varied on whether this was

acceptable. However, it appeared that it was inevitable, especially in the early years.

Regarding their own enactment, teachers supported students by making decisions on delivery, activity choice and the building of relationships. It is assumed that the extent to which these decisions were applied made them examples of enactment; that is, they were practiced over and above what might be considered normal if students were studying in the mother tongue. Delivery decisions included summarising sources, simplifying materials, going more slowly, making judicious word choice, giving clear instructions, concept checking, pre-teaching basic terminology and avoiding reading and writing tasks if possible. Activities were favoured over lecture formats with group work key in promoting the possibility of peer help. Finally, some respondents explained that in this context the building of relationships with students was essential to counteract any vulnerability they might feel in studying in a language other than their own.

Linked to the concept of relationship building was the debate on whether Arabic speaking teachers held an advantage over non-Arabic speaking teachers and whether Arabic should be used by faculty. While most Arabic speaking teachers felt their shared language gave them an edge in understanding students' culture and building a relationship, it was also recognised that non-Arabic speaking teachers might also build good relations; especially as students might view them as more sympathetic than their Arabic speaking teachers at school. There was disagreement on whether teachers should use Arabic in class with fault lines formed not by the teachers' L1 but by their teaching philosophy. Supporters

explained how it facilitated understanding while the nay-sayers felt it retarded the acquisition of competent English and was confusing for students.

Finally, it was noted that English-only policies in respondents' institutions were not always strictly applied, possibly in realisation that a blanket ban was unworkable and undesirable. It was suggested that teachers were unofficially allowed to do what they felt was best without too much monitoring as long as students were not complaining. If this was the case, this would mean there was no need to voice opinions over EMI policy; rather teachers would just need to pay lip service where required but conduct their classes according to their own beliefs for the good of their students. This enactment could be due to the feeling that policy was the domain of Emiratis and teachers had little say on how or if EMI should be used.

6.2. Implications

In reconsidering holistically the outcomes of teachers' views on EMI policy, how they enact it and how they view their students' enactment, a number of implications emerge. The first is that some form of English tuition is needed as English appears to be the lingua franca of the UAE and is likely to have some level of relevance in students' future careers. This is one reason why respondents felt students generally seemed to accept and even support learning in English. As findings suggest that it does not threaten cultural identity and some respondents feel that certain terminology does not exist in Arabic, this would also mean that learning English is logical in the research environment. The fact that most students appear to get over initial linguistic challenges and function relatively well in later

years, as found in another UAE study by Rogier (2012), suggests that EMI may be an option when determining the best medium for teaching. However, there appear to be attendant problems in applying such a policy.

Findings suggest that the level of adaptation by teachers to facilitate learning in the research context means that what is taught falls some way short of being a Bachelor's programme as would be offered in the students' mother tongue. One might argue that learning in Arabic would be little different from learning in English, given students' perceived lack of study skills, lack of world knowledge and overdependence on their teachers for study in general. However, the fact that they are enrolled with an English level well below the internationally recognised norm for undergraduate study (IELTS Guide, 2013) means that the language medium is an added burden for them (as found in the UAE by Durham & Palubiski, 2007), if not the main reason for their struggles. This naturally complicates learning but also complicates teaching as faculty are faced with students who generally have poor world knowledge, poor study skills and poor English, which all oblige teachers to make major adaptations to their approach. These appear to entail over-accentuating mother tongue medium practices to compensate for these students' abilities and introducing new practices that may not exist in the mother tongue medium like the pre-teaching of vocabulary that normally you would expect a learner to understand and, more worryingly from a quality perspective, the avoidance of reading and writing tasks.

The extent to which teachers are obliged to adapt might beg the question of why they do not propose alternative methods for learning which incorporate a less

immersive approach to English like content and language integrated learning (CLIL) (Doiz et al., 2013a) or a bilingual model (Belhiah & Elhami, 2014). However, given the top-down decision-making environments where only Emirati lobbyists may have a voice, there is a sense that speaking up may lead to punitive retribution. As they seem to be ostracised from decision-making, they could just implement the policy and collect their due reward in a mercenary fashion. But that would be doing a disservice to most teachers' professionalism, which includes the specific skill of nurturing learners. Thus we see varying examples of policy enactment being applied behind the closed doors of classrooms to give students every chance to succeed. These enactments may be moderate in the form of teaching choices; pastoral in the form of relationship-building; or more-subversive in the case of Arabic usage in purportedly English-only settings, as found by Mouhanna (2010).

The recurring theme of Arabic use in the findings is the prime example of policy enactment in the research setting. This includes not only students and those teachers who speak Arabic but also institutions who realise that a blanket ban on the use of Arabic would be unrealistic, hence the somewhat loose monitoring of English only policy evidenced in the findings. Students will use Arabic with each other as their mother tongue to offer peer help, and if teachers can speak Arabic they will use it to aid and speed up understanding and give affective support to those that struggle or feel alienated in the early years of tertiary EMI study. However, findings suggest that the need to use Arabic goes beyond offering a crutch. Respondents suggested that it was also essential for work whether that be

in the public or private sector, so an overemphasis on English is not necessarily benefiting students' long term needs. Far from being a folkloric alternative to the world's lingua franca, it appears to be an integral part of their future working environment.

If one accepts that both English and Arabic are needed for students' futures, one would need to question if EMI is the best way to achieve that. Government aims to create an internationally-oriented workforce while preserving the cultural identity of its people are noble but despite the contention that EMI will not affect the latter (Nahayan, 2011), findings referred to various ways that students appeared to *other* their own mother tongue in favour of English, only to realise on entering the workplace that their professional Arabic was of an insufficient standard. The dangers of ignoring Arabic learning at the post-secondary level in favour of wholesale English are potentially manifold. First, students will use undesirable coping strategies such as ghost writers and online translators; second, teachers will be obliged to lessen the cognitive load for students, thereby compromising the quality of education on offer; third, consciously or sub-consciously, students may become distanced from their mother tongue; and finally, those students who cannot cope with the linguistic demands will be demoted to Diploma level or will leave. Despite the attempt to apply EMI universally to counteract the elitism with which it is associated in other contexts, if students cannot cope due to their ability in a foreign language, it remains an elitist construct.

Whether non-Arabic speaking teachers should learn Arabic or not is a question that needs to be posited but even if they do not, they should ensure that their own

cultural competence is enhanced in general terms. This can include becoming aware of how their students learn best, which may not match new pedagogies (Warnica, 2011; Farah, 2012). This could also mean engagement through interacting with students via relationship-building, as found by Hengsadeekul et al. (2014). The goals of creating an internationally-oriented workforce may have little meaning for those students who struggle with English and who do not see their futures overtly affected by global affairs (Troudi, 2009). These students may be more motivated by the government's aims to promote cultural heritage and national identity. Hence, teachers might consider a praxis model of education (Carr and Kemmis, 1986) where students can be encouraged to conduct activity-based learning for the common good of Emirati society.

This section has considered the implications of the status quo as seen by teachers regarding EMI policy in federal tertiary institutions in the UAE. The next section will look at what recommendations can be proposed based on the observations of that status quo to enhance the learning environment for both teachers and students.

6.3. Recommendations

The research framework for this study included pragmatism as one of its guiding principles. When making recommendations it is pertinent to continue along pragmatic lines by recognising what can realistically be achieved. An analysis of the implications arising from the findings leads to the formulation of six recommendations for this particular research context. These are proposed below.

1: Teachers should continue enacting policy for the good of their students

As long as the status quo remains one where teachers are ostracised from the decision-making process, they should continue to do all that they can for their students to assist them in reaching the goal of graduation and being sufficiently prepared for the ensuing work environment. It should be recognised that currently most students appear to improve their English and succeed. While one may question the quality of their achievements internationally, they do take up posts to contribute effectively to the national economy. For this reason, teachers should continue adapting and building good relationships with students to support their academic and affective needs.

2. English should remain an integral part of the federal tertiary curriculum

Findings strongly support the view that English should play a major role in students' tertiary studies. The belief that it will remain the lingua franca of the UAE for the foreseeable future and is not a major threat to identity, as also found in Qatar by Pessoa and Rajakumar (2011), are strong arguments for its continuity. In addition, it is noted that most students come to terms with challenges they face early and improve their English under the current system. A question that arises is whether the drive to promote academic English is in the students' long term interests as, unless they go on to pursue further studies in English, they are more likely to need it for functional purposes in later life at work and in daily interactions in cosmopolitan areas of the UAE, as suggested by Troudi (2009).

3. Arabic tuition should be introduced as an ongoing part of the federal tertiary curriculum

Findings suggest that the official introduction of Arabic, as opposed to the current unofficial code-switching in the EMI environment, would benefit learners. First, it would make the tertiary environment less daunting for newcomers (especially those who struggle in English). Second, as most students currently take up government posts, they will need good Arabic communication skills. Third, the recognition that Arabic is needed in the private sector supports its introduction; especially as a government aim is to increase the number of Emiratis in that sector. Fourth, it would align with government aims to promote Emirati culture and identity as part of its educational goals. Finally, it would ensure that students who struggle in English are not left behind as it would provide a more inclusive environment, where use of Arabic is considered normal rather than an act of defiance against existing policy.

4. The appropriateness of EMI as the best model for the federal tertiary curriculum should be reviewed

Findings suggest that the level of policy enactment means that learning is happening in spite of the EMI policy rather than because of it. The resultant outcomes are that the quality of the education can be contested due to content reduction and skills avoidance. If courses were taught in Arabic, it might be possible to cover more content and get students to write more as they would be more confident in their own language. However, the need for English must not be ignored. Reading will remain a challenge while academic literature remains

predominantly English. For this reason a bilingual model, as now practiced in some schools, might be a direction to consider at the tertiary level, where more text-heavy subjects are taught in Arabic with the less text-heavy ones taught in English. This suggestion would be in line with other UAE studies by McLaren (2011) and Belhiah and Elhami (2014). Another possibility is to teach English as a foreign language to promote future functional use. However, that would overlook the need students have for academic English to cope with reading tasks. If funding is provided, an ideal scenario might be the possibility to choose to study in Arabic or in English with each option requiring the additional learning of the other language, thereby supporting the concept proposed by Shohamy (2013) of a multilingual university. This would provide a genuine choice based on language abilities. While seemingly an idealistic option, it may be feasible given the relatively low percentage of gross domestic product (GDP) dedicated to education in recent times in the UAE (Farah, 2012).

5. Praxis should be promoted in the earlier years of tertiary study to motivate students who struggle with English

In order to include those students who may not necessarily see the global benefits of studying in English and may have challenges with the language, pedagogy which focuses on practice that benefits Emirati society and culture may prove more attractive, initially at least. This should be accompanied by an assessment system which may not punish language deficiency so harshly at the start. To support this, teachers should enhance their awareness of their students' culture and cultural norms and look to build supportive relationships with them. This is one

way that potential language proficiency elitism can be avoided. As students year by year become more comfortable with the language of instruction, as suggested by the findings, the more global benefits of studying in English can become more accentuated.

6. Secondary education needs to continue promoting student-centred and bilingual learning

Findings have laid the blame for current tertiary sector woes on students' previous education but also suggested that recent action taken in schools has led to students entering tertiary education with improved English. It is therefore essential to ensure that both Arabic and English teaching continue to improve, given the relevance of both languages to students' futures. As indicated in the findings, students also need to enter tertiary study primed for an independent approach to learning. Students also need to arrive with knowledge of the world to supplement the knowledge of their own history, culture and traditions. These goals may prove even more complicated given embedded views on education and the many variables that can affect attitudes to the outside world.

The six recommendations proposed can be split into continuity and change. While the first two could be applied without change and the final one is currently being addressed, the others – that is, the introduction of Arabic in the curriculum, a praxis-based pedagogy in the initial years of tertiary education and the possible change from an EMI model to accommodate this – require a major reconceptualisation on current policy that would initially create new challenges. Whatever those challenges might be, if they are met and addressed, then it is

possible to envisage a future where an inclusive and practical language medium policy will ensure that Emirati students get a tertiary education which will give them initial affective support and the best possible preparation for their careers.

6.4. Suggestions for further research

In the period between the conceptualisation of this study and its completion there has been a rise in the number of empirical tertiary studies on EMI, which have been cited in this study. These studies have been conducted in the UAE and Gulf context (Rogier, 2012; Belhiah & Elhami, 2014; McLaren, 2011; Jewels & Albon, 2012; Al-Bakri, 2013) as well as an increasing number in Europe and Asia from outside the post-colonial settings which characterised earlier studies (e.g. Hu et al., 2014; Kym & Kym, 2014; Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011; Tatzl, 2011; Ljosland, 2011). This indicates the current interest in the use of EMI in HE. This study has given an exploratory insight into teacher views by providing rich data from the UAE tertiary sector framed within the concept of enactment of educational policy, and has indicated that in accordance with educational policy literature, the more implementers are excluded from the policy process, the more they are likely to enact. It has provided a new angle on EMI to add to the embryonic collection of studies in the UAE and the Arabian Gulf and it is hoped that the current trend of new research on this topic in the region will continue.

Within the UAE, it would be interesting to see if the challenges faced in the monolingual federal sector are replicated in the multilingual private sector. This is of particular interest to me as I currently work in such an environment and my observations are that the increasing number of students entering private tertiary

education from outside the UAE is leading to the same linguistic challenges cited in this study due to the difficulty in accurately determining their English level prior to commencement of their studies. There have now been a number of UAE studies with larger samples than this one which used mixed-methods to gain teacher and student general views on EMI (e.g. Rogier, 2012; Belhiah & Elhami, 2014; McLaren, 2011). It would be interesting to design a wider-ranging national survey focusing specifically on teacher views on enactment to show the extent to which the respondents' views in this study are representative.

This study was designed to provide an exploratory overview of the themes that resonated with respondents regarding EMI enactment and the results should act as a catalyst for more focused study of some of those themes. As an example, the inclusion of respondents who had crossed the divide from TESOL to content showed the sometimes disparate nature of English teaching and content teaching in EMI environments and a comparative study of TESOL teacher and content teacher views in the UAE similar to that of King (2010) in Qatar, would be of interest in identifying how these two groups can collaborate further to enhance learning. Another salient theme from the findings was the use of Arabic in EMI settings. This is another area in which few UAE studies have been conducted - Mouhanna's small scale study (2010) is a rare example - and merits further investigation. Regionally this study could be replicated or adapted, as there appear to be few studies of its kind and its focus in the Gulf. Similarly, although policy enactment studies exist outside the Gulf, their recent emergence in regions other than post-colonial settings suggest that the domain is still growing so more studies

should be encouraged to provide a more solid body of research to analyse and draw conclusions from.

