UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

Teaching of Academic Subjects in English and the Challenges Kuwaiti Students Face

Submitted by

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To

The University of Exeter

as a thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Education

February 2017

I certify that all material in this thesis which is not my own work has been identified and that no material has previously been submitted and approved for the award of a degree by this or any other University.

Signature: ....

Abstract

This thesis explores students' views concerning the current English as medium of instruction (EMI) policy at Kuwait's two public higher education institutions, Kuwait University (KU) and the Public Authority for Applied Education and Training (PAAET).

In line with the exploratory nature of this study, an interpretivist and social constructivist epistemological stance was implemented to elicit and analyse students' views and gain their insights on the current situation. The study employed a sequential mixed method design using quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (focus groups, semi-structured interviews and semi-structured observations) methods to present a holistic picture. The number of the participants were 12 for the focus groups, 100 for the questionnaire, 11 for the in-depth interviews and 10 teaching sessions were observed. Descriptive statistics were calculated for the quantitative strand data and thematic analysis was used for the qualitative data.

The study revealed that although most participants preferred to learn through English, the current EMI policy raised many concerns. These related to students having to endure an 'extra burden' and the additional effort needed to study a subject being taught in a language that was not their mother tongue. The students expressed the view that this resulted in them being unable to gain a deep knowledge of the subject and not attain high grades which then affected their career prospects. These issues arose due to the students not being sufficiently competent in the use of English at the high level expected for degree level work. Students also expressed concerns relating to EMI policy effects on Arab identity and on the use of Arabic as a language of science and academia. Students would prefer a policy that promoted the use of both Arabic and English in their courses which would enable them to benefit from developing their understanding of both languages.

The thesis concludes by presenting a recommendation to modify the medium of instruction policy such that it incorporates both English and Arabic. These recommendations have implications for policymakers, teachers and students.

Acknowledgements

I owe a deep and special debt of gratitude to my mentor, teacher and supervisor Dr. Salah Troudi, who I am truly privileged to be supervised by, for his guidance, insightful feedback, devotion and patience. Words could not express my humble gratitude to the time he has given me along this journey. I am forever appreciative for what he has done along this long and wonderful endeavor, for the knowledge I gained from every time we spoke, and for his understanding and support during times of apprehension and hardship. My thanks also extend to my second supervisor Dr. Nigel Skinner for his valuable comments.

My sincere gratitude goes to my colleagues at the University of Exeter and my friends who became more like brothers and sisters since we first met in the UK. I cherish and value the immense support they have given me whenever I needed it. I will always remember the insightful conversations we had and how they would go through all lengths to make my journey easier.

I would also love to express my indebtedness to my dear family in Kuwait, my three brothers, and especially my parents, for their continuous support, encouragement and prayers. I thank all dear family members and friends in Kuwait for their continuous calls and messages to encourage and provide me with emotional support.

Finally, and most importantly, my sweet and loving thanks to my wife, my better half, for sacrificing everything to be here with me. Without her by my side none of this would have happened. She has been my inspiration throughout this journey and has made everything easier to ensure I progress well. A special thanks is due to my three beautiful children, my daughter Lulwa and my two boys Aziz and Wahab. They were the shinning light of this endeavor; they also had to go through a lot while I was away and busy with my studies. I owe them all immensely for surrounding me with their love. Wishing to compensate them in the years to come, and looking forward for the next chapter in our life.

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Chapter I

Introduction

1.1 Background of the study

The way in which the use of the English language has spread throughout the world raises questions relating to linguistic human rights, national identity and the impact that this has on indigenous languages. English possesses a high status around the world and it is utilised at both international and national levels. Although the spread of English is seen as neutral and welcomed by some as a result of scientific and technological advancement of the Anglophone countries (Crystal, 2003) others attribute this spread to more hidden political and social agendas (Phillipson, 2009a; Pennycook, 2001a).

In the past two decades with the emergence of critical applied linguistics (CALx) influenced by the work of scholars such as Pennycook (2001a), Phillipson (2009a, 1992) and Canagarajah (1999a), mainstream applied linguistics and the taken for granted notions of English language teaching have been questioned. CALx does not dismiss the importance of English nor does it consider ending teaching it, rather it aims to raise awareness about the negative impacts such a spread might have on the learning/teaching experience, cultural identity, and indigenous languages. This has led to the emergence of the notion of linguistic human rights (LHR). One aspect of these rights relates to whether or not individuals have a right to choose their preferred language as a medium of instruction.

With the support of different language policies, English is being taught in many non-Anglophone countries and gradually being developed to become the language of the medium of instruction. This is the case in Kuwait, where English is used as a medium of instruction at tertiary level. With the rise of issues of identity, linguistics human rights and the probable effects the spread of English might have on the first language, it is time to explore and investigate the current EMI policy from a critical angle.

Students in Kuwait are taught in Arabic throughout their schooling, including the scientific subjects. However, when applying to universities and colleges at tertiary level they are required to achieve a high level of

proficiency in English in order to be admitted into the scientific colleges. This requirement is understandable when the students are required to learn through English written books that were devised for native speakers.

After having taught at primary level for three years and experiencing how nine and ten year olds struggle with simple vocabulary words such as wave, flag and boat, and teaching for four years at college level and experiencing how some eighteen and twenty year olds struggle with simple grammatical rules such as present simple and present continuous, I gained interest in trying to understand why this has occurred. These issues are acute for me as a teacher experiencing the learning environment in both private and public schools. My personal gain from this PhD study is to evaluate the current EMI and other language policies in Kuwait and raise awareness of any related issues. It is also intended to provide a basis for further research regarding critical applied linguistics in Kuwait, and evaluate the outcomes of implementing the language policy of English as a medium of instruction (EMI). If the current language policy is to be reformed and re-evaluated one day, then research of this kind could be very helpful in introducing the key concepts and providing the necessary bases which to build on.