6.5. Personal reflection

As I look back at the conducting of this study, I have the opportunity to reflect on its impact from two perspectives; namely, my role as researcher and my role as practitioner. Regarding the former, the conducting of a doctoral thesis has been a challenge far removed from other studies I have carried out inasmuch as the detail required takes it beyond what is needed for a smaller scale study. I have conducted empirical research since my Master's study and prior to this thesis I had become reasonably adept at producing publishable work of standard publication length. This study, however, made me question the rigour of my previous efforts, as for the first time I considered the minutiae that make a research genuinely defensible, and came to terms with the fact that due to the many confounding variables in qualitative research, absolute rigour remained an aspiration rather than a reality, despite my best efforts.

Considering my role as practitioner there is also reason to identify differences between previous research conducted and this one as in general I have always found that my research has made me question my own beliefs about the topics I have decided to investigate. However, in this study, I generally feel that findings are in line with what I expected based on my previous experiences of interacting with teachers in the research environment. Examples of this include Arabic speaking teachers' strong support for EMI and English speaking teachers' questioning of it in this context. Another example is the rejection of the mercenary

perspective sometimes levelled at teachers in this research setting, and the recognition of their genuine efforts to help their students even when they feel it is against all odds. It is, of course, gratifying to see this from fellow professionals and I would like to think that their dedication is one that I have also aspired to in my career.

To sum up, I have learned that if research is to be respected, it has to be rigorous and the conducting of this study has allowed me to see how challenging that is. From a professional perspective, despite the small number of respondents, I have received some validation of my own beliefs via the findings that English must continue to play a role in UAE tertiary education but Arabic must also play a role and therefore a strict application of EMI should be contested. Evans (2002) claims that educational research often has insufficient impact on policy and practice. However, this study started with Pring's view that educational research should be "...the attempt to make sense of the activities, policies and institutions which, through the organisation of learning, help to transform the capacities of people to live a fuller and more distinctively human life" (2000, p.17). In the case of this particular study this will only be realised if decision-makers start to pay attention to those currently enacting their policies because institutions and teachers know what is in the best interests of their students; institutions and teachers will do what is in the best interests of their students; so decision-makers would do well to understand this, in the best interests of their students.

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8. APPENDICES

4.5 Appendix 1: Request for pilot questionnaire participation

Facebook Interaction – Pilot questionnaire

Conversation started 22 June 2013

11:12

[Mick King](#)

Dear all,

I am contacting you as you are (or have been) all involved in UAE-based tertiary English teaching to classes where Arabic is the L1 of students. As such you form a parallel group to the target sample for my thesis - content teachers who teach the same student type.

I would really appreciate it if you could take a few minutes to complete a pilot questionnaire for me. Its purpose will be to guide me towards any changes before I approach the target sample. Your answers and feedback will not be analysed as part of data collection but your feedback on questionnaire design may be mentioned in the methodology.

Basically, once completed, could you send me a mail stating:

- how long it took to complete - how clear the instructions were - any advice you would suggest regarding improving the questionnaire

You can find the questionnaire at the following link.

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/NPBSGXB>

I have chosen you as I believe you will be able to give me honest and useful advice. If you have time to do the survey and give feedback over the next few days I would be very grateful.

Best wishes,

Mick

4.6 Appendix 2: Pilot questionnaire

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/NPBSGXB>

PILOT: Tertiary Content Teacher Views on English as the Medium of Instruction (EMI)

PILOT VERSION TARGET SAMPLE TESOL TEACHERS. RESPONDENTS ARE REQUESTED TO ANSWER FROM THEIR PERSPECTIVE.

The purpose of this study is to explore tertiary level content teachers' views on and enactment of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Arabic L1 classrooms in the UAE. This study is being conducted because until now little is known about tertiary level content teachers' views on and application of EMI policy in the UAE context so your input is valuable.

This open questionnaire is the first phase of the study. The study is being conducted as a doctoral thesis and data collected may be used as part of the thesis and any future public dissemination of the same. If you choose to complete this questionnaire you will be asked to answer 3 closed questions and then 3 open questions. Depending on the length of your responses, the questionnaire should take a minimum of (number to be added after pilot) minutes. You will also be asked if you would like to be part of the second phase of the study.

Your data will remain confidential and you may ask for your data to be removed from the study at any time by contacting the researcher at one of the email addresses below. Similarly, if you have any remaining questions, or would like to be informed of the results of this study, please contact the researcher at one of the given email addresses:

Michael King – mjk205@exeter.ac.uk or micjak66@gmail.com

If you would like further information about the study, please contact the project supervisor, Dr. Salah Troudi, at the following email address:

S.Troudi@exeter.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to participate in the study.

***1. Please answer YES or NO to the following questions:**

	YES	NO
Are you faculty in a tertiary institution in the UAE?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you lecture/teach /tutor using English as the medium of instruction?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do your students all speak Arabic to mother tongue proficiency?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***2. What subject(s) do you lecture/teach/tutor? (Please list up to 3. If you teach more, list the 3 you teach most regularly).**

Subject:

Subject:

Subject:

***3. Which of the following best describes your mother tongue?**

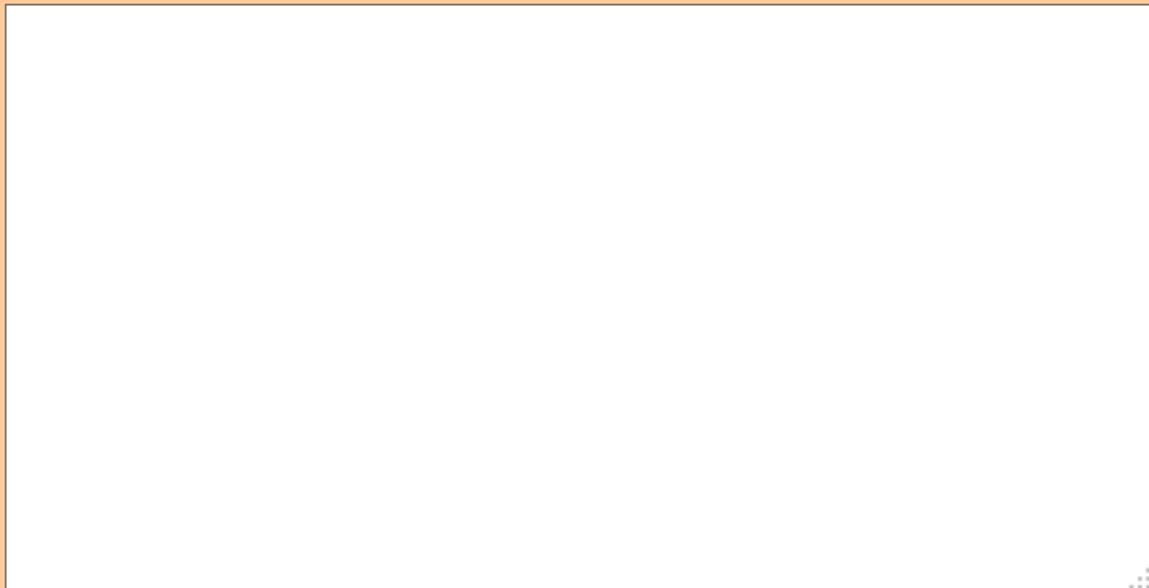
- English
- Arabic
- A language other than Arabic
- Bilingual or multilingual

If you answered 'bilingual or multilingual', please specify

4. What are your views on the use of EMI in UAE-based tertiary educational institutions when students share Arabic as a mother tongue?



5. From your perspective how do your students experience the use of EMI?



6. What strategies do you employ when applying EMI in your classes?

7. This questionnaire is the initial phase of the study. If you are interested in participating in the second phase, please enter your name and email address below. This will not bind you to participate but you may be contacted at a later date to receive more details. At that point, you can decide whether to continue your participation.

Name:

Email address:

THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

4.7 Appendix 3: Request for questionnaire participation

I am starting to collect data for my thesis. I am looking for respondents who teach content subjects (not TESOL/EFL/ESL) in UAE-based tertiary institutions to students whose mother tongue is Arabic. I am looking to canvass their views on EMI in their own contexts.

If you fit that profile, could you please complete the questionnaire at the link below. It will take 5-10 minutes based on the length of responses. Even a one line will provide valuable data for the research.

If you do not fit the profile but you know people who do, could you please send them the link? I am looking for at least 100 responses so your efforts in helping me reach that number is greatly appreciated.

As I am using as many outlets as possible to collect data, please accept my apologies if you have received this information already.

This is the link.

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/69LB8RP>

If this does not work, the following link can also be used.

<http://www.surveymonkey.com/s/DCJBR6F>

Many thanks,

Mick

4.8 Appendix 4: Questionnaire

OPEN QUESTIONNAIRE

An exploratory investigation into tertiary level content teachers' views on and enactment of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Arabic L1 classrooms in the UAE

The purpose of this study is to explore tertiary level content teachers' views on and enactment of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Arabic L1 classrooms in the UAE. This study is being conducted because until now little is known about tertiary level content teachers' views on and application of EMI policy in the UAE context so your input is valuable.

This open questionnaire is the first phase of the study. The study is being conducted as a doctoral thesis and data collected may be used as part of the thesis and any future public dissemination of the same. If you choose to complete this questionnaire you will be asked to answer a few closed questions and then two open questions. Depending on the length of your responses, the questionnaire should take a minimum of 7-8 minutes. You will also be asked if you would like to be part of the second phase of the study, which will entail classroom observation and an interview.

Your data will remain confidential and you may ask for your data to be removed from the study at any time by contacting the researcher at one of the email addresses below. Similarly, if you have any remaining questions, or would like to be informed of the results of this study, please contact the researcher at one of the given email addresses:

Michael King – mjk205@exeter.ac.uk or micjak66@gmail.com

If you would like further information about the study, please contact the project supervisor, Dr. Salah Troudi at the following email address: S.Troudi@exeter.ac.uk

Thank you for taking the time to participate in the study.

Exeter University Edd in TESOL Thesis

***1. Please answer YES or NO to the following questions:**

	YES	NO
Are you faculty in a tertiary institution in the UAE?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do you lecture/teach /tutor using English as the medium of instruction?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Do your students all speak Arabic to mother tongue proficiency?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

***2. What subject(s) do you lecture/teach/tutor? (Please list up to 3. If you teach more, list the 3 you teach most regularly).**

Subject:

Subject:

Subject:

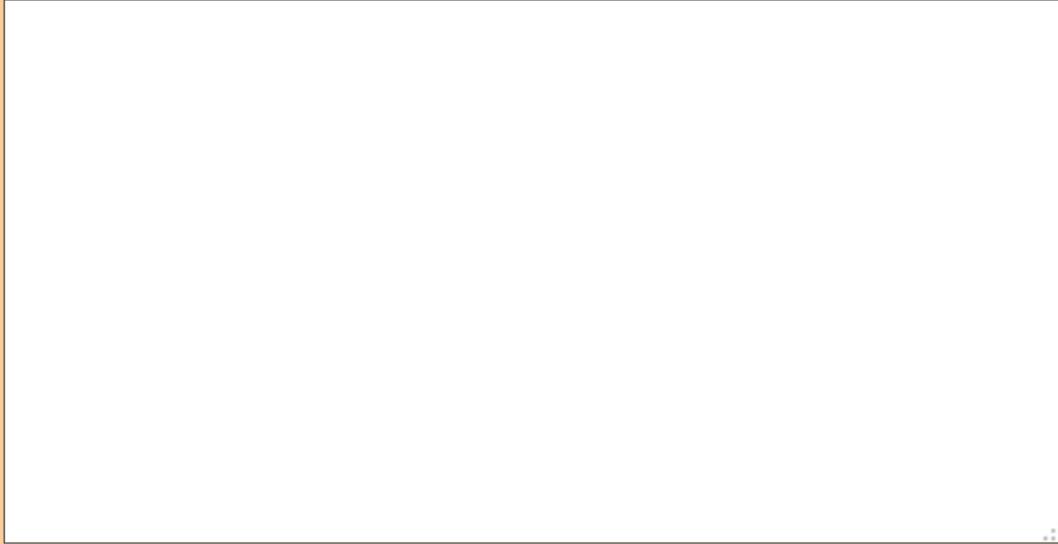
***3. Which of the following best describes your mother tongue?**

- English
- Arabic
- A language other than English or Arabic
- Bilingual or multilingual

If you answered 'A language other than English or Arabic' or 'Bilingual or multilingual', please specify

FOR QUESTIONS 4 TO 6 YOU ARE ENCOURAGED TO WRITE AS MUCH AS YOU CAN BUT EVEN ONE LINE WILL PROVIDE A VALUABLE CONTRIBUTION TO THE RESEARCH.

4. What are your views on teaching in English in UAE-based tertiary educational institutions when students share Arabic as a mother tongue?



5. From your perspective how do your students respond to being taught in English?



6. What strategies (if any) do you employ to facilitate teaching and learning in English in your classes (If you do not employ any specific strategies, please state this and explain the reasons behind it)?

7. This questionnaire is the initial phase of the study. If you are interested in participating in the second phase, please enter your name and email address below. This will not bind you to participate but you may be contacted at a later date to receive more details. At that point, you can decide whether to continue your participation.

Name:

Email address:

THANK YOU FOR ANSWERING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

4.9 Appendix 5: Requests for interview participation

EXAMPLE

Dear [XXXXXXXX](#),

I am sending this to you as you completed an open questionnaire on EMI usage in UAE tertiary education in Arabic L1 settings and expressed an interest to participate further in the study. First of all, let me thank you for your interest thus far. It was great to read your input.

I am currently selecting and interviewing and am looking for participants from the various Emirates. I am also looking for a variety of mother tongue users (English, Arabic or language other than English and Arabic). The interview will last 45 minutes and will be held at the location of your choice.

If you are still interested in participating, could you send me a short reply confirming so by January 17th.

Once I have heard back from you, I will analyse who has responded to ascertain the best mix of region and mother tongue and get back to you.

Please find [the](#) information sheet, debriefing sheet and consent form attached.

Many thanks again for your input thus far and for any future contribution.

Best regards,

Mick King

4.10 Appendix 6: Interview schedule

(modified from landscape layout)

Interview Schedule EMI Content Teachers

Date:

Time:

Name:

Gender:

Subject:

Years teaching:

Years teaching Arab only classes:

Years teaching Arab only classes in the UAE:

Levels taught:

First language:

Proficiency of English:

Nationality:

Exeter University EdD in TESOL Thesis

Teacher views	Relevance future	Student views	Student behaviour	Proficiency
Arabic	Nat ID	Strategies employed	Strategy success	Teachers Voice

4.11 Appendix 7: Debriefing sheet

Research Debriefing Sheet

An exploratory investigation into tertiary level content teachers' views on and enactment of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Arabic L1 classrooms in the UAE

The purpose of this study is to explore tertiary level content teachers' views on and enactment of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Arabic L1 classrooms in the UAE. This study is being conducted because until now little is known about tertiary level content teachers' views on and application of EMI policy in the UAE context.