1.2 The problem

Kuwait is a monocultural country; the entire population shares the same background, traditions, culture and language. As stated in the Kuwaiti constitution, Arabic is the official and only language of the country and students are taught in public schools (70% of all students) through Arabic as a medium of instruction. English at this stage is taught as a foreign language, with merely a single class a day comprised of fifty minutes. Students are taught only basic English teaching, involving exercises that promote the four language skills: reading, writing, listening and speaking. Students do not develop skills in reading and writing in an academic style.

The Kuwaiti government took the decision in the mid 1990s to introduce EMI as a new policy at the Public Authority for Applied Education and Training (PAAET) and Kuwait University (KU), the only two public higher educational institutes at that time. EMI is implemented only in all the scientific colleges and one other academic college, the college of Business

Administration in KU. This required adopting new textbooks written in English, teaching through them and conducting examinations in English. This means that students need to attain a high level of proficiency in English to be admitted to those institutes. The textbooks adopted to teach Kuwaiti university students are specifically written for native English speaking students, so this means that there is a 'double effort' needed by Kuwaiti students: the effort of understanding the content of the module and the effort of understanding the language and lexical terms.

Passing the English language test has been set as a prerequisite to be admitted to science and business administration colleges, disregarding how high the scores students attain in secondary school; their academic eligibility is heavily based on how well they perform in the English language test. So, it is possible that a student who performs well in school will be prevented from pursuing his or her ambition to become a doctor or an engineer because they do not pass the English language test or the English foundation course. This policy causes frustration for students (Al-Bustan & Al-Bustan, 2009), because students are taught all their subjects throughout their schooling in Arabic, when progressing to tertiary level they are expected to have a high level of English proficiency to be admitted to the degree major of their choice.

For more than three decades, research in Kuwait has investigated the issue of the poor level of Kuwait students in English (Sawwan, 1987; Hajjaj, 1997, Al-Nwaiem, 2012). The issues that this research has raised are still unresolved and the same problems concerning teacher-centred classrooms (Al-Darwish, 2006), curriculum evaluation (Mohammed, 2008; Al-Rubaie, 2010; Al-Nwaiem, 2012) and distribution of classrooms (Hajjaj, 1997) still exist. This indicates that it is time to tackle the phenomenon from another angle. I believe the issue rests in another dimension that needs to be explored and looked into.

1.3 Study rationale

This study explores participants' views with regard to learning through English as a medium of instruction, how this affected their experience and to challenge some of their perceived ideologies. It seeks to provide a basis for further studies regarding language policy within the field of critical applied

linguistics. It is hoped that the study will be useful in tackling issues before they become more severe (De Lisle, 2011). It also intends to "identify and assess possible alternative futures and to examine their implications for different areas of social action" (Adoni, 1984, p.142). Heck (2004) suggests that a study such as this can inform policies affecting educational and institutional systems, and analyses possible consequences by comparing specific cases of policy making.

Rather than predicting unequivocal statements, this study explores the current language policy in Kuwait to locate positive and negative issues, and the critical areas of implementing EMI in order to understand the effects it has on students as well as the impact on the general learning process. By questioning the taken for granted notions of EMI, problematising the narrow points and raising critical questions, it is hoped to build the bases of the "preferred futures" (Pennycook, 2001a, p.9).

This study also aims to review the current status of English as a medium of instruction by presenting the strong and weak arguments for this educational policy. The consequences of the context need to be evaluated since Arab-speaking students are required to master English as a pre-requisite to be enrolled in their chosen major at tertiary level without offering them a right to be educated in their language (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006). As Troudi (2007) states, such students feel a tension between the academic context and the linguistic environment of the local community.

One of the possible outcomes of English as a medium of instruction is the marginalising of Arabic, particularly as a language of science and academia (Troudi, 2009a; Al-Hazari, 2003; Al-Askari, 2002). Another possible scenario is of narrowly associating Arabic with religion and localism (Clarke, 2007), whilst English is associated with signs of modernity, following the footsteps of the powerful and a gateway to technological advancement (Troudi & Jendli, 2011).

It is unrealistic and naïve to call for full abandonment or complete termination of teaching and learning English in Kuwait or the Arab speaking context as whole. However, it is also unwise to not question and raise awareness of the potential negative consequences of the impact of English on the use of the Arabic language. What is needed, as Canagarajah (2006a)

indicates, is that policymakers and academics practice the appropriation of English and be involved in adjusting a pragmatic lens to the English language practices (Al-Rubaie 2010). Thus, it is important to note that this research is not 'anti-English' and does not discuss teaching English as a foreign language, rather it discusses the use of a language as a medium of instruction to teach students who are not competent in the use of English.

This study does not attempt to present a final and complete solution to the current situation. It is rather an attempt to identify critical issues of CALx regarding the quality of teaching/learning, identity, first language and linguistic human rights in the current educational policy in Kuwait. Furthermore, this study hopes to stimulate policymakers, students, and academics to debate the possible consequences this policy might have and search for possible solutions to any problems that are identified. One of the steps in resolving this issue is to raise awareness of the situation and challenge people's ideologies.

The experiences derived from attempts to change the linguistic situation of other countries show that the least successful approach is to blindly follow the globalisation movement (Asfoor, 2008; Al-Misidi, 2008; Troudi 2007). This research is an early introduction to the concepts of critical applied linguistics in Kuwait and a contribution to the foundation of a long-term process of exploring and evaluating the implementation of EMI.

This study focuses solely on students because they are at the heart of the EMI policy, and because their voices have been left out in most of the literature written in Kuwait regarding English language teaching and learning. Students are the stakeholders most affected by this policy, either positively or negatively. Thus, it is important to explore their views on EMI and understand how they act and work within such a policy; by focusing solely on them, their views can be explored in more depth and their perceptions are given more attention.

1.4 Significance of the study

English has a high level of importance in the Kuwaiti context and learning the language is deemed to be essential. Much research has been conducted in Kuwait concerning the importance of English and how to teach it better. The literature available is mainly in line with mainstream applied linguistics and

with those presenting it as a necessity rather than a luxury. This notion regarding the importance of English is also perceived by policymakers. Thus, implementing EMI is seen as a sign of modernity, a gateway to the new world and following the footsteps of the powerful (Wiley, 2006). Nevertheless, a more critical approach to the current language policy needs to be established and critical questions ought to be investigated.

There seems to be a problem in the Kuwaiti educational system since there is a clear gap between the level of English taught at school and the level expected at tertiary level. Throughout their schooling, students are taught through Arabic in all their subjects and English is taught only as a foreign language. However, once students graduate from school, they are expected to reach a high level of proficiency in English to be accepted in many of the academic majors, and English at this level is considered a second language. In November 2013, the Ministry of Education announced a plan regarding the teaching of mathematics at the primary stage in English. However, students and parents carried out demonstrations opposing such implementations, and they were dropped immediately.

This thesis aims to shift the focus to a more critical approach to LP, rather than adding to the current accumulated literature in Kuwait which mainly addresses raising teacher and student competence, proposing new remedies dealing with new teaching styles, and the overall classroom environment. As a researcher, I am informed by interpretivist research and the main tenets of critical applied linguistics. I view that CALx researchers have raised important issues that need to be considered and researched within the Kuwaiti context. Thus, as a current teacher at PAAET, a previous teacher at the Kuwaiti Ministry of Education, and a previous student at KU, it is of personal interest to the researcher to contextualise the complex issues related to EMI that have been raised by CALx researchers and explore them in more depth, and also to elicit how students perceive issues of identity and the effects on Arabic. It is for this reason that the researcher agrees with what critical applied linguistics has presented, and it is crucial to uncover any possible hidden economic, educational, and/or social aspects of the current EMI policy.

This research study has potential significance for several reasons. First, hopefully it will draw attention to the complexity of the issues regarding language policy (Cooper, 1989; Ricento, 2006) and open new horizons toward English as a medium of instruction. Second, as Ramanathan and Morgan (2007) indicate, more research should be conducted in this area to mirror people's views and reactions regarding the language policies that have been recommended by policymakers and those in authority. Third, as Canagarajah (2006b) asserts, it is important to assess the effects the language policies have on those who work with them. Finally, as Kuwait shares many characteristics with other countries in the Gulf region, this study will hopefully be relevant to the current literature.

1.5 Research Objectives

The research has the following aims:

1- To identify the advantages and disadvantages of using EMI in higher education level.

2- To shed the light on the effects that this policy has on the students' learning experiences and future careers, and to see how students encounter and overcome these challenges.

3- To raise awareness of EMI's impact on issues of identity and mother tongue.

4- To explore other possible solutions/alternatives to the phenomenon.

1.6 Research Questions

This study will be designed to address the following questions:

1- What are KU and PAAET students' perceptions towards English as a medium of instruction (EMI)?

2- What are the challenges students face when studying through EMI? How do students cope with these challenges?

3- What are the possible effects of EMI on the Arab identity and on Arabic?

4- Are there alternative approaches that could address or improve the current situation?

1.7 Organisation of the Study

Chapter One - presented a general overview of the present study by introducing the problem, rationale of the study, significance of the study, research aims and objectives.

Chapter Two – is designed to familiarise the reader with the Kuwaiti education context by presenting an overview of the history of the educational system, how English language teaching was introduced and has developed over time. Finally, it presents the background of English as a medium of instruction in Kuwait and relevant details.

Chapter Three – reviews the literature concerning language policy and its emergence and development through time. It also presents alternative views regarding impact of the spread of the English language throughout the world. It also discusses how critical applied linguistics emerged and the issues it has raised. It also presents examples of EMI from international contexts and similar contexts to Kuwait (i.e. the Gulf region). Finally, it discusses all these issues regarding EMI and language policy in general and relates it to the Kuwaiti context.

Chapter Four – presents the methodology of this research and the ontological and epistemological foundations it rests on. It also describes the data collection procedures, the sampling procedure, the methods and the study design. Finally, the limitations of the study and the ethical considerations are presented.

Chapter Five – presents details of the data analysis process of the qualitative and quantitative strands derived from the methods used for this research. These include statistical analysis as well as the interpretation of the qualitative findings.

Chapter Six – discusses the key findings from both the qualitative and quantitative data and links it to the current context of the study and the relevant literature.

Chapter Seven – summarizes the findings and offers final conclusions and remarks. It also presents the implications of the study and its pedagogical and theoretical contributions to knowledge.

Chapter II
Research context

The aim of this chapter is to present an insight to the Kuwaiti educational and social context with an overview to the historical development of the educational system and English language teaching (ELT). This chapter is divided into two main sections, the first dealing with the general aims, objectives and major developments to the Kuwaiti educational system. Before addressing the issue of English language teaching and EMI, it is necessary to introduce the historical educational development in Kuwait to understand the developments that occurred to English concurrently.

The second section presents the introduction of English in Kuwait, how it began as a one-man contribution to becoming a medium of instruction at higher level, and the different schools in Kuwait. Within both these sections, this research will analyse how these developments were influenced by historical and political factors that shaped the current language policy in Kuwait.

2.1 The Educational Aims in Kuwait

The successful implementation of educational strategies and plans necessitate clear educational objectives. In 1974, the government formulated a committee consisting of educational specialists in the Ministry of Education and lecturers from Kuwait University to develop a draft of the main educational goals in congruence with the Kuwaiti constitution and findings from research done in the field. A document of the general aims was issued to provide the educational philosophy together with the contents and areas to be covered, maintaining a balance between social, spiritual, mental, psychological, physical and cultural growth to allow students to proceed creatively (Ministry of Education, 1979). Later, with the result of certain political and historical events happening, these aims were rewritten and revised by the ministry of education and the general goals were derived from four main sources (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 10):

1. The religious, social and cultural nature of the Kuwaiti society;

2. The spirit of the age in which we live;
3. The needs of pupils;
4. Contemporary educational orientations.

According to the Kuwaiti Ministry of Education, the general objectives of education are as follows:

• To help students develop physically, psychologically, spiritually, socially, and mentally in accordance with their potential and the traditions of the Kuwaiti society. More importantly, the educational aims are studied according to the principles of Islam, contemporary culture and Arab traditions so to allow students to fulfil their aspirations and aims in a way that strikes a balance between societal needs and individual ambitions.