This study has three phases. First data will be collected from content teachers via an open questionnaire to make an initial analysis of teacher views. Then teachers who indicate they would like to participate in the next stage will be interviewed alongside other teachers who will enter the study at this phase. This 45-minute interview will look to get richer information on the topic of the research. In the third phase classes will be observed by the researcher. The classes may also be video-recorded. It is possible but not compulsory that a teacher participant will be involved in all three stages.

If you are a student participant, your class will be observed once or twice. The observation is not related to your academic performance in any way and will have no effect on your grades.

If you are a content teacher, after completing the open questionnaire and expressing your interest in further participation, or after being approached to enter the research at the interview stage, you will be interviewed on themes emanating from literature and the outcomes of the open questionnaire answers. Interviews will be recorded as long as you give consent. Approximately 9 teachers from a range of institutions and subject areas will be interviewed. Those interviewed, as well as others who enter the research at the next stage, will be requested to permit observation of their teaching for up to two classes.

Exeter University Edd in TESOL Thesis

If you are an institution, data collected during observations will be kept strictly confidential and institution, teachers and students will be anonymised in any dissemination.

I would like to sincerely thank you for taking the time to participate in the study. If you have any remaining questions, or would like to be informed of the results of this study, please contact the researcher at one of the email addresses below:

Michael King – m.king@mdx.ac or micjak66@gmail.com

4.12 Appendix 8: Information sheet

Research Information Sheet – Content Teachers

An exploratory investigation into tertiary level content teachers' views on and enactment of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Arabic L1 classrooms in the UAE

You are being asked to take part in the second phase of this study as you have already indicated your interest in participating beyond the first phase open questionnaire and/or you have been approached as a suitable participant. Please read this sheet and the accompanying debriefing sheet thoroughly, and ask any questions before deciding whether to give your consent for your participation.

The purpose of this research is to explore tertiary level content teachers' views on and enactment of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Arabic L1 classrooms in the UAE. If you choose to participate in this study you will partake in a 45-minute follow-up interview and, pending your agreement and necessary consent from all parties, you may be observed for up to two classes, which may be video-recorded, again pending necessary consent from all parties.

If you are willing to proceed with this study, you will be asked to sign a consent form. Participation in this study is entirely voluntary. Every effort will be taken to protect your anonymity and the confidentiality of your responses. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to withdraw at any time, without providing a reason for your decision.

The data collected will be used for a doctoral thesis study and may be used for public dissemination.

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Thank you for taking the time to read this information sheet. If you have any remaining questions, or would like to be informed of the results of this study, please contact the researcher at one of the email addresses below:

Michael King – m.king@mdx.ac or micjak66@gmail.com

4.13 Appendix 9: Consent form

An exploratory investigation into tertiary level content teachers' views on and enactment of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Arabic L1 classrooms in the UAE

CONSENT FORM STUDENTS AND TEACHERS

Having read the information sheet, debriefing sheet and asked any further questions regarding this study, I have been fully informed about the aims and purposes of the project.

I understand that:

- there is no compulsion for me to participate in this research project and, if I do choose to participate, I may at any stage withdraw my participation and may also request that my data be destroyed
- I have the right to refuse permission for the publication of any information about me
- any information which I give will be used solely for the purposes of this research project, which may include publications or academic conference or seminar presentations
- If applicable, the information which I give may be shared with the thesis supervisor of the project in an anonymised form
- all information I give will be treated as confidential
- the researcher will make every effort to preserve my anonymity

.....

.....

(Signature of participant)

(Date)

4.14 Appendix 10: Transcription confidentiality agreement

RESEARCH ETHICS CONFIDENTIALITY AGREEMENT

I have been asked to transcribe audio-recorded material which is the data collected for research on English medium instruction conducted by Michael King as part of his doctoral thesis at Exeter University, UK. I confirm the following:

- I do not know the respondents
- I do not know the respondents' names
- I do not know where the respondents work
- I am unaware of the context in which the study is taking place
- My task is to transcribe interviews into textual format for the researcher
- I will not discuss the content of the recordings with anyone other than the researcher
- While in my possession, I will ensure that all data and transcription of the same will be stored securely in password-protected digital format
- Once I have finished the transcriptions and returned them to the researcher, I will delete all audio and text files and copies thereof

In addition to the above, I will take all necessary measures to ensure confidentiality of the data.

Exeter University EdD in TESOL Thesis

NAME (BLOCK CAPITALS):

DATE:

SIGNATURE:

4.15 Appendix 11: Ethics approval form

MSc, PhD, EdD & DEdPsych theses.



Graduate School of Education

Certificate of ethical research approval

MSc, PhD, EdD & DEdPsych theses

To activate this certificate you need to first sign it yourself, and then have it signed by your supervisor and finally 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> and view the School's Policy online.

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: Michael King
Your student no: 580036483
Return address for this certificate: Middlesex University Dubai, Block 16, Knowledge Village, PO Box 500697, Dubai, UAE
Degree/Programme of Study: EdD in TESOL
Project Supervisor(s): Dr. Salah Toudi (1st); Dr Shirley Larkin (2nd)
Your email address: mjk205@exeter.ac.uk; micjak66@gmail.com
Tel: 00971 56 6075497

I hereby certify that I will abide by the details given overleaf and that I undertake in my thesis 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: Michael King date: 19/6/13

Certificate of ethical research approval

TITLE OF YOUR PROJECT: An exploratory investigation into tertiary level content teachers' views on and enactment of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) policy in Arabic L1 classrooms in the UAE

Brief description of your research project:

This project is designed to generate theory on what content teachers in UAE tertiary institutions think about the use of EMI when all students share Arabic as their mother tongue (L1). It also looks at teacher practice in using EMI in this context. These aims are targeted while making the informed assumption that in general students do not have a recommended level of English for tertiary study, based on average international proficiency test score statistics for the UAE. The study is exploratory in nature as, to the best of the researcher's knowledge, no such study in the UAE context has been published before. Such research is needed in the UAE as EMI is a topic which has been researched quite extensively in other parts of the world. Such research has generally pursued a critical agenda. While a critical agenda may also be relevant for the UAE, the fact that no such study on teacher views in the UAE context has been published means that this project will pursue an interpretive, exploratory approach to provide an initial insight into the phenomenon, which may lead to further research in the same context.

Give details of the participants in this research (giving ages of any children and/or young people involved):

Participants will be adult content teachers in UAE-based EMI tertiary settings where students share Arabic as their L1. The aim is for around 100 teachers to complete an open questionnaire. 9 teachers will be observed and interviewed. These 9 will be selected from the open questionnaire respondents. In the classroom observations the subjects will be the teachers rather than the adult students. Interactions with students will be analysed from the perspective of the teacher.

Give details (with special reference to any children or those with special needs) regarding the ethical issues of:

Informed consent: Where children in schools are involved this includes both headteachers and parents). Copy(ies) of your consent form(s) you will be using must accompany this document. a blank consent form can be downloaded from the GSE student access on-line documents: Each consent form MUST be personalised with your contact details.

There are three methods employed in this study for data collection: an open questionnaire, observations and semi-structured interviews. All subjects are adults. For all three methods the following will be explained:

- Nature of the study
- Purpose of the study
- Scope of the study
- *Guarantee of anonymity and confidentiality*
- Right to withdraw from the study at any time
- Right to see the outcomes of the research
- Current and future use of the research
- Contact details of the researcher
- Contact details of the thesis supervisor

For observations and interviews a signed consent form will be required from interviewees, all who are observed and the institutions at which they will be observed. Information sheets will summarise the methods relevant to each stage and will make explicitly clear that observations will be recorded and that interviewees may also view the recordings.

Anonymity and confidentiality

The open questionnaire will include an option to be selected for the next stage of the research. Respondents will be asked to provide their name, phone number and email address. Of those who take this option, only those selected will be contacted to see if they would like to proceed. If they decline, others will be selected until 9 agree to proceed. At each stage subjects and observed students will be informed of their right to anonymity and confidentiality. This will also be true of institutions were observations will take place. In writing up and disseminating the research, pseudonyms will be used for subjects and institutions will only be identified as a tertiary institution. Every reasonable effort will be made to ensure that no output will provide information which might allow any participant or institution to be identified from data extracts, contextual information or a combination of these.

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:

The following is additional information that has not already been referred to above.

The open questionnaire will be conducted primarily online or via email. It will contain some classification questions to ensure that the respondent fits in the sample frame. The interpretive exploratory nature of the study will be emphasised to show how the data will not be used to overtly criticise or support the use of EMI but to indicate views on the subject. Respondents will not be required to mention their name, their current or former place of work or any previous places of work as questions will allude to general views on the topic rather than views contextualised in their current or former places of work. If they choose to mention their name, their current place of work or any previous places of work and this ends up as part of data analysis used in the dissemination of the research, necessary steps will be taken to anonymise this information. If respondents choose to give their personal details to be considered for the next stage of the research online, the researcher will ensure that administrator access to the online questionnaire is not shared with anybody else. If respondents answer by email, the attached completed questionnaire will be downloaded and the email deleted. The download will be saved on the researcher's password-protected account on the University of Exeter U-drive. Therefore any data collected from the questionnaire will be kept private by the researcher.

For observations, in addition to the above steps (where applicable), classes will only be observed if written consent is provided by the institution, the teacher subject and the attendant students. This consent will be sought at least one day in advance of the observation date. Prior to the observation the subject will have the process of the observation explained and any field note document that may be used will be shown and

explained. Students will be informed of the nature and purpose of the observation and that it will have no impact on their course grades. Where permission is granted, classes will be video-recorded and the researcher will attend to take field notes in real-time. If this is not possible due to any objection, one of the two methods will be employed. If recorded, the subject will have the option to view the recording in the presence of the researcher prior to the post observation interview so they can enter the interview in possession of the same data as the researcher. In the interests of anonymity and confidentiality, no one will view the recording except the researcher and the subject. All observed parties and their institutions will be informed that the recording may be observed by the interviewee. Classes will be observed where all students are at least 18 years old. Subjects will be allowed to choose which class is to be observed. There will be one or two observations conducted per subject. The above will be done to ensure that all concerned are subjected to the minimum amount of stress that can be so prevalent in observations.

For the interview, the above steps to ensure anonymity, confidentiality and trust and to eliminate stress apply. In addition, interviews will be held post-observation(s) at the time and location that the subject desires and which fits into the researcher's own availability. The interviews will be semi-structured; that is, they will use analysed data from the questionnaire and the observations to gain more in-depth responses. The subject will have the procedure explained prior to the interview. Post-analysis, any information relating to the subject which might be used for dissemination will be sent to the subject for member checking and editing will take place where required.

Appended to this ethics form are information sheets, a debriefing sheet, consent forms and the text that will precede the open questionnaire. These have all been designed to meet the above-mentioned requirements.

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.

In addition to what has been explained above, all data collected from all three methods will be secured. Any audio or video data will be downloaded from recording devices at the earliest possible opportunity, and then deleted immediately from those devices. Digital data will be stored on the researcher's password-protected account on the University of Exeter U-drive. Any hard copy data will be secured (under lock and key) in the living quarters of the researcher or at his place of work. In the

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event that participants have special needs, the researcher will take necessary actions depending on the particular special need.

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):

The researcher foresees no factors that may raise ethical issues which may pose danger or harm to participants.

This form should now be printed out, signed by you on the first page 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.

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: 20 June 2013 **until:** 19 June 2014

By (above mentioned supervisor's signature):

.....*Sarah Daniels*.....**date:** 19/06/2013

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

GSE unique approval reference:.....D/12/12/35

Signed:.....*NR Parsons*.....**date:** 12/7/13
Chair of the School's Ethics Committee

Chair of the School's Ethics Committee
updated: March 2013

(Please note that observations were not used in the end. As this lessened confidentiality issues rather than increased them, in consultation with the thesis supervisor it was agreed that this did not constitute a radical change that merited the completion of a new form)

4.16 Appendix 12 Questionnaire data analysis

General views

	subject	L1	general views
1	RM	E	4. In the post grad setting it is not too problematic but it is helpful to keep activities varied and to help students engage with the language as well as content
2	CT/Early childhood	E	Given current government policy I don't think there is a choice nowadays. If the UAE government requires that all school & university students speak/learn English this is the only viable option for the minute. However, I think that it hinders the progress of the lower level (in English) students to a certain extent. If they could study their content subjects in Arabic it may be an advantage for these students. On the whole though, I feel the level of English of our students is improving and this can only be attributed to better teaching (of English) in the schools or that more students are attending private schools where they receive a bilingual education.
3	Obs & Ment/syll Des/SLA	E	4. My course is an MEd in TESOL, so I see EMI as being vital. Also, although the L1 is Arabic for the majority of my students, classes tend to be multilingual, so it would not work to teach with AMI.
4	Bus/IT/Math	E	4. Not all the teaching should be in EMI at degree or lower qualification level
5	Acc	A	4. If the students' abilities to communicate in English is strong enough, it should be no problem. But since most of the students' backgrounds in English are rather weak, EMI is causing some difficulties.
6	Comp/R Skills/Method.	URDU	4. It seems necessary bearing in mind that English is an International language, and Dubai clearly sees itself as having an important role in the international community re. trade, business, banking and tourism
7	IT/Math/Man	E	4. From my experience I can share that in my previous Job where majority of students had Arabic as their mother tongue, they found it very difficult. They preferred to be taught by teachers who were proficient at Arabic and would sometimes ask questions in Arabic both inside and outside class.
8	Ecology	BM (EA)	4. I have mixed feelings about EMI at my workplace. Bilingualism is advantageous; however, by offering tertiary education only in English (as at my workplace) those students who have poor language learning skills have incredible barriers to overcome. In the end, most students with poor English skills are unable to finish their programs and leave the institute.
9	Colloguy/Public speaking	E	4. I think it is a great opportunity for students to expand their chances in the job market in a globalized world. I think the foundations programs do a good job to support this but the secondary system in the UAE really drops the ball on English instruction leading to a lower level of student exiting high school.
10	Lead/RM	E	4. I am all for the use of English in English medium universities like those in the UAE. However, if using Arabic would facilitate instruction then I don't believe this is a bad thing.
11	UAE Law/QM/HRM	E	4. I teach business subjects and most of the world conducts business in English so it is better if the student are bilingual. For the student to be fluent in English and Arabic this makes them more marketable and more able to work in more business environments with a more diverse group of cultures and staff. It is easier for the student to understand the content when it is taught in Arabic but teaching the concepts in English when their mother tongue is Arabic allows the student to delve further into what is meant by the concept. For example if I am teaching a concept to a native English speaker they are less likely to clarify a particular meaning of a word and may take it for granted that they understand the concept even if they have misunderstood the context of the concept. Whereas a student who has Arabic as their mother tongue they may ask for further explanation, examples and try and understand the meaning behind the concept further because they are trying to understand how the words relate to the concept. Although if the teacher and student are both focussed and dedicated it really does not matter which language is used.
12	Arab Hist/Broad Journ/Corp Comm	E	4. On the one hand, it connects them with modernity, especially in regards to science; on the other hand, it tends to made education an entity apart from their "real lives"—especially since few students have enough English to understand the content. Since students will pass one way or another, EMI adds to the façade aspect of education. It also enables teachers to confuse poor English with general stupidity
13	Nutri/Comm	E	4. Helpful only to prepare students to work in an English-language work environment (or to deal with non-Arabic speaking clients/co-workers). I feel it penalises those students who find language-learning hard but who may flourish if teaching and learning occured in L1. I further feel that it limits all students and removes or reduces access to a large proportion of learning materials and activities. Much more progress could be made if teaching and learning were in Arabic.