• Practical translation of the aspirations of the Kuwaiti human construction in accordance with the scientific approach of thinking and the development of students' abilities in various grades to accommodate scientific methods and their practical applications in various fields needed by the community.

• Open the doors of global culture for Kuwaiti students within the framework of scientific and technological revolution in various fields, and pay attention to the Arab and Islamic heritage and employ it to serve the spiritual sublimity, and consolidate core values and belonging to the homeland.

• To support and develop schools, colleges, religious schools and adult literacy centres, in keeping with scientific and technical progress. Development of systems and policies to deal with the outstanding students, teachers and administrators to develop motives of creativity and to develop professional performance and feelings of belonging to educational institutions.

• To attain a balanced sharing of educational services and activities among the different areas of the country and to make science and knowledge accessible to every Kuwaiti citizen.

• To direct more attention to the preparation of national cadres working in the educational fields, to develop their competence and their capabilities while reducing reliance on foreign elements in this field, without harmfully affecting the education process.

(Ministry of Education, 2015)

The practical reality, however, is far from this ideal as the aims drifted away in the past two decades (Esmaeel, 2001). Al-Ahmad (2000) echoes on this issue by showing that the educational process in schools mainly focuses on providing students' with bulk amounts of information, and neglecting their inclinations and individual differences. According to Alazemi (2006) and Esmaeel (2001), there is a gap between the theoretical and practical aspects of education, as mainly students act as passive receivers of knowledge with minimal participation. Moreover, students rely on repetition and recitation (Esmaeel, 2001), merely for the sake of passing their examinations with no value to what the learning outcomes are, neither to the students or their parents (Alazemi, 2006). Consequently, the educational process is affected drastically as learners gain poor learning skills and become less creative, which ultimately contradicts the general aims (Al-Darwish, 2006).

It could also be argued that the third general aim mentioned above about pupils needs is simply not found in de facto practices, as many of the teaching methods, learning environments and textbooks (including tertiary level, discussed in Section 2.4.4) are purely based on a 'cut and paste' process from western experiences and educational systems, with no regard to what the Kuwaiti students lack and what their shortcomings are.

The following sections will introduce some political, historical and economical events that have shaped the educational system in Kuwait.

2.2 Education in Kuwait: The Background

The learning process in Kuwait during the early 19th century was simple and basic, which was based on traditional norms and religious values. Quranic schools known as *Kuttabs* were the primary source of literacy*,* and were administered by *Mullas* – religious preachers. At that time, the aims of the educational system focused on mastering the Arabic language, and other principles of Islam such as learning the Quran, observing other prayers, and almsgiving (Al-Darwish, 2006). Classical Arabic was the only medium of instruction and students also learnt simple calculations alongside elementary writing and reading.

With the expansion of Kuwait's economic status especially in the beginning of the 20th century that developed through trade and commerce, merchants who travelled abroad saw the necessity for a formal education, as the informal education alone failed to deliver their needs to sufficient writing, reading and calculation skills (Al-Rubaie, 2010). Therefore, in 1912 Al-Mubarakiya school was established through the donation from wealthy merchants and marked the phase of the first formal teaching. Al-Ahmediya, the second formal school was founded in 1920 under the patronage of Sheikh Ahmed Al-Jaber, which provided a more modern and structured curricula, and introduced English for the first time as a main subject.

In 1936, the Kuwaiti government took full responsibility of education for two reasons: (1) local entrepreneurs were unable to continue their sponsorship to the educational establishments due to the economic crisis of 1929-1936, and (2) to the development of oil deposits (Al-Edwani, 2005). That same year, the first Council of Education was established and qualified teachers from Palestine were invited to structure a simple modern educational system (Kharma, 1967, 1972). Furthermore, with these huge transitions to the education system, in 1937, the government established *Al-Oustta* the first school for girls and they had the opportunity to attend their formal teaching. With the progression and the continuous development of the educational system other educationalists, teachers and inspectors were invited from Egypt, Palestine, Syria and other Arab countries.

The government led by ideologies of 'fair distribution' and 'shared wealth' was keen on encouraging the people to benefit from free education

(Al-Edwani, 2005). In 1965, the Compulsory Act became a law, it necessitated that school attendance is obligatory for all girls and boys aged six to fourteen:

> Education is free from kindergarten to university and there are equal opportunities for boys and girls, for all Kuwaiti people. Education is compulsory from kindergarten to middle school level.
>
> (Ministry of Information, 1996, p18)

All public schools were gender segregated and instruction was provided for females and males separately; however, this issue became more flexible with the legitimisation of private schools in 1967 as they had the choice to be either segregated or co-educational. In addition, the government's effort to encourage gender equality succeeded, as in the academic year which followed the enactment of the Compulsory Act there were 42,044 female students registered compared to 56,033 male students. By the academic year 1999-2000, there were 154,921 male students and 158,504 female students (Al-Edwani, 2005).