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14	Bus/IT/Lead	E	4. I feel that in order to compete in a global economy, English must remain the language of instruction and business in the UAE. However, if and until it becomes a priority for teaching in the primary education system, it will remain a huge obstacle to the tertiary education goals of the country.
15	AR/Phon/Text Anal	E	4. Working in the teacher education context in Abu Dhabi emirate, I teach within the framework of the New School Model in which dual language instruction is a core dimension. The mission of the college is to work for Emiratisation and, for us, this means enskilling (all senses of the word) Emiratis (who are a plural and hybrid group) to both learn English and learn about English, while also coping with the subject knowledge featured in the NSM (English, Math and Science) for Cycle 1 as well as pedagogical skills when standing in a class full of students. My view is shaped by my curiosity, concern and interest. I take an additive approach to bilingualism. In this sense, I am not fundamentally afraid my students will lose their Arabic. I am contending with this viewpoint in my research. I For instance, Troudi and Dahan in the research literature tend to represent this view. don;t see language, culture and identity as fixed. Rather I think that learning more about another language can enhance their understanding of language in society. I think that if I play my part to offer what I am hired to offer to the best of my professionalism, I can play a formative role in this process. While I am hired and agree to teach in support of EMI, I also see that our students do not all go on to be English-medium teachers and work in other fields. Some have chosen other paths. i.e. Some become Masters students in Finance and work in banks. Some teach Kindergarten in Arabic. Some work with students with special needs. Some fail the IELTS requirements - band 6 and wait for a solution. I am continually surprised by the diversity of Emirates. Males and females. From this emirate and others. From this neighbourhood in Abu Dhabi and one of the suburbs. From a family with a strong commitment to maintaining more conservative to those wishing to be differentiated lived experiences of otherness. There is varying class, cognitive and proficiency levels in English, Standard Arabic and the local Arabic, varying marital status, etc.
16	BE/B Pol & Str/Mark	E	4. I think this is quite successful as long as one bears in mind that English is a second language in the class, one does a lot of concept checking and one allows students to apply concepts to their own environment. One drawback is the lack of motivation to read.
17	RM	E	4. I don't have any particular views. The students don't have a very high mastery of Arabic.
18	Comp	E	4. The students often lapse into Arabic. They frequently copy from one another rather than attempt to exercise their own knowledge of English. Their culture defines sharing and community support (values that serve Arab communities well outside academic life) as bordering on what we regard as plagiarism. They frequently copy whole swathes of websites and are easily caught out using Google, and do not feel this is a violation of academic integrity as defined in their culture.
19	man/lead/HR	E	4. I think it is a very good way to teach. It is very valuable for student to be proficient in a second language. I do feel however, that they should have some subjects taught in their mother tongue as there is concern that some Arabic students are losing their Arabic. This is not my experience as the students always talk to each other in Arabic so English remains a second language to them
20	Thermo/Refrig/Renew En	A	4. I believe students at his level need to communicate with other languages other than their mother tongue. when i was i Saudi Arabia I used to teach in Arabic, but at same time we used to translate technical words to English because the students will communicate mostly in English in the field. I found teaching in Arabic not an obstacle at all. we had students who excelled in their studies, understood very well the technical concepts of any course taught. I found the decision is really made by the government who knows better why the use English instead of Arabic. As a teacher I am qualified to teach in three different languages without any problem. Because teaching = good preparation+d good presentation.
21	Man/Mark/Str	E	4. English is the franca lingua and it is necessary to offer degrees in which english is the medium.
22	RM	A	4. It is hard considering the students one receives from high schools have very poor English skills. This is why they have to go through a Foundations program where they are taught English and math before they sit the IELTS which opens university doors for them.
23	HealthWell/Nutri	URDU	4. Teaching in English is not a problem as the students who study in our college already have a base in English thats why I have never faced any difficulty in teaching in English.

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24	Math/Sci	E	4. It depends on how much the child is exposed to English outside of school. If they only speak Arabic at home, coming to school and all lessons (except Arabic and Islamic) being in English can be extremely hard for EAL students. They have to have an excellent command of English to be able to follow in all subjects. We teach phonics which are meant for 5-7 year olds to 10-11 year olds because they really need it. It can be so difficult for the children. Their comprehension skills can be very patchy so they often don't understand fairly simple words like 'reply' and they're too embarrassed to admit it.
25	Comp	E	Use Arabic whenever necessary especially with lower level students and especially with vocabulary. There is no point in trying to explain a difficult meaning when giving the translation is better. To get the English across, I think it's better to provide authentic examples.
26	Math/Sci	URDU	It is just like teaching students of other nationalities, which you come across a lot specially in UAE, but if the student has been studying in English from kindergarten (which most of them have) it is easy to get teach them.
27	Elec Eng	BM	A majoriy, if not all of the arabic speakers, usually interpret and understand the english words slightly different to the actual meaning or sense being delivered, resulting in misunderstanding and confusion. The Arabic language is very rich and consists of words and expressions that have no equivalent words or expressions in the english language. So a lot of the meaning is literally "lost in translation". English speaking people need to appreciate this problem as not all english words have an equivalent in the Arabic language and English falls woefully short when it comes to translating and interpreting Arabic. Needless to say, it would be a good idea to learn Arabic with a special phasis on the cultural and historical background of the language.
28	OM/Lead/Str	E	It is a challenge. I have been doing it so long, I don't really remember teaching native English speakers. You have to exercise more care in speaking, and more care in choosing materials.
29	Finanman/BE/Str man	E	They literally translate concepts from English to Arabic then back to English and in the process the meaning is lost.
30	IT SM/Op Sys/RM	E	I teach in the computing field, where most of the terminology is in English. Our graduates work in multi-ethnic workplaces, where English is often the only common language. Furthermore, many of our graduates become leaders in the IT community in the UAE, with regular interactions outside. For these reasons, it is important for computing students to study in English.
31	Info sys/Proj man/acc	TAGALOG	English is still the predominant language used in the business world, scientific literature, computer applications, and the Internet. It only makes sense that English is also used for instruction.
32	pro man/Quan surv/Phys	E	Employers value the graduate more, so that is encouraging to continue New vocab causes slower initial take up of subject matter, but this does not seem to remain a problem
33	Stats/Ins	E	Sometimes students struggle to read long passages of English, especially in technical areas or where the concepts are stretching.
34	Psucho/edu	BM	I see the value of being proficient in English as it is an almost "universal" language now, in the business world. However, I wonder and have some concern about how this effects the culture of the nationals as language and culture are intimately connected. I think ti would be best to have more Arabic instruction, which we try to do in education and psychology by offering Arabic langauge labs.
35	Mark/man	E	I'm not sure that English is appropriate for communicating complex ideas to students whose mother toungue is Arabic. It is difficult to gauge how well students have understood material. Often they do not understand what you say, let alone the meaning of what you say. The difficulty lies not with Arabic being the mother toungue, but with the level of English comprehension. I understand that some students will be going to work in a bilingual environment, but many students will obtain Government jobs and will work in an Arabic language environment. At present many students do not understand the content due (in part) to language difficulties. I believe they would be better served being taught in Arabic. Perhaps better quality or quantity of English instruction might help (currently I believe that students are progressed through the system by English teachers primarily motivated by a pay cheque as opposed to actually teaching students). Difficulties with classroom management also arise when the content specialist does not understand the discourse in the classroom. Students have a tendency to lapse into Arabic for their informal conversations. The English speaking content teacher has little idea what is going on in the classroom. Not an ideal situation.
36	Comm	E	it is challenging but very rewarding.

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37	Comm	BM	Compared to elsewhere where I have taught, mainly in Europe, the students are more affable, but their general knowledge, critical thinking skills and ability to apply knowledge are more limited in the first year of higher education because of the way they are taught at school. It therefore falls on the higher education institute to instill or enforce these skills as well as the content taught to the students. Moreover, the students are quite needy and they seem to respond to being treated as full blown persons in their own right better than merely as people who need to increase their knowledge about a specific subject.
38	math	BM	Sometimes can be quite challenging, specially when teaching word problems.
39	Chem	E	I think that many teachers using English as a language of instruction in the UAE are suitably aware of the difficulties that non-native speakers face. Even students whose level of English might be considered 'good' by most teachers suffer because of the use of colloquial English. A lack of knowledge by the teacher of their own language and how their language might be perceived by non-native speakers is all too common. Teachers need greater awareness of their current use of English without the assumptions that are all too common in this part of the world.
40	math	E	The occasional vocabulary word in Arabic is helpful. But the environment both inside and outside the classroom should encourage the use of English.
41	Psycho	E	I think it is obvious in the UAE that a person must know English to converse with many expats doing services here. Ideally, it would be good if all instructors also had a good command of Arabic even when teaching courses in English. I have learned to go into class with certain key words already translated into Arabic to save using valuable time trying to determine key phrases/words needed in the lessons.
42	Nat res and Env/CT/Self Man	A	It is a good experience since it will help English proficiency of the students
43	Man str & Pol/Str man	BM	I don't think it a good idea especially when the majority of our students end up in government institutions and they can't read or type a word of Arabic.
44	Lead/Ethics/ Comm/RM	E	it is a good idea - the fluency resulting is important of career life in the uae
45	Comm/RM	BM (EA)	I think that English has become a universal language and the language of business despite rumors that Chinese will be taking over, I don't see that happening anytime soon or to the scale usually publicized by the media. If anything, China is one of the largest if not the largest population of English speakers (as a second language). English opens up the door to access research and learn about a culture that is otherwise inaccessible. There are research papers in Arabic but they are nowhere near as numerous or extensive as those in English. Learning a second language also opens your eyes to a new culture, and the ability to communicate with more people.

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Student response to EMI

	subject	L1	student response
1	RM	E	5. They like it
2	CT/Early childhood	E	5. The majority of my students want to speak (and read & write) English to a high level and are happy to study in English. Some, again lower level, find it so difficult to study in English that they become quite disheartened and either abandon their studies or continue but with low grades.
3	Obs & Ment/syll Des/SLA	E	5. Very positively - it is their opportunity to interact in a language other than Arabic.
4	Bus/IT/Math	E	5. The majority never get to grips with writing proficiently in English using their own ideas or in a professional manner. Also for the majority once they leave university they will never write English at a higher level again and unlikely to read English again.
5	Acc	A	5. I don't think that they like it a lot.
6	Comp/R Skills/Method.	URDU	5. They respond very positively. Dubai is not an EFL context anyway, since outside the classroom door many of our students have to communicate in English in their own country. Dubai would be an ESL context.
7	IT/Math/Man	E	
8	Ecology	BM (EA)	5. Most of my students seem to accept the fact that higher education is delivered in English. I cannot remember ever having a conversation with my students when they questioned this fact.
9	Colloguy/Public speaking	E	5. I am not sure they always see the benefits they will enjoy by becoming bilingual.
10	Lead/RM	E	5. Favorably as far as I can tell.
11	UAE Law/QM/HRM	E	5. Initially they are a little quiet but gradually as their confidence grows and if they feel safe and find the environment non-threatening they respond well.
12	Arab Hist/Broad Journ/Corp Comm	E	5. Once students get through Foundation, they seem to accept English as a given. Very few, though, are enthusiastic about any particular subject; most choose a major based on dislike of alternatives, and career ambitions are more for a sinecure in the government than anything else. Given the diglossia in Arab societies, though—the disdain for the Arabic actually spoken, the glamorization of Classical Arabic—I doubt there would be more enthusiasm for classes taught in Arabic—unless they were in the actual regional language.
13	Nutri/Comm	E	5. Research carried out in my institution in 2008 indicated that (to my surprise) students were overwhelmingly positive about learning through English. 90% of the respondents said that given the choice, they would prefer to study through English and not Arabic (7.5% said they would like to study in Arabic, and 2.5% said both). Respondents did, however, report difficulty learning vocabulary, understanding their teacher and their textbook, and using English to deliver oral presentations and write reports. Negative emotions were also reported, including boredom, depression, confusion and frustration. This bears out my own observations.
14	Bus/IT/Lead	E	5. I have encountered a few students in the last 5 years that have chosen to invest themselves in learning English during their primary/secondary years, independent of their school courses. These students see themselves engaged in international businesses or in senior management roles as they progress through their careers. Unfortunately, that is a handful out of hundreds that have sat in my classrooms. Most of my students are frustrated with their inability to study and engage with course materials because of their limited English language skills.
15	AR/Phon/Text Anal	E	5. I think there are many responses as there are learning styles. There are also different phases or stages of dealing with and accommodating cultural difference. I can view my students on different continua. I have interesting data on female perspectives on this which I am beginning to analyze. I am actually VERY interested in how they respond. I hope to hone my understanding of this very question.
16	BE/B Pol & Str/Mark	E	5. They respond well once you scaffold their learning in a fashion which allows for the fact English is not their native tongue.
17	RM	E	5. They want it.
18	Comp	E	5. Some like English very much and others take it with no apparent purpose
19	man/lead/HR	E	5. Students, on the whole respond well to being taught in English. When they come to the college they know that is the medium of instruction so they accept it. Problem I see. Weaker students do have difficulty and if we are not careful they can get through the system speaking very poor English (often with the help of their friends)

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20	Thermo/Refrig/Renew En	A	5. Those who come to learn they respond well even very well sometimes.
21	Man/Mark/Str	E	5. Accept it as commonplace.
22	RM	A	5. Poorly because of their weak linguistic foundations and because they resent being taught content using a foreign language.
23	HealthWell/Nutri	URDU	5. Students response very well in response to be taught in English.
24	Math/Sci	E	5. They accept that it's the 'best' for their future. A lot say they want to travel so English is important for them. Their parents put a lot of pressure on them. On the whole they do respond well. It's incredible that they adapt so much. However, I can see the frustration of not being 'perfect' in English. They do struggle to perform in all arenas. I think it can really benefit them but having all subjects (especially word problems in maths etc) can really throw up obstacles to their learning.
25	Comp	E	They like it as they are young and think makes them better educated! However, they miss the fact that when they are low level learners, they cannot express themselves well in either English or Arabic and when they are higher level students with great English, many seem reluctant to speak Arabic and therefore lose it.
26	Math/Sci	URDU	They take it pretty well and prefer it.
27	Elec Eng	BM	They enjoy being taught in english and the majority of them rise to the occassion, although the majority still have problems in getting it right and are not always able to interpret the words correctly.
28	OM/Lead/Str	E	They take it well. If they don't understand, they frequently will not let you know. I'm guessing that is a result of spending the whole day not understanding bits and pieces of what is being said and just not having the energy to fight it after awhile. In that sense, I think we train our students to stop listening to us. We spend too much time talking, which uses up too much of their energy, which forces them to shut down and not listen anymore. This eventually becomes a habit.
29	Finanman/BE/Str man	E	This depends on groups, some groups feel that their language is being sidelined and others think that it is a good idea to learn other languages.
30	IT SM/Op Sys/RM	E	Our students expect their courses to be taught in English, so they are fine with it. Also, the students that I typically teach are in senior undergraduate or post-graduate courses; they are reasonably proficient in English by that point.
31	Info sys/Proj man/acc	TAGALOG	They expect to be taught in English, so they simply accept the fact. A number of students might also see instruction in English as a way to gain proficiency in the language (particularly in listening, especially since they get exposed to British, American, Australian and other accents)
32	pro man/Quan surv/Phys	E	Happy that way. Most get better jobs if English is proficient
33	Stats/Ins	E	They find it challenging to understand complex sentences or exam questions where the language used is critical to the answer.
34	Psucho/edu	BM	Most students see the value and seem to enjoy it. However, those that are not as proficient struggle.
35	Mark/man	E	I think the students response to being taught in English is mixed. Some students enjoy improving their English skills through participation in an English based class, others get frustrated when they do not understand enough.
36	Comm	E	very well. They see the benefits of being proficient in a second language for their career advancement.
37	Comm	BM	The entry prerequisites are a little low in the Higher education institutes in the UAE compared to a lot of other places. Some students come well prepared for higher education, especially from private schools, some realize that they need to improve and make the effort, especially in their first year. Others settle for their own fossilized version of English and don't really make any attempt to improve because they are satisfied with their (limited) ability to communicate in English orally and in writing.
38	math	BM	Few of them do not like it at all.
39	Chem	E	They accept it especially if the teacher is making an effort to repeat things, re-phrase things, use a variety of techniques to help their understanding.
40	math	E	Students never complain that they should be taught in Arabic. They sometimes ask for clarification of a word or phrase and the Arabic translation is familiar to me. They instantly recognize the Arabic meaning and we move on in English.
41	Psycho	E	Students are enthusiastic about using their skills to speak and write in English. However, it continues to be a barrier for students who are not as advanced in English language.
42	Nat res and Env/CT/Self Man	A	Some like it and some dont

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43	Man str & Pol/Str man	BM	They still struggle with it even in their graduating year, which forces the teachers to lower the rigor of the language used in class and basically dumb it down, the students end up at a level 1-2 year behind their western counterparts.
44	Lead/Ethics/	E	It is not an issue - this is the language of tuition at the colleges.
45	Comm/RM	BM (EA)	Students who share Arabic as their mother tongue usually resist learning in English. There is an inherent difficulty in the fact that not only what they are learning is new but the language is new as well, so they have to learn new lexis with every lesson. Many of them rely heavily on the dictionaries in their phones and each other for understanding and I noticed that they fill in for each others' weaknesses, so they usually do better in group work than they do in individual assessments except those whose English is better.

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Strategies

	subject	L1	strategies
1	RM	E	6. Quizzes, group work, comprehension activities, oral presentations
2	CT/Early childhood	E	6. As I am also an English teacher I use concept checking and recycling of key vocabulary. I keep instructions as clear and simple as possible and spend time with students to ensure they have understand. The students themselves help one another so this also helps.
3	Obs & Ment/syll Des/SLA	E	6. As the courses are at MEd and EdD level and students have opted for a course with EMI, no real strategies are employed in this area.
4	Bus/IT/Math	E	6. Arabic to English translation, vocabulary on the board, use of video or video clips for visual inputs.
5	Acc	A	6. In the subject that I teach, the students are given a glossary of terms in English and Arabic at the beginning of the semester. We use that when needed.
6	Comp/R Skills/Method.	URDU	6. I do not use specific strategies, other than using only English. I allow students to discuss things in Arabic, but always make sure there is some output which requires English.
7	IT/Math/Man	E	
8	Ecology	BM (EA)	6. I try to give as much English language support in my classes as possible, e.g. use of visuals and realia for vocabulary learning; allowing the use of mobile phones for translation purposes; and having stronger students to help translate for the weaker students. Instructions for tasks are given both orally and in written form, and afterward I check for comprehension. I have conferences with weaker students and encourage them to take advantage of the institute's tutorial/support center. However, I do expect students to keep up with their work, and when I teach content courses, tell students that they are responsible for the work.
9	Colloguy/Public speaking	E	
10	Lead/RM	E	6. Since I am an English language as well as a content area teacher, I typically employ my EL learning strategies with students to facilitate instruction.
11	UAE Law/QM/HRM	E	6. I try to always use examples the student can relate to initially when describing a new concept and then add complexity to the example as the student appears to understand it. I use clear short words to explain and build the business vocabulary gradually, building their confidence and encourage them to use complex business terms confidently in context. I encourage explanations in Arabic and relating their personal experience to the situation. I like to use a lot of visual aids and vary my teaching in to short blocks of smartboard, Utube, hands on, newspaper articles, guest speakers, Q & A, flip cards, case studies, discussion forums. Anything that encourages engagement and interaction.
12	Arab Hist/Broad Journ/Corp Comm	E	6. I do very little with texts. I have students write as little as possible, and read as little as possible too. I focus on orality—listening and speaking. I also let them work in teams whenever possible.

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13	Nutri/Comm	E	<p>6. Not totally sure what this question entails, so these answers may not be relevant. - give vocab sheets at the beginning of each learning topic (every few weeks), for students to record translations/meanings/examples as they encounter each item - pre-teach key words before students complete key reading texts/articles - provide focus questions for articles/textbook extracts - discuss key points from readings after students have read them (to clarify any misunderstandings, and check that students identified and absorbed key points) - provide plenty of revision opportunities, often through game-like activities - spend extra time going through instructions for independent work/written reports/oral presentation tasks - elicit example responses for student tasks before students complete the tasks on their own - give opportunities for individual support while completing written tasks - give input on the form of written reports - refer students for individual help with completing tasks (we have a "student success centre" for this)</p>
14	Bus/IT/Lead	E	<p>6. As a CELTA qualified teacher, I spend 40% or more of class time and assignments focused on simple language tasks such as vocabulary learning or pre-teaching key words. Since textbooks and materials are almost all written with a western world view, it is time consuming to explain meanings and then develop local applications in a correct context. Most materials do not include Arab world examples and very few include Arabic-English glossaries. The lack of teaching and learning resources that adequately fill the needs of our students requires that I spend most of my prep time creating appropriate materials myself.</p>
15	AR/Phon/Text Anal	E	<p>6. There are a lot. This is best answered by interview. I am shaped by my training in an experiential learning approach in which our focus was on "serving the learning" but I have also worked within a CBI (content-based environment) in which there was more focus on language practice while accommodating new mental structures/concepts/ framework. I also am trained within an MA TESOL orientation to English as a world language. I am particularly concerned with world Englishes but more and more I am focussing on providing access to an educated register of English use. So in the event I am using listening resources, I contentiously provide various accents to convey the multiple speakerhood positions of English, I also work on providing feedback to help them get where they want to go with English and learning to be a teacher.</p>
16	BE/B Pol & Str/Mark	E	<p>6. I use case reading in class, allowing reading practice and to ensure their understanding of what is happening in the case. I allow students start papers for submission in class to build up their confidence and to ensure they understand what is expected of them. I allow drafts to ensure their English is at an acceptable level and I integrate assignments with their English instructor thus ensuring that both the content and the English are good standard and also allowing students to submit content as their English portfolio so they the burden for quantity output for students is reduced in favor of quality output.</p>
17	RM	E	<p>6. I am forgiving of written errors.</p>

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18	Comp	E	6. I prefer to teach using projects as assessments, eportfolios if possible, and with students having access to their own devices. I try to put students in touch with others (they often do this themselves, entering interactive multi-user game spaces which they prefer I keep out of). I use wikis as learning management systems. I make sure to tell my students what I want from them, repeat those instructions in the wiki, and make a handout from the same instructions so that they have paper, access to hyperlinked instructional materials, and aural instructions (in all 3 modalities). I employ video and image media whenever possible. I scrupulously track student progress using databases and mailmerge reports which I can generate quickly and frequently give to students, to keep them aware of how well they are doing, or how far behind they are falling, at frequent junctures. These students will work for 'marks' and become concerned at scoring anything less than perfection. They tend to blame imperfect marks on the teacher, not on themselves. If left to their devices they will do the minimum and expect perfect scores for it, so teachers need to maintain clear rubrics and show students where they fall short of the standard, and make clear how all students are being scored to the same standard.
19	man/lead/HR	E	6. I am not an English teacher so my strategies relate presenting the content of my courses. I am aware of the English level of the students and try to accommodate this by presenting the material in a reasonably simple way. Unfortunately we are often in a situation where text books provided for students are way beyond their linguistic ability.
20	Thermo/Refrig/Renew En	A	6. the strategies depends on the nature of the course. Thermodynamics for example is problem solving course. where the students have to solve more problems to understand properly the concepts. They spend more time solving problem individually or as group with and withiut the teacher assistance.
21	Man/Mark/Str	E	6. Application based learning.
22	RM	A	6. I occasionally use Arabic with beginners and absolute beginners and whenever I need to use it at higher levels.
23	HealthWell/Nutri	URDU	6. As a medical doctor teaching health related subject ,sometimes the medical terminologies are difficult for the students,so as a strategy I try to learn those medical terms in Arabic so that students can understand well and then tell them the english words for that.It works really well as the students then picks the english terminologies very well.
24	Math/Sci	E	6. Concept checks asking them to repeat instructions in own words Demonstrations and clear step by step instructions (images to support language etc) Team teaching Assessment for learning all of the time Feedback with writen dialogue between teacher and student in writing books Question box and other PSHE activities to allow openness
25	Comp	E	Consistent vocabulary recording and recycling. This is the key to better reading, writing, listening and speaking whether it is related to learning English OR other Liberal Studies course content.
26	Math/Sci	URDU	I don't need to employ any strategies because the students are pretty fluent in English
27	Elec Eng	BM	Asking the students to volunteer what they think is the meaning of certain words and expressions. Asking them to speak out the arabic word a or expression they think best describes wht they have been taught.
28	OM/Lead/Str	E	I have frequently had to translate materials from complicated English to simpler English (interestingly enough, without having to dumb down the content). I also try to be aware of the limitations in the students' ability to concentrate in English for too long.

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29	Finanman/BE/Str man	E	Introduce role-play activities that help students understand and express themselves freely in English.
30	IT SM/Op Sys/RM	E	When presenting new concepts, I make sure the language level is appropriate for my students. If necessary, I will modify materials. When I come upon a difficult word, I will slow down and explain the meaning a couple of different ways. If a student cannot understand my own explanation, I will ask another student to explain it. Sometimes they explain it in Arabic, which is good. I also work at creating a positive, respectful classroom environment by asking students questions about their own culture and language. It is important that they know I value their mother tongue ... I just cannot teach in it.
31	Info sys/Proj man/acc	TAGALOG	* if possible, use of simpler words during lectures and presentations * explanation of more difficult English words * vocabulary exercises on technical and non-technical English words * marking for correct spelling during exams and quizzes * correcting wrong grammar and spelling in assessments (exams, research papers, etc.) * facilitating class discussion, so students get to practice their speaking skills
32	pro man/Quan surv/Phys	E	Work with English teachers during projects
33	Stats/Ins	E	Practice and question variations, simplifying language whilst trying not to undermine the rigour of the question or level required.
34	Psucho/edu	BM	I employ many strategies including, providing simple notes for students, reviewing relative vocabulary and teaching semantic based mini-lessons when needed. I allow students to translate some terminology into Arabic to be sure that we have a shared understanding. I review content from required readings and review strategies for reading with students. I also do the same for writing skills. There is not much time for these activities but I remind students about such strategies and expect that they will come to me if they need additional support.
35	Mark/man	E	An ongoing glossary of content specific terms is kept, but also constantly assessing understanding informally and through formative assessment
36	Comm	E	I teach Communication skills that for sure enhance and improve their confidence in English.
37	Comm	BM	project based learning problem based learning teamwork varying between frontloading and facilitating holistic approach to students as learners in higher education treating the students as individuals -this works when the class sizes are 20 or less per class learning the students' names and remembering to use them some basic Arabic and knowledge about the culture, preferred food etc. keeping up with news in the UAE being able to refer to things done by the country's big leaders
38	math	BM	When teaching word problems, I will go through all vocab that I think it is problematic for the student. Since English is my second language and I'm not an Arab, I draw from my own experience when learning English. Since some Math problems have cultural content, I try to explain this cultural differences to the students
39	Chem	E	One strategy that I find particularly effective is to get students to explain small parts of topics in English to the class - act as the teacher - and then invite questions from the rest of the class which the student or his colleagues try to explain.