2.3 The Structure of the Educational System in Kuwait

Until 1956-1957, the educational ladder consisted of eleven years of teaching in total, seven primary and four secondary. In that same year, on the recommendation of two Arab experts Dr Kabbani and Dr Akrawi, whom were brought to examine and evaluate Kuwait's education system, the educational system witnessed a drastic change and was divided into four secondary, four intermediate and four primary (Kharma, 1967, 1977). This structure continued until 2004-2005 when the educational structured was reformed changing the duration of several stages. The new four stages are shown in Table 2.1 below:

Table 2.1 The Educational Structure in Kuwait

Stage	Ages	Status	Years
Kindergarten	4-6	Optional	2
Primary	6-11	Compulsory	5

| Intermediate | 11-15 | Compulsory | 4 |
| Secondary | 16-18 | Optional | 3 |

The new structure reduced the secondary level by one year and adding an extra year to the primary stage to become five instead of four. Also, this meant that compulsory schooling increased from eight to nine years. According to the Ministry of Education, this structure will felicitate for the students' behavioural and psychological needs in an era of technology, and to unify the formal educational stages with the Arabian Gulf Council (Al-Edwani, 2005). Furthermore, the Ministry of Education set out to staff many of the male primary schools with female teachers and administrators as a solution to the shortage of male teachers and to provide more jobs for the increasing number of female teacher graduates. This new move has caused some controversy within the general public whether female teachers will be able to handle and better teach primary level boys. Nevertheless, with all these changes to the educational structure and the general aims of education in Kuwait, English lessons have always been taught for fifty minutes daily (discussed later in this chapter).

2.4 Communicating with the World: The History of English

The popularity of English and its current status in the Kuwaiti educational system is not a recent phenomenon. Al-Yaseen (2000) demonstrates that the importance assigned to English results from a congregation of political, socio-economical, geographical and historical factors. Geographically, Kuwait is positioned in a connecting route between the Middle East, India and Europe. Hence, it made Kuwait a mid-way point for these connecting routes, which consequently supported its commercial prosper.

As to the political and historical factors, in the late 18th century, just after the British East India Company based its headquarters in Kuwait's northern region, Kuwait began to play a central role in English medium merchant operation. Moreover, English was the main medium of international affairs and administration during the British protectorate that lasted from 1899 to 1961 (Al-Rubaie, 2010). Kuwait affiliated to the United Nations in 1963,

directly after the discontinuation of the protection treaty. Therefore, English was reinforced, as political communication and international deliberation with the world was mainly conveyed through English.

The socio-economic factors that contributed to the prominence of English were mainly due to the expansion of the oil-production industry in the 1930s. Since the oil discovery in Kuwait, the blooming industry attracted many Anglophone companies to operate and function in the region. Although a considerable amount of the workforce are Asians, Westerners and a mixture of other foreigners, the oil market still attracts many Kuwaitis as it provides excellent salaries and commodities. Thus, Kuwaitis tend to study a certain amount of English, or as Karmani (2005) calls it 'petroleum English', so to provide a bases for communication between the different nationalities to share expertise and boost the development process (Akbar, 2007).

2.4.1 ELT in Kuwait: The Formal Phase

English has been taught formally for more than a century, as it began as a modest contribution by the American mission in 1913. The minister in charge at that time, Rev. Dr Edwin Calverley, began giving English classes in his house. These classes continued until 1934 but they never transformed into a formal school (Kharma, 1967). As stated earlier, it is not until 1920 with the establishment of Al-Ahmediya school that English was taught formally, and it began from the first year of intermediate class.

English continued to be taught from intermediate level just after the Iraqi encroachment of Kuwait. Following this invasion, English and its worldwide, as well as its local, proliferation became an important topic discussed amongst Kuwaitis; thus, students' underachievement in English and their inability to use it effectively convinced the Ministry of Education the need for a major reform (Aldhafiri, 1998). In 1993, after lengthy and prolonged deliberations between the parliament and the Ministry of Education, the Ministerial Decree 61/93 was passed which proposed that English is to be taught from first year primary school, consequently extending the total amount of years of teaching English to twelve instead of eight years. The Ministry of Education stated that it is hoped by exposing students to twelve years of

learning English instead of eight will enhance their proficiency level in the language (Al-Mutawa & Kailani, 1989).

This new transition raised controversy amongst the general public for a number of reasons, namely there was no preparation for such a step and evidently, no clear plan existed for teaching the English language curriculum (Al-Mutawa, 2003). In addition, the number of teachers was limited and graduates from the College of Arts at Kuwait University, specialising in English linguistics and literature, had no teaching experience (Al-Mutawa, 1997). Therefore, the Ministry of Education compensated for this by hiring over 200 newly qualified English teachers mainly from Kuwait, Egypt and Syria, and only admitting them to a two-week training course on how to teach English. As a result, many teachers found it difficult to adjust themselves in the first few years of their careers (Al-Mutawa, 1997). To this day, teachers of English are only required to complete this two-week training course, and not until recently that the former Minister of Education Dr Naif Al-Hajraf has announced that from 2018 the 'teacher license' scheme will be introduced to raise the quality of teachers hired. This scheme necessitates that teachers graduating from the education colleges need a 3.0 GPA from the 4 point scale to be hired, and teachers from other colleges will need to attend an additional eight months training course. This implicit confession by the minister of the poor quality of teachers will hopefully raise their teaching competence and provide them with the needed bases to build on.

Desperate times call for desperate measures; this drastic change necessitated an immediate solution as the four added years were not prepared for. Therefore, the United Arab Emirates (UAE) English textbooks were brought in as a temporary solution to cover the four basic language skills; writing, reading, speaking and listening. As time progressed, it became important to substitute the current borrowed books with one that defines itself with the Kuwaiti context. The transition was impossible to do in one phase, so the series *Fun with English* was introduced for the primary stage in 2002, the *Target English* series for the middle level in 2004, and finally the *Over to You* series for the secondary stage in 2009.

In the 1990s, there was an expansion of the private schooling system to diversify the educational system by introducing new teaching styles,

curriculums and schools that have different language outcomes than public schools. The Department of Private Education in the Ministry of Education manages these schools and makes sure that they meet the general educational goals in Kuwait. Since they are non-government founded schools, they tend to have a more independent structure and have the liberty to implement the curriculum of their choice, to be co-educational and adopt their preferred medium of instruction. Nevertheless, teaching Arabic and Islamic studies are obligatory subjects in all schools to Kuwaiti nationals and all Arabs. Furthermore, private schools must expose their students to the same curriculum and contact hours of those in public schools in the subjects of Arabic and Islamic studies. By 2006, the Ministry of Education unified the Islamic studies and Arabic exams to all public and private schools, therefore, all Kuwaiti and Arab students sit for the same examinations and their marks are awarded by the Ministry of Education.