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40	math	E	Students never complain that they should be taught in Arabic. They sometimes ask for clarification of a word or phrase and the Arabic translation is familiar to me. They instantly recognize the Arabic meaning and we move on in English.
41	Psycho	E	I go into class with key words needed in the lesson already translated into Arabic. I employ the use of many examples to illustrate key points. I purposely try to make all content relevant to the local environment.
42	Nat res and Env/CT/Self Man	A	Use simple language and try to hold some discussion groups classes
43	Man str & Pol/Str man	BM	I speak Arabic and use it to explain some of the difficult concepts and after it sinks in I revert back to English.
44	Lead/Ethics/	E	I often focus on the vocab to develop the content rather than deliver content and expect the vocab to naturally develop
45	Comm/RM	BM (EA)	In-class group work or pair work seems to lighten the load and getting students to speak rather than writing. Writing seems to always be more difficult for students than speaking because even in Arabic, students do not possess good writing skills. I grew up in Kuwait which is a very similar environment and I tutor students from Arabic public and private schools in the UAE and the one thing I noticed (among many others) is that writing is difficult for students in these schools, so they grow up hating it. I was one of the few exceptions who actually enjoyed writing but that was mainly due to my home environment. The school environment was not encouraging at all. I also tell students to keep a study diary (this is one of my strategies) but that also seems to be a stretch for them. I also ask them to research things themselves with guidance - so I would give them homework to find newspaper articles on certain topics and give them a few suggestions (like The Guardian, The Times, Gulf News and so on). One of my main strategies can be viewed as spoon-feeding but I think it works. I give my students step-by-step handouts. So, if they have to write a literature review and they don't know how (for example), I give them time to research it on their own but then I give them a step-by-step handout if they fail to do it properly the first time around. I also encourage my students to read (which they hate) but I do it by giving them articles to read in class (not as homework as they won't do it as homework. I've tried).

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Initial coding

	category	code	frequency	cat. total		
1	arabic	nat identity	4	4	Arabic	4
2	future	Good for future	21		Future	24
3	future	Not needed for future	3	24	Strategies	75
4	strategies	allow arabic	3		Students	116
5	strategies	best method	14		Teachers	59
6	strategies	clear instruction	9		Total	278
7	strategies	concept checking	3			
8	strategies	create locally relevant mats	1			
9	strategies	draft writing	1			
10	strategies	EL learning strategies	1			
11	strategies	error leniency	1			
12	strategies	extra support weak ss	2			
13	strategies	focus on oral aural	2			
14	strategies	group work	2			
15	strategies	peer help	3			
16	strategies	practical work	2			
17	strategies	presentations	1			
18	strategies	reading	2			
19	strategies	recycling vocab	9			
20	strategies	relate to context	2			
21	strategies	simplify language	3			
22	strategies	translation	7			
23	strategies	visual aids	5			
24	strategies	work with English faculty	2	75		
25	students	poor school teaching	2			
26	students	proficiency	37			
27	students	student behaviour	16	55		
28	teachers	effect on teaching	2			
29	teachers	enactment	1			
30	teachers	teacher voice	2			
31	teachers	teachers unaware	3	8		
32	views	student -	23			
33	views	student +	29			
34	views	student neutral	9	61		
35	views	balanced	4			
36	views	negative	24			
37	views	neutral	1			
38	views	positive	22	51		
39	total		278	278		

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Frequency counts

category	code	frequency
students	proficiency	37
views	students positive about EMI	29
views	negative	24
views	students negative about EMI	23
views	positive	22
future	Good for future	21
students	student behaviour	16
strategies	best method	14
strategies	clear instruction	9
strategies	recycling vocab	9
views	student neutral	9
strategies	translation	7
strategies	visual aids	5
arabic	nat identity	4
views	balanced	4
future	Not needed for future	3
strategies	allow arabic	3
strategies	concept checking	3
strategies	peer help	3
strategies	simplify language	3
teachers	teachers unaware	3
strategies	extra support weak ss	2
strategies	focus on oral aural	2
strategies	group work	2
strategies	practical work	2
strategies	reading	2
strategies	relate to context	2
strategies	work with English faculty	2
students	poor school teaching	2
teachers	effect on teaching	2
teachers	teacher voice	2
strategies	create locally relevant mats	1
strategies	draft writing	1
strategies	EL learning strategies	1
strategies	error leniency	1
strategies	presentations	1
teachers	enactment	1
views	neutral	1
Total		278

Exeter University EdD in TESOL Thesis

Cross referencing

category	code	frequency	relevance	Comment
arabic	nat identity	4	low	surprising - needs probing
future	Good for future	21	high	
future	Not needed for future	3	high	in combination with opposing views
strategies	best method	14	high	
strategies	clear instruction	9	high	link to proficiency
strategies	recycling vocab	9	high	link to proficiency
strategies	translation	7	high	link to Arabic
strategies	visual aids	5	high	link to proficiency
strategies	allow arabic	3	medium	link to Arabic
strategies	concept checking	3	medium	link to proficiency
strategies	peer help	3	medium	link to Arabic
strategies	simplify language	3	medium	link to proficiency
strategies	extra support weak ss	2	low	link to proficiency
strategies	focus on oral aural	2	low	link to proficiency
strategies	group work	2	low	link to proficiency
strategies	practical work	2	low	link to proficiency
strategies	reading	2	low	link to proficiency
strategies	relate to context	2	low	link to Arabic
strategies	work with English faculty	2	low	link to proficiency
strategies	create locally relevant mats	1	low	link to Arabic
strategies	draft writing	1	low	link to proficiency
strategies	EL learning strategies	1	low	link to proficiency
strategies	error leniency	1	low	link to proficiency
strategies	presentations	1	low	link to proficiency
students	proficiency	37		
students	student behaviour	16		
students	poor school teaching	2		link to proficiency
teachers	teachers unaware	3		
teachers	effect on teaching	2		link to proficiency
teachers	teacher voice	2		
teachers	enactment	1		
views	student +	29		
views	student -	23		
views	student +/-	9		
views	teacher -	24		
views	teacher +	22		
views	teacher balanced/neutral	5		

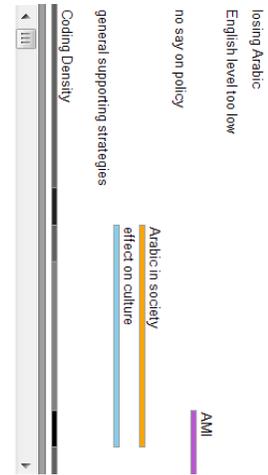
views	student +	29
views	student -	23
views	student +/-	9
views	teacher -	24
views	teacher +	22
views	teacher balanced/neutral	5

	positive	negative	neutral
Teachers	22	24	5
Students	29	23	9

4.17 Appendix 13 Transcript analysis example

RITA – full transcript with most frequent codes

I have mixed feelings about it. On the one hand I understand the reason they want to do it in terms of keeping the students functional in English because they want them to be able to deal with international business situations. On the other hand I think it is a matter of not having enough teachers at the time probably when the entire education started; they needed to import a lot of teachers because they didn't have a lot of staff – the faculty to do it here. So I understand it. On the other hand I think it is a tragedy because so many students are being excluded from higher education. I think there is probably an issue that they don't value their version of Arabic. Arabic isn't valued by the natives. They don't know what they want to do. The Arabs are schizophrenic about it for lack of a better term. They want to preserve their heritage, but they are not implementing policies that will preserve it at the educational level. It's a real mess what we see happening. Because I see students who are obviously bright and they cannot get past an IELTS 5, which is the new standard entry requirement in tertiary education. I

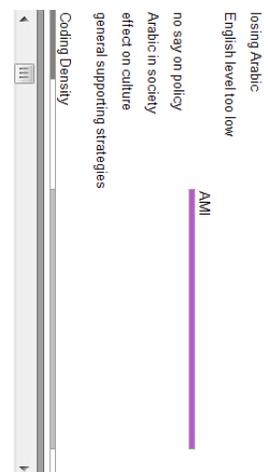


do not see any reason why they cannot have tertiary education in Arabic. English as an Elective subject, even a required subject, they may have to have a certain English language....but I don't think they need to have it as a sole medium of instruction. And that's a real shame.



To be honest with you, at the institution where I come from a lot of the students' goal is to work in civil service. So, for the most part they will not be using English as a work language, or very limited use for many of them. So they would probably need it more to take care of their medical needs or their travel and tourism needs. There is this desire by the government to have a familiarity with English. But I also think, as I heard somebody put it much better than I, at a TESOL Arabia conference, that these decisions are made by people who are already bilingual or had got sent abroad to study. So they don't perhaps realize the difficulty of the student. For a lot of people who do not have this opportunity to study in English. And I keep coming back to 'if they have

to study in English and they do not graduate, they are being denied an education and their chances for a job'. But I think that might change with a lot of the Emiratisation policies that are coming in, so that students will have a job whether or not they can speak English.



They are introducing Arabic Studies or I think it is going to be called Emirati Studies and also they are reintroducing an Arabic requirement. At my institution there was an Arabic course requirement that disappeared for a few years and now it's being brought back. Also it's interesting what happened at my institution is that we had all this art work on the walls, pictures – that sort of thing. And recently we had a giant collage of Arabic with inspirational sayings. But I guess they are all in Arabic and not one in English which we thought was kind of interesting.

R: Oh I think I do (see a benefit in English). In the same way it's a benefit to learn any foreign language. I do think it's beneficial. I think it is beneficial for them because they would still have to interact in English in hospitals, when they travel abroad, in a hotel – lots of places where they can use it. But that can be more functional English, rather than academic English. I am sure it is beneficial for many of them. It is. Maybe I am a bit harsh about it but I just see so many students struggling with things and I think this would be so much easier if they were taught in Arabic. And we have so many students who have poor Arabic skills, I think that's another issue the education system needs to address.

These are probably more assumptions than facts. I think students are often frustrated because of the language barrier. The readings – take for example the subject I am

teaching – Ecology – there is a lot of very specialized vocabulary that they have to learn. I am sure they feel sometimes like why do I have to take this course in the first place and then why do I have to learn these words that I will probably never use again? I am sure there is some frustration. Some of the other students, they enjoy it and are successful at it. I've had some really good students over the years who would be good students anywhere. But I will have to say those are probably few and far between.

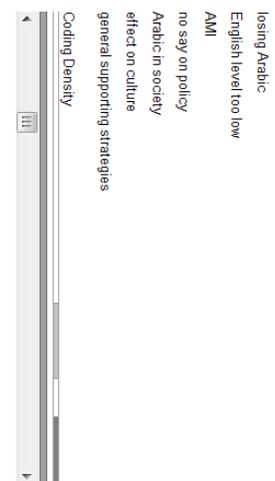
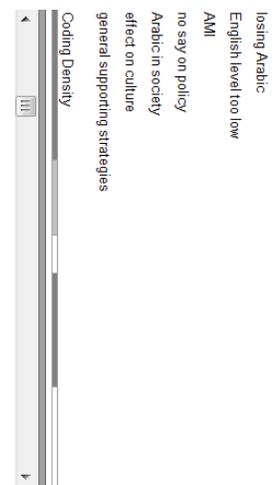
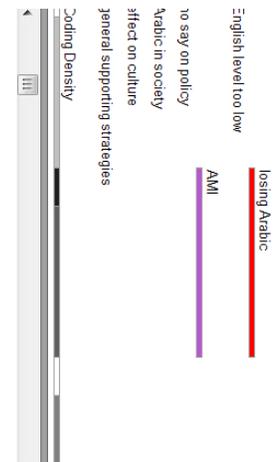
Well, I have never heard them, but they would never tell me, because I am an outsider. They will talk to me about some things, but they are not necessarily going to criticize their free education in front of me.

At Ajman University and Fujairah College is a private college, although I think if you are an Emirati, you can get a subsidy to attend there. I think there's two new schools

opening up. But none that – I think Ajman and Fujaira college are the only ones that offer graduate degrees. Otherwise they have to travel into Dubai or into Sharjah. I am not quite sure what the deal is. We also have branches of Sharjah University in Khor Al Fakkan. So that would be another alternative if you are from Sharjah. I think if you are not from Sharjah you have to pay for it. If you are from Sharjah it's free. Well, for most of the students here the only other option is UAE University because I don't think Zayed University offers buses or dormitories.

I think they accept it as they have no power, they have no control over the situation. So it's just kind of a fact of life here that higher education would be delivered in English.

Oh, coping is definitely – you find the students in classes have much better English than others and have them check their work – do your work for you. In the most



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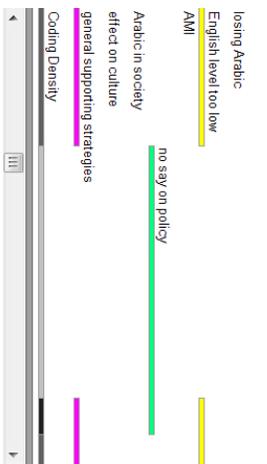
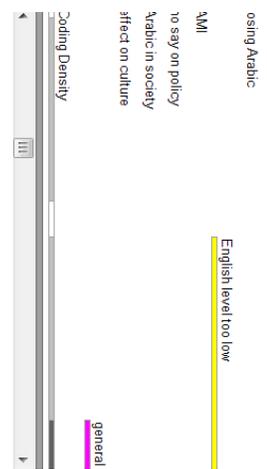
extreme cases I know this happens. Should there ever be group or pair work, you try to pair them off with somebody who has stronger skills. So that would probably be the biggest coping mechanism. I've had students tell me that they have had siblings to do assignments because their siblings are English teachers or something like that. So that's probably their strategy for trying to improve their performance in English.

I don't have a problem with Arabic use in classroom. I used to, when I was young and fresh out of school. But now I encourage my students to – for example I have certain videos I have the students watch. Some of them have Arabic subtitles as an option. I say please watch it with Arabic subtitles because I am more concerned with you getting the information than with your English. If they have Arabic subtitles for support, that's great.

Yes, when I do my tests and other things, I explain to my students that it is not an English test. I am more concerned with the content. I will be happy if I can understand the content. So if your grammar or spelling is so poor that I can't understand your message, you will lose marks. And I try to be very generous with that point that the content is there.

Well, I think one of the issues we have at my institution is that the entrance requirement at the start of a BA program is a combined 5 IELTS. Now when this requirement first came in, a couple of us looked up what a 5 in IELTS means. And we found that in most institutions, an IELTS 5 gets you into a foundation program. It doesn't allow you into Bachelor's study yet. So I think in that respect, they are coming in at a lower level than they should be. I have also tried to account for that. I seriously simplify the class. When language is a requirement, I am using things that we would use, like materials that are

made for US High School and Middle School with my college students because it is at an English level that is about right for some of them. For some of them it is a little low, but for some of them it is very high – it's a struggle. That's one of the issues that we have to deal with. And again, we as teachers don't have a say over these policies. We make our concerns known. One of the issues I have been trying to push is that the ecology class is not taught at Year 1. It is taught a year later because if it is taught in Year 2 the students will already have had two English classes. This particular semester I was able to compensate because I had the same students for the English class and for the Ecology class. So I was able to support the Ecology with the English class but it is hard for some of them who come in with like a 4.5 but they manage to sneak in with their combined – somehow they combine together 5. So it is hard. One of the things I have started doing is that I don't use much written work with my students. I am having



them do more oral work because many of my students' oral skills are stronger than their written skills. So rather than have them write a reflection after a reading, I will have them record a reflection because they are not getting tripped up by the grammar as much as when they are writing. So, things like that, which I am sure lots of teachers are doing.