It is important to note that there is a difference amongst private schools, as there are international and bilingual schools. International schools follow the educational guidelines of their respective countries and they teach in accordance to the same textbooks. Mainly these schools adopt the English curriculum from primary to secondary, and are taught by native speakers of English. In the final year of secondary school, their examinations are brought from the University of Cambridge and sent back for marking. Consequently awarding them their IGCSEs (The International General Certificate of Secondary Education), the similar qualification awarded to students in England, Wales and Northern Ireland. Also available within the international schools are French, Filipino, Iranian and Armenian schools. In contrast, bilingual schools follow the Kuwaiti national curriculum and they adopt both English and Arabic as medium of instruction, although, in some cases they supplement materials from other Arabic educational systems (i.e. Egypt and Lebanon).

Before the Gulf war in 1990, there were only 15 non-Arabic foreign schools registered in Kuwait, whilst the number increased in 1997-1998 to 104, of which 42 schools use non-Arabic curricula (Al-Mubailesh, 2010). The number reached 156 by 2016, with 95 of those are bilingual/English-speaking schools comprising of Pakistani, American, British, Indian, Armenian, Iranian

and Filipino schools. According to the latest statistics for the 2015/2016 school year, the private sector administers 288 thousand students, of those, 70 thousand students are Kuwaiti nationals, and in total, they form forty percent of the number of students in Kuwait.

Although private schools' tuitions are substantially high, a large number of parents persist today to enter their children for several motives: (1) higher professionalism of teachers, (2) better academic standards, and (3) extensive English language learning which is considered a gateway to futuristic development (discussed in detail in the Literature Review).

2.4.2 The Reality of English at School

The educational system in Kuwait in general has undergone many changes that shaped and formed its current objectives and structure. Consequently, these changes shaped the English language teaching aims in Kuwait. The Kuwaiti government recognizes the importance of English and puts effort and money to improve students' competence. At school level, the aims of ELT and the overall guidelines seem to be well prepared with focused objectives; however, this idealistically "written" reality of the intended outcomes and learning environments are far from real in the de facto practices. Students' level of English is low and does not set them to the challenging level required for tertiary level (discussed in next chapter). This low level in English causes many issues to students when entering tertiary level, as this study will show in Chapters 4 and 5 later on.

Although symposiums and teacher training courses are held annually, in addition to the ample research done in Kuwait to raise student competence, students continue to be demotivated and only care for passing the subject with no value to the knowledge they accumulate (Alazemi, 2006). Moreover, the curriculums are designed in a top-down approach with no involvement of any student/teacher needs analysis (Al-Nwaiem, 2012). Therefore, it is essential to ask: where does the problem lay? Is it within the society, the kind of research, teaching styles or the curriculums? Or, is it within a bigger picture that happens on a broader political level?

2.4.3 English as a Medium of Instruction: Tertiary Level

The move taken in mid-1990s to introduce English as a medium of instruction meant that all science colleges at tertiary level would be taught through English, borrowing English textbooks, exams to be conducted in English and that Arabic would not be relevant at any stage. Furthermore, other academic non-scientific colleges, such as the College of Business Administration in Kuwait University, began to teach in English.

Thus, EMI was deemed an important step because some sectors in Kuwait (e.g., health, oil, and banking) require Kuwaitis to pass English tests, but do not require non-Kuwaitis to pass Arabic tests. Such sectors also provide several English language courses, which in many cases, are compulsory, yet do not provide similarly compulsory Arabic courses for non-Arabs. With the increasing importance of English, many student centres were developed to help with the demand on services needed by students regarding English. Consequently, there are many student centres in Kuwait, with at least two or three in each city. These centres provide many services, ranging from translating articles to writing official academic handbooks. Unfortunately, some of them are willing to write full reports for all majors in KU and PAAET, even though, according to Kuwait's laws and university regulations, it is illegal to write students' assignments, reports, or essays. However, it is difficult for the government/institutions to combat them, as they have now moved to online services, which makes it difficult for the authorities to monitor them and track them down.

So far, we have discussed the status of English at school level and have demonstrated what the intended outcomes of the general ELT guidelines should be. However, the issue of English does not end with the final year of secondary school; in fact, it is the beginning of the broader issue, where students' level of English will affect their future careers and introduce obstacles that need to be overcome. This section presents the various tertiary institutes and the different sectors of the higher education system; the detailed discussion of the implication of EMI will be provided in the literature review chapter.

2.4.3.1 Public Institutions

As in many other countries, the educational system in Kuwait consists of both private and public universities and colleges. However, the private tertiary sector is newly developed, as it began only in 2003. Therefore, for nearly forty years, there were only two public institutions: Kuwait University (KU) and the Public Authority for Applied Education and Training (PAAET).

KU was established in 1966 as the first public higher institution in Kuwait. Prior to the 1990s, when EMI was introduced, the Arabic language dominated both teaching and administrative work. After the science colleges were Anglicized, the level of English required increased dramatically, and textbooks from the UK and USA were brought in. Furthermore, according to the university's website, the College of Business Administration (CBA) followed the movement and Anglicized the college textbooks, exams, and medium of instruction, giving as the reason that "public and private sector organizations recruit CBA graduates as they perceive them to be well equipped with both language and computer skills" (Kuwait University, 2013, par. 2, lines 2-4). However, administrative communication has remained in Arabic.