I think many of us are frustrated with the IELTS requirement because it is still very low for a Bachelor's study. It's fine for a diploma study or a higher diploma, but the idea that ... It's not just the English, but the general lack of studying skills, critical thinking skills that make a Bachelor's degree a struggle for some of them. And I think it is a struggle for us teachers as well because we want to deliver a certain amount of content, or we want to do certain things and of course, if the students are not at that level, we have to

slow it down or lower it, and then we don't get as far as we would like.

Does it feel like a Bachelor's degree? I think what I teach is not an Ecology course that you get in North America or Europe. There is absolutely no Math in the course. If you ever look at any Ecology textbook, there's Math involved. And I cannot do any of that because my students lack Math skills – many of them. Not all of them but many of them - in whatever language. I have also tailored the course so that it only applies to the Middle East. So I don't try to go over the African Savannah, or the Brazilian rainforest because it's so far out of my students' general knowledge base. For many of them, they don't have the thinking skills or study skills to take that into account. So I try to focus purely on this part of the world. So that's why it's not a general ecology course. I think it's just at a lower level than it would be in a normal Western, North American,

European setting.

I took an Arabic course when I lived in another Emirate. But apart from a few phrases that I have picked up, no, I don't speak Arabic. And it is embarrassing for me because I have been to other countries and I have always learnt the language. I have had to speak the language.

No, I can't (understand their Arabic). But I have tried to guide them in terms of warning them of the dangers that if they will translate, we get some very strange stuff out of that. So I always tell them, you can use Google Translate, it's a start, but you also need to double check it, because it is not always right....

Not on the policy of EMI. But I do know that those that teach students that are Arabic.

osing Arabic
English level too low
AMI
to say on policy
Arabic in society
effect on culture
general supporting strategies

osing Arabic
English level too low
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to say on policy
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general supporting strategies

osing Arabic
English level too low
AMI
to say on policy
Arabic in society
effect on culture
general supporting strategies

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speak to their students in Arabic, use Arabic in the classroom. If it helps, I am all for it. I don't have a problem with it. In some cases it is an artificial barrier. If you are from Jordan or if you are from Syria or wherever, and you speak Arabic and you are trying to teach students concepts. And it's – having trouble in English, do it in Arabic.

The policy... I do get things about my institute being an English medium instruction institute. I think that's officially written somewhere. But I don't think anybody is going around enforcing that policy.

I think my advantages are that I am an outsider. So I probably get harassed a lot less. Because they know, she is a foreigner, she doesn't know about wasta, she doesn't know you know what I mean – these sort of things. I explain it is not my thing, not

my policy. So I think there is a little bit more of that going on with Arabic teachers than with the Western teachers. But there is a disadvantage as well. I am probably not as close to my students as the others or I am probably missing out on a lot of funny jokes. I think for many of us our status is outsider and therefore they wouldn't talk to us about certain subjects. But actually that might be cross referenced with my gender. Because when I was teaching female students they would talk to me about certain things than they would not to a male teacher. And then when I was teaching male students I would hear about certain things but not other things. So it's a gender issue and a language issue.

I think given that Gulf Arabic is so different from modern standard Arabic I think they don't put enough value on it. They value it in terms of 'this is the language that we speak'. But I don't know of anybody who writes in Gulf Arabic. They would rather write

in modern standard. So I think it is a little bit different from a lot of other languages where there is great pride in the regional dialects. So because they don't value it and because it is so different, when kids learn one thing at home and when they come to school it's a completely different version that they have to learn, they struggle with it and so it presents a problem at all educational levels. I think it's a real shame because I think there is a lot of potential to explore it, to store it, to record it, because now I imagine Gulf Arabic is becoming like a lot of languages – it's a complete mish-mash from all these other languages and other language influences. So the idea of getting the old standard, the old Gulf Arabic will die out with the old speakers It's a loss you know. The variety

I don't know. I wonder if the families again see it as they don't have any choice in the



matter, so they are not going to bother worrying about it. I think it's more interesting to know how much the families care or pay attention to what the students are doing. So we have students who have difficulty coming to college because their families don't think it is important for them. And then I have other students who have a lot of pressure from their families to be successful. So I think for those students, if they struggle with English it is a problem for them if they don't have the language skills because they are getting the pressure from their families to succeed. And for the ones who don't care or for the students who are coming for social reasons rather than for educational reasons it doesn't matter if the class is in English or Arabic. They are sitting at the back playing with their phones or their iPads.

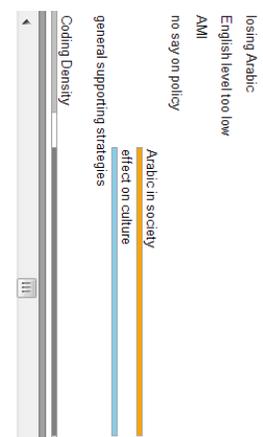
You could see it as a bit of a status thing. Learning in English is seen as higher status. So for some of them, yeah. And they get to show off their skills. Some of them tell me

they would rather write in Arabic than in English and I understand that. But then others say I would rather speak in English, I would rather do a presentation in English than in Arabic.

I think we don't have to worry about Emirati and national identity. There is definitely a differentiation among Emiratis with regard to their lineage. So we get students whose mothers are Egyptian. They are teased for not being really Emiratis. You know, that sort of thing – the colour differences. I don't think learning in English is too much of a threat to national identity because in the end, they come to the college, and they study in English and then they go home. That's where their lives are, that's where the majority of the focus is on, family and these sort of traditions. And they will always refer to themselves as Emiratis first.

I wonder if the parents don't complain about, maybe more the technology, the texting in iPads and whatever being a threat to the culture because they are using that culture of sitting around and being together as a family rather than everybody sitting with their own device – sitting in the same room, but everybody is sitting on a different device doing something different. So I don't think the English education is too big a threat.

Yes, of course. I always say, some of us joke, that those of us who have done the training in ESL/EFL, we can teach just about anything, given enough reading time, because it's all the same techniques. There is a lot of scaffolding involved. Introduction of explicit vocabulary, – these are the words you need to know, let's go through them, let's split up the class, you do these words, you do these – so the standard vocabulary previewing. There is some reading that students often struggle with because of this



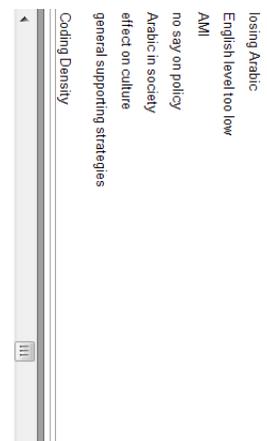
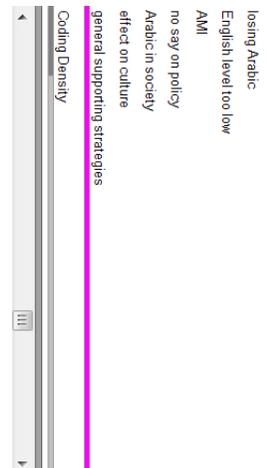
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heavy vocabulary, science based. But again, I try to pick readings that are much lower level than what Year I or Year II college students might expect. But I am also incorporating more videos. And one of the things I do with the videos is that it's videos that they can watch on their own outside of class. We don't do as much watching all together as a group as we used to. Instead I will give them links. I say you have to watch it 2 or 3 times so you get the information, use the Arabic subtitles if they are there, that sort of thing. Because again, it actually comes back in the students' reflections. They like the videos. They learn from videos more than perhaps a lecture – that sort of thing. More visuals, PowerPoints and other things. More hands on, bringing in reality into the classroom, or in the case of Ecology, going outside, looking at the trees, looking at plants, looking at insects or whatever, so that they can make that visual connection rather than just lecturing.

I would rather have the students learn something at their level. I like the fact that I can teach at where the students are. I would admit to it because this is what I have to work with. I don't want to look out at 20 blank faces. If they leave my class and they don't take two-hour showers anymore and they don't throw plastic bottles on the ground anymore or they tell me they are interested in their pets more I feel like I have accomplished something.

R: Academically, we can measure success with tests and I have a wide range of students. I have girls who pass this class with 90% and I have a few students who fail. So that's one point. Another success I have is when I see the work they produce whenever it is not necessarily academic – it is more creative – so I have seen really good student videos that they have made, I did some work with a group of Bachelor of

Education students and they made some teaching materials based on what I taught them. A really nice job. At the end of the semester I have the students do a reflection and that's when I find out things like 'well, I do try to turn the lights off when I leave the room now, I take shorter showers, the guys are more careful when they are driving in the dunes. I try to make it clear to them that they are not supposed to write in these reflections – they should be as honest as possible – don't write what you think I want to hear. So I believe, most of it, what they tell me, but I think it's interesting when former students come to me and say 'Miss, what's this bug?' and then they will send me a link that they think is interesting. And that's how I measure my success – the academics is fine, but if I have sparked their interest, to me that's more of a measure of success than any test grade or anything like that. It doesn't happen with everybody. I wish it happened more but you take your successes where you can get them.



No, I don't think there is anything we can say or do at this point. If anything, it would have to come from some of the nationals themselves. I think if we have enough outraged parents, students, that would create a big enough stir that the leaders would perceive it as an issue that is disturbing enough that would need to take action on it. But I think in terms of the faculty themselves, we don't give opinions on this particular policy and our supervisors are not Arab speakers and they don't want to let go and criticise a policy that puts them out of a job.

There are obviously some people who think it has to be English otherwise I am out of a job. But for the most part I think teachers want their students to succeed. If they try to go to an Arabic medium, that would help them to succeed. But I think there will still always be the need for English teachers even if we go to an Arabic medium, you would

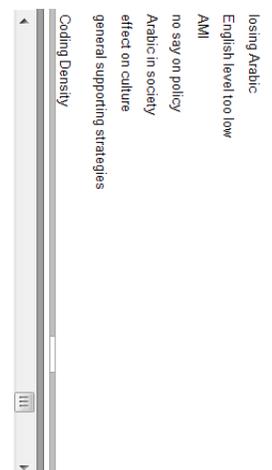
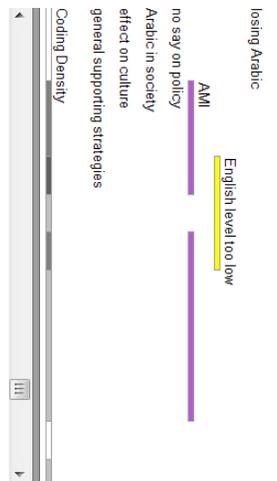
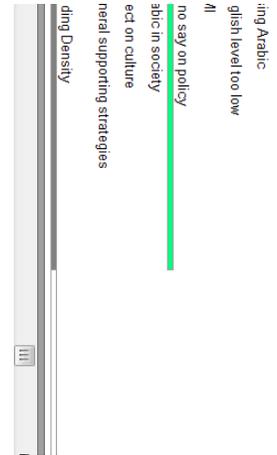
still need to have English teachers there to teach it as a foreign language.

I really don't know if it would be something like you would teach vocational programs in Arabic or have EMI, set the bar higher, so that the foundations would be more intense, to bring them up to a level. But the problem with that is time. Students are coming out of high school with a very low foundation. It can take up to 2 years to tack on to the other 4 years. I am not sure what would be a better policy. Even switching over to a completely Arabic medium would be difficult in terms of finding faculty and other people to work in an Arabic only environment. It would be hard. That's why you need people with more experience in language policy and language planning. And I don't think people who are making these decisions do have any experience.

And you do look at other countries. If you ask the French or the Germans that their

education system would switch over to English because English is really an international language, they would laugh you out the door. So it's interesting. The only English medium institutions that I know of from my small experience in Germany are private institutions that you have to pay for but all the public universities – you may have a class if you are studying English – but there is no way they would.... But that doesn't make them any less competitive or any less international. So I think sometimes it is an appearance thing because as we know this country is very big on appearance and trying to look modern. I think that's one of the reasons why this policy is in place. Plus the status thing.

A lot of people talk about teaching in English and you get the people who say well it is really good for them in the end. They are all going to be doing international things. And then there's people who say, no, if they are going to sit in an office all day and stamp



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papers, they really don't need it. I think it's a shame that such a rich country as this spends so little on education. So that's one issue that a lot of times the money is thrown at the wrong end of education, it's done at the tertiary education when it should be done at primary and secondary. This includes language so that the primary and secondary students can enter tertiary education. There are high dropout rates. And given the current political situation, I think we see a lot of movement in education, a lot of things being declared about education. We are going to get rid of the foundations here, we are going to do that and do this, but there are no real timelines. So I think it is a lot of lip service but not enough action. And then I think in the case of the government institutions, action is taken unilaterally without thinking of the consequences necessarily. So you have seen it in various projects, either iPad introduction, or other things, we are just told to change and it doesn't last. And I think a new thing is

happening – this huge project of Emiratisation, I think that's going to change it – I am Emirati, teaching Emiratis, living in the Emirates; what am I doing teaching them in English? If I am teaching them English, if I am their English teacher, it makes sense. Why would I teach them accounting in English? I think it puts up an artificial barrier that doesn't need to be there.

Not in our context. What comes up, what I have heard is 'Don't worry, Emiratis aren't going to take your job because nobody wants to do your job.' And what's unfortunately happening – I don't know this directly, someone told me – is that they are trying to get Emiratis to teach, and they are actually putting a little bit of pressure on people in our institution who are working not as teachers – they are working in student services or support staff – to get them to teach. And we are saying, well that's interesting, you have to truly, really want to be a teacher, because being a teacher is not easy, and

think they are being offered like, the institute will pay, help them get a master's degree and make sure it is something you really want to do before you commit yourself to this. I you've only done eight hours of teaching practice, you need to go and observe classes

sing Arabic
English level too low
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no say on policy
Arabic in society
effect on culture
general supporting strategies
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English level too low
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general supporting strategies
Coding Density

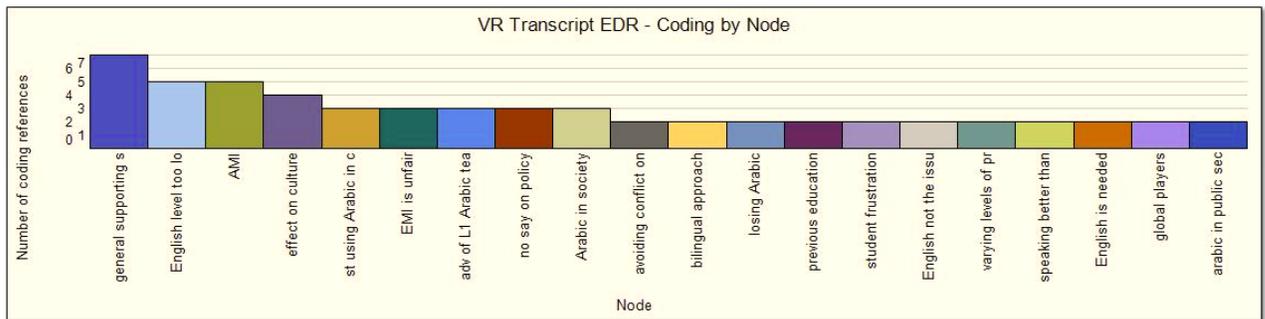
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I have mixed feelings about it. On the one hand I understand the reason they want to do it in terms of keeping the students functional in English because they want them to be able to deal with international business situations. On the other hand I think it is a matter of not having enough teachers at the time probably when the entire education started, they needed to import a lot of teachers because they didn't have a lot of staff the faculty to do it here. So I understand it. On the other hand I think it is a tragedy because so many students are being excluded from higher education. I think there is probably an issue that they don't value their version of Arabic. Arabic isn't valued by natives. They don't know what they want to do. The Arabs are schizophrenic about it lack of a better term. They want to preserve their heritage, but they are implementing policies that will preserve it at the educational level. It's a real mess we see happening. Because I see students who are obviously bright and they can get past an IELTS 5, which is the new standard entry requirement in tertiary education do not see any reason why they cannot have tertiary education in Arabic. English as Elective subject, even a required subject, they may have to have a certain English language... but I don't think they need to have it as a sole medium of instruction. That's a real shame.