Table 2.2 below shows the university's sixteen colleges with the implemented language of instruction:

No.	College	Medium of Instruction
1	Law	Arabic
2	Art	Arabic
3	Sharia and Islamic Studies	Arabic
4	Social Sciences	Arabic
5	Education	Arabic
6	Life Sciences	Arabic
7	Science	English
8	Engineering and Petroleum	English
9	Medicine	English
10	Pharmacy	English
11	Architecture	English

12	Computer Science and Engineering	English
13	Dentistry	English
14	Allied Health Sciences	English
15	Business Administration	English
16	Graduate School	Arabic and English

Table 2.2 the Colleges of KU and the Medium of Instruction

Another renowned public higher institution is PAAET, which was established in 1982 in response to the rapid economic and industrial development to provide technical human resources. PAAET comprises five colleges and seven institutes. The College of Basic Education (CBE) and the College of Business Studies (CBS) use Arabic as a medium of instruction, whilst the science colleges, the College of Technological Studies (CTS), the College of Nursing (CN), and the College of Health Sciences (CHS) use English. The seven institutes with CBS and CBE teach in Arabic and use English for Specific Purposes; therefore, English remains a foreign language. The following table describes each college with the language of instruction:

No.	College	Medium of Instruction
1	Basic Education	Arabic
2	Business Studies	Arabic
3	Technological Studies	English
4	Nursing	English
5	Health Sciences	English

Table 2.3 the Colleges of PAAET and the Medium of Instruction

Besides the science colleges, the college of Education at KU offers bachelor degrees in mathematics, biology, chemistry, geology, and physics through an EMI policy. The college guarantees a teaching position for all its graduates at public schools, were only Arabic is needed. The ministry of education in Kuwait only accepts Kuwaiti science teachers from this college. Therefore, students entering science majors in the education college already have plans

to work in the public sector.

The academic year in all higher education institutions in Kuwait consists of three semesters: (1) the first semester is from September to December, (2) the second semester is from February to May/June, and (3) the summer semester is from mid-June to August. It is compulsory to attend the first and second semesters, and students have the opportunity to take the optional summer semester (which is a normal semester) if they wanted to graduate sooner.

The other public higher education sectors in Kuwait are the Higher Institute for Music Arts and the Higher Institute for Theatre Arts, which continue to teach in Arabic and English is implemented as a foreign language.

The majority of professors at the public institutions are Kuwaitis, many of whom have attained a scholarship to continue their postgraduate studies mainly in the UK, US, Australia, France, or Canada. Although KU has a graduate school which offers both masters' and PhDs, it does not rely heavily on this school to provide future professors. Also, Kuwait Institute of Scientific Research (KISR) and the Ministry of Education provide scholarship schemes for students wanting to pursue their graduate and undergraduate studies. The idea of presenting such opportunities for students to continue their studies abroad is believed to be providing a successful path to professional development.

Kuwaiti institutions offer few doctoral programmes, so it is necessary to encouraged students to learn English and study abroad. Furthermore, Dr Abdulatif Albader, the former president of KU, stated that the university needs to provide more doctoral programmes in order to promote continuing studies in the country (Kuwait University, 2014). This step could enable more students to earn their postgraduate degrees without needing to meet an English requirement.

Both PAAET and KU require students to sit for a placement test before entering their colleges. In both institutions, students are required to score above 60% to pass and to obtain a place in their chosen majors. The placement tests comprise 85 questions, all of which are multiple choice. Each question is divided into three parts and has four choices :

1- Grammar – 35 questions

2- Vocabulary – 35 questions

3- Comprehension – 15 questions

The level required in order to progress to the English placement test is an A2 level in CEFR terms, as the student is considered a basic user of the English language (Council of Europe, 2001). The grammar questions are related to the simple present, past, and future tenses, whereby the student needs to recognise the difference between is/are, ing/ed, and some/any, and to be familiar with the use of articles and prepositions. However, if a student fails, then he/she will be registered on a foundation course (1 full semester). These foundation courses usually offer general English with some references to specialised terminologies according to each college. Students either attain a pass (60% and above) or no pass score (under 60%) during their foundation course, and this does not contribute to their GPA. If students fail the foundation course, they are allowed a second attempt, and if they do not pass it the second time, then they are not able to continue in their chosen major and, instead, need to transfer to a humanities college.

If students score above 60% in the placement test (or complete the foundation course), then they need to enrol in ESP courses within the respective colleges. Each college has its specific ESP courses that are more related to the college's majors. Details of these ESP courses are shown below in Table 2.4:

Institution	College	Obligatory ESP courses	Optional ESP courses	Contribute to GPA	Pass Rate
KU	All science and engineering colleges	English 1 and 2	English 3 and Report Writing	Yes	60%
KU	All medicine colleges and CBA	English 1, 2 and 3	----	Yes	60%
PAAET	College of Technological Studies	English 1, 2	----	Yes	60%

| PAAET | College of Nursing and college of Health Sciences | English 1, 2 | Report Writing | Yes | 60% |

Table 2.4 Details of ESP Courses at KU and PAAET

Assessment in the foundation and ESP courses is divided into three parts: (1) the final exam accounts for 50%, (2) the mid-term exam accounts for 30%, and (3) the remaining 20% is awarded at the discretion of the teacher, as he/she can assess students' performance in presentations, quiz exams, written assignments, etc.

In both institutions, the foundation courses need to be taken from the first semester. However, the remaining ESP courses do not have a certain time frame; therefore, students could enrol in English 1 during their third year.

Furthermore, assessment in the science modules has no fixed criteria, and thus it is left to the teachers to either mark the grammatical errors or just focus on the content. Therefore, the same student with the same answer might attain a different score, depending on how the teacher awards marks. It is the teacher's decision to either include language within the marking criteria he/she sets, meaning teachers have the option to either include or exclude language from being part of the overall score. This flexibility in marking is caused by the lack of clear marking guidelines in both KU and PAAET and because there is no unified marking criteria on the institutional, college, and/or department level.