To be honest with you, at the institution where I come from a lot of the students go to work in civil service. So, for the most part they will not be using English as a language, or very limited use for many of them. So they would probably need it more to take care of their medical needs or their travel and tourism needs. There is this desire by the government to have a familiarity with English. But I also think, as I have somebody put it much better than I, at a TESOL Arabia conference, that the decisions are made by people who are strictly bilingual or had not spent enough

Overview coding frequency RITA



After two rounds of coding, data were exported to Excel for further analysis to determine final reporting categories.

4.18 Appendix 14 Interview data analysis

Initial interview codes

	Name	Sources	References	View	Enact	Category
1	English not the issue	9	28	V	E	proficiency
2	varying levels of proficiency	9	21	V	E	proficiency
3	adv of L1 Arabic teachers	8	22	V	E	arabic
4	avoiding conflict on policy	8	11	V	E	policy
5	better job prospects	8	15	V		relevance
6	English level too low	8	22	V		proficiency
7	English only policy	8	14	V	E	policy
8	general supporting strategies	8	41		E	teacher enactment
9	losing Arabic	8	16	V		arabic
10	Peer help	8	14		E	student enactment
11	previous education	8	15	V		proficiency
12	St support for EMI	8	16	V	E	policy
13	depends on subject	7	12	V		policy
14	effect on culture	7	19	V		arabic
15	EMI is unfair	7	13	V	E	policy
16	English is needed	7	16	V		relevance
17	increasing proficiency	7	13	V		proficiency
18	resistance to EMI	7	19	V	E	student enactment
19	st using Arabic in class	7	16		E	student enactment
20	comparing with L1 Uni sts	6	12	V		relevance
21	English lingua franca	6	10	V		relevance
22	global players	6	18	V		relevance
23	no say on policy	6	8	V	E	teacher enactment
24	peer translation	6	12		E	student enactment
25	pride in EMI	6	9	V	E	policy
26	private sector	6	11	V		relevance
27	student frustration	6	12	V	E	student enactment
28	Teacher use Arabic in class	6	12		E	teacher enactment
29	teacher use of Arabic	6	11		E	teacher enactment
30	AMI	5	11	V		arabic
31	arabic in public sector	5	8	V		arabic
32	Arabic in society	5	9	V		arabic
33	bilingual approach	5	13	V		arabic
34	content faculty teach English	5	8	V	E	teacher enactment
35	pre-teaching vocabulary	5	5		E	teacher enactment
36	student acceptance	5	11	V	E	student enactment
37	TESOL to content teaching	5	5		E	teacher enactment

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38	Arab teacher cultural understanding	4	4	V	E	arabic
39	English is poor	4	10	V		proficiency
40	English outside college	4	6	V		relevance
41	Online translators	4	4		E	student enactment
42	reading an issue	4	7	V	E	proficiency
43	speaking better than other skills	4	6	V	E	proficiency
44	Dubai factor	3	3	V		relevance
45	plagiarism	3	3		E	student enactment
46	rely on teacher help	3	5		E	student enactment
47	engaging students	2	3		E	teacher enactment
48	maturity less resistance	2	3	V	E	proficiency
49	negative view	2	5	V		policy
50	othering L2 Eng teachers	2	3	V		arabic
51	procrastination	2	2		E	student enactment
52	simplifying vocabulary	2	6		E	teacher enactment
53	appropriate level design	1	1	V		proficiency
54	better language learners	1	1	V		proficiency
55	exams in eng	1	2	V		policy
56	Family pressure to succeed	1	1	V		student enactment
57	getting rid of foundations	1	1	V		policy
58	higher entry level	1	1	V		proficiency
59	others AMI students	1	1	V		arabic
60	start learning English earlier	1	1	V		proficiency
61	teacher focus on content; not eng	1	1		E	teacher enactment
62	teachers unquestioning of EMI	1	1	V		teacher enactment
63	wealthy demotivated	1	6	V		student enactment

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Tagging frequencies

	Name	Sources	References	View	Enact	Category
27	general supporting strategies	8	41		E	teacher enactment
21	English not the issue	9	28	V	E	proficiency
1	adv of L1 Arabic teachers	8	22	V	E	arabic
20	English level too low	8	22	V		proficiency
62	varying levels of proficiency	9	21	V	E	proficiency
15	effect on culture	7	19	V		arabic
49	resistance to EMI	7	19	V	E	student enactment
29	global players	6	18	V		relevance
32	losing Arabic	8	16	V		arabic
52	St support for EMI	8	16	V	E	policy
18	English is needed	7	16	V		relevance
53	st using Arabic in class	7	16		E	student enactment
8	better job prospects	8	15	V		relevance
43	previous education	8	15	V		proficiency
22	English only policy	8	14	V	E	policy
39	Peer help	8	14		E	student enactment
16	EMI is unfair	7	13	V	E	policy
31	increasing proficiency	7	13	V		proficiency
10	bilingual approach	5	13	V		arabic
13	depends on subject	7	12	V		policy
11	comparing with L1 Uni sts	6	12	V		relevance
40	peer translation	6	12		E	student enactment
56	student frustration	6	12	V	E	student enactment
58	Teacher use Arabic in class	6	12		E	teacher enactment
7	avoiding conflict on policy	8	11	V	E	policy
45	private sector	6	11	V		relevance
59	teacher use of Arabic	6	11		E	teacher enactment
2	AMI	5	11	V		arabic
55	student acceptance	5	11	V	E	student enactment
24	English lingua franca	6	10	V		relevance
19	English is poor	4	10	V		proficiency
44	pride in EMI	6	9	V	E	policy
6	Arabic in society	5	9	V		arabic
35	no say on policy	6	8	V	E	teacher enactment
5	arabic in public sector	5	8	V		arabic
12	content faculty teach English	5	8	V	E	teacher enactment
47	reading an issue	4	7	V	E	proficiency
23	English outside college	4	6	V		relevance
51	speaking better than other skills	4	6	V	E	proficiency

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50	simplifying vocabulary	2	6		E	teacher enactment
63	wealthy demotivated	1	6	V		student enactment
42	pre-teaching vocabulary	5	5		E	teacher enactment
61	TESOL to content teaching	5	5		E	teacher enactment
48	rely on teacher help	3	5		E	student enactment
34	negative view	2	5	V		policy
4	Arab teacher cultural understanding	4	4	V	E	arabic
36	Online translators	4	4		E	student enactment
14	Dubai factor	3	3	V		relevance
41	plagiarism	3	3		E	student enactment
17	engaging students	2	3		E	teacher enactment
33	maturity less resistance	2	3	V	E	proficiency
37	othering L2 Eng teachers	2	3	V		arabic
46	procrastination	2	2		E	student enactment
25	exams in eng	1	2	V		policy
3	appropriate level design	1	1	V		proficiency
9	better language learners	1	1	V		proficiency
26	Family pressure to succeed	1	1	V		student enactment
28	getting rid of foundations	1	1	V		policy
30	higher entry level	1	1	V		proficiency
38	others AMI students	1	1	V		arabic
54	start learning English earlier	1	1	V		proficiency
57	teacher focus on content; not eng	1	1		E	teacher enactment
60	teachers unquestioning of EMI	1	1	V		teacher enactment

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Identifying Brown's threshold

	Name	Sources	References	View	Enact T	Enact S	Category
1	adv of L1 Arabic teachers	8	22	V	E	E	arabic
32	losing Arabic	8	16	V			arabic
15	effect on culture	7	19	V			arabic
2	AMI	5	11	V			arabic
5	arabic in public sector	5	8	V			arabic
6	Arabic in society	5	9	V			arabic
10	bilingual approach	5	13	V			arabic
4	Arab teacher cultural understanding	4	4	V	E		arabic
37	othering L2 Eng teachers	2	3	V			arabic
38	others AMI students	1	1	V			arabic
7	avoiding conflict on policy	8	11	V	E		policy
22	English only policy	8	14	V	E		policy
52	St support for EMI	8	16	V	E		policy
13	depends on subject	7	12	V			policy
16	EMI is unfair	7	13	V	E	E	policy
44	pride in EMI	6	9	V	E		policy
34	negative view	2	5	V			policy
25	exams in eng	1	2	V			policy
28	getting rid of foundations	1	1	V			policy
21	English not the issue	9	28	V	E		proficiency
62	varying levels of proficiency	9	21	V		E	proficiency
20	English level too low	8	22	V			proficiency
43	previous education	8	15	V			proficiency
31	increasing proficiency	7	13	V			proficiency
19	English is poor	4	10	V			proficiency
47	reading an issue	4	7	V	E	E	proficiency
51	speaking better than other skills	4	6	V	E		proficiency
33	maturity less resistance	2	3	V		E	proficiency
3	appropriate level design	1	1	V			proficiency
9	better language learners	1	1	V			proficiency
30	higher entry level	1	1	V			proficiency
54	start learning English earlier	1	1	V			proficiency
8	better job prospects	8	15	V			relevance
18	English is needed	7	16	V			relevance
11	comparing with L1 Uni sts	6	12	V			relevance
24	English lingua franca	6	10	V			relevance
29	global players	6	18	V			relevance
45	private sector	6	11	V			relevance
23	English outside college	4	6	V			relevance

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14	Dubai factor	3	3	V			relevance
39	Peer help	8	14			E	student enactment
49	resistance to EMI	7	19	V		E	student enactment
53	st using Arabic in class	7	16			E	student enactment
40	peer translation	6	12			E	student enactment
56	student frustration	6	12	V		E	student enactment
55	student acceptance	5	11	V		E	student enactment
36	Online translators	4	4			E	student enactment
41	plagiarism	3	3			E	student enactment
48	rely on teacher help	3	5		E	E	student enactment
46	procrastination	2	2			E	student enactment
26	Family pressure to succeed	1	1	V			student enactment
63	wealthy demotivated	1	6	V			student enactment
27	general supporting strategies	8	41		E		teacher enactment
35	no say on policy	6	8	V	E		teacher enactment
58	Teacher use Arabic in class	6	12		E		teacher enactment
59	teacher use of Arabic	6	11		E		teacher enactment
12	content faculty teach English	5	8	V	E		teacher enactment
42	pre-teaching vocabulary	5	5		E		teacher enactment
61	TESOL to content teaching	5	5		E		teacher enactment
17	engaging students	2	3		E		teacher enactment
50	simplifying vocabulary	2	6		E		teacher enactment
57	teacher focus on content; not eng	1	1		E		teacher enactment
60	teachers unquestioning of EMI	1	1	V			teacher enactment

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Final coding reduction and subsuming

	Name	Sources	References	View	Enact T	Enact S	Category
1	adv of L1 Arabic teachers	8	22	V	E	E	arabic
2	losing Arabic	8	16	V			arabic
3	effect on culture/Arab teacher cultural understanding	8	23	V			arabic
4	arabic in public sector/Arabic in society	6	17	V			arabic
5	AMI	5	11	V			arabic
6	bilingual approach	5	13	V			arabic
7	othering L2 Eng teachers	2	3	V			arabic
8	others AMI students	1	1	V			arabic
9	St support for EMI/student acceptance/pride	9	25	V	E		policy
10	avoiding conflict on policy	8	11	V	E		policy
11	EMI is unfair/negative view	8	29	V	E	E	policy
12	depends on subject	7	12	V			policy
13	exams in eng	1	2	V			policy
14	getting rid of foundations	1	1	V			policy
15	English not the issue	9	28	V	E		proficiency
16	varying levels of proficiency/maturity	9	24	V		E	proficiency
17	English level too low/poor/reading issue/speaking +	9	45	V			proficiency
18	previous education	8	15	V			proficiency
19	increasing proficiency	7	13	V			proficiency
20	comparing with L1 Uni sts (proficiency??)	6	12	V			proficiency
21	appropriate level design	1	1	V			proficiency
22	better language learners	1	1	V			proficiency
23	higher entry level	1	1	V			proficiency
24	start learning English earlier	1	1	V			proficiency
25	better job prospects	8	15	V			relevance
26	English is needed	7	16	V			relevance
27	English lingua franca/Dubai/outside college	7	19	V			relevance
28	global players	6	18	V			relevance
29	private sector	6	11	V			relevance
30	Peer help	8	14			E	student enactment
31	peer translation/online translators	8	16			E	student enactment
32	resistance to EMI	7	19	V		E	student enactment
33	st using Arabic in class	7	16			E	student enactment
34	student frustration	6	12	V		E	student enactment
35	plagiarism	3	3			E	student enactment
36	rely on teacher help	3	5		E	E	student enactment
37	procrastination	2	2			E	student enactment
38	Family pressure to succeed	1	1	V			student enactment
39	wealthy demotivated	1	6	V			student enactment

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40	general supporting strategies/pre-teach vocab/engage	9	49		E		teacher enactment
41	content faculty teach English/TESOL to content teaching	9	13	V	E		teacher enactment
42	English only policy (teacher enactment?)	8	14	V	E		teacher enactment
43	no say on policy	6	8	V	E		teacher enactment
44	Teacher use Arabic in class/teacher use of Arabic	6	23		E		teacher enactment
45	simplifying vocabulary	2	6		E		teacher enactment
46	teacher focus on content; not eng	1	1		E		teacher enactment
47	teachers unquestioning of EMI	1	1	V			teacher enactment