Table 2.5 presents the number of faculty staff teachers, administrators and students in both institutions:

	Students	Faculty Members	Administrative Personnel
KU	36411	1560	3981
PAAET	55102	2310	5073

Table 2.5 Students and Staff Numbers

Table 2.6 presents the number of Kuwaiti and non-Kuwaiti teachers who teach at the colleges which implement an EMI policy:

Institution	College	Kuwaiti Teachers	Non-Kuwaiti Teachers	Total
KU	Science	135	68	203
	Engineering and Petroleum	150	41	191
	Medicine	127	67	194
	Pharmacy	17	16	33
	Architecture	24	2	26
	Computer Science and Engineering	60	20	80
	Dentistry	29	19	48
	Allied Health Sciences	52	9	61
	Business Administration	94	34	128
PAAET	Technological Studies	312	18	330
	Nursing	94	22	116
	Health Sciences	232	19	251

Table 2.6 Faculty Teachers in the Colleges Implementing EMI

The information in tables 2.5 and 2.6 are according to the 2015/2016 academic year reports (Kuwait University, 2016; PAAET, 2016).

2.4.5.2 Private Institutions

In the mid 1990s, several distinguished businessmen and academicians saw the necessity to establish a modern university in Kuwait that provides equal high quality learning/teaching to major international universities. The primary aim of this university would be to graduate generations of young professionals and leaders in the new technological era. Therefore, in 1997, the Kuwaiti Academic Group was formed, it comprised of 41 faculty members from Kuwait

University to set the foundations of this 'University of the Future'. There are 4 private universities and five colleges, they mainly teach through EMI and are affiliated with international universities.

In 2002, the Gulf University for Science and Technology (GUST) was established as the first private university in Kuwait. It has two colleges: Arts and Science, and Business Administration. The university also provides one postgraduate programme, master of business administration (MBA). The nine departments in the university teach their programmes in English, with English textbooks. The university offers a non-compulsory Arabic grammar and comprehension course to students. GUST is in a strategic partnership with the University of Missouri at St. Louis (UMSL) to bring the university to fruition.

Another renowned private university is the American University of Kuwait (AUK), it is an accredited university that provides thirteen undergraduate programmes based on an American college model. It has for principal departments: Arts and Humanities, Business and Economics, Social Sciences, and Sciences and Engineering. All programmes are provided in English; however, it is compulsory to all Arab students to attend at least one Arabic course (out of the three provided) focusing on grammar and comprehension. In addition, there is an Arab Heritage course taught in English which is compulsory to all students attending the university. The university is in partnership with Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire.

The third university is the American University of the Middle East (AUM), which is affiliated with Purdue University. It has two colleges: college of Business Administration and college of Engineering and Technology, as it also provides a master's degree in business administration. All the provided undergraduate and postgraduate degrees are taught in English.

The final university is the Arab Open University (AOU), which is affiliated with the Open University in England. It comprises of four colleges: Business Studies, Computer Studies and Language Studies, providing several undergraduate degrees and one postgraduate degree, MSc in Software Development Programme. Although it is named 'Arab' university, ironically, English is the medium of instruction.

Finally, there are four private colleges in Kuwait which present

diplomas in different fields. First, Box Hill College is a women's college that offers six diplomas in the fields of marketing, interior design, management, graphic design and decoration, backing services management and website development. It is affiliated with Box Hill Institute (BHI) in Australia and English is the medium of instruction.

Secondly, the Australian College of Kuwait (ACK) that is affiliated with CQ University Australia. It offers flexible two-plus-two programmes, as students are initially enrolled for the diploma in engineering, aviation and business, and if they reach a certain GPA at graduation, they will be able to pursue their bachelors in business or engineering technology. Also, ACK provides its instruction and programmes in English.

Thirdly, Kuwait Maastricht Business School (KMBS) is a postgraduate college that offers only a master's in business administration (MBA) through EMI. It is affiliated with Maastricht School of Management (MSM) in the Netherlands.

Finally, Kuwait International Law College (KILAW) is the only private college that uses Arabic as a medium of instruction, and it offers bachelors in law and a master's program in public law.

Chapter III
Literature review

This chapter discusses the multi-layered complex issues of language policy, and presents a critical discussion of the literature to reflect how this study is theoretically underpinned and informed. Stakeholders of the learning/teaching process in Kuwait face a number of challenges, including the EMI policy, which is in parallel with both the decline of the Arabic language (Al-Askari, 2009; Al-Jarf, 2008) and the degradation of the national educational system, resulting in students' academic underachievement (Al-Majallah, 2007; Mohammed, 2008; Watfa & Al-Rashed, 2004). The literature review is divided into three main strands, presenting the broader issues of language policy that are interwoven with political, cultural, social, and individual issues. The issues will be presented in a manner similar to a "funnel", as the chapter will begin by discussing the broad issues relating to the spread of English and then narrow the focus gradually to link all these issues with the Kuwaiti context.

The first section presents an overview of language policy, its historical roots, the approaches to language policy, and a general background. The second section discusses the global spread of English, the causes of this, how it has been received, and the birth of the critical movement, along with its main tenets and concerns. The third section discusses the focus of this study, namely, English as a medium of instruction, its implementation worldwide, and how it is linked with the constructs of identity and linguistic human rights (LHR), and its effects on L1. It also critically evaluates the teaching/learning quality of English at tertiary level. More importantly, this literature review not only presents the theoretical aspects of CALx, but it also supports the discussion of all these issues with empirical evidence.

Language policy is a multi-layered, interdisciplinary, and complex field. Thus, is impossible to deal with the sheer volume of issues in this study. Therefore, the focus will be on the spread of English and the policy of EMI. This policy will be discussed within the Kuwaiti context by evaluating and discussing its reception, implementation, social and educational adaptation,

and more importantly, its consequence on identity, first language (Arabic), and issues of LHR.

This study focuses mostly on English for three main reasons: (1) it is the area of my specialty; (2) it is the most globally taught language; and finally (3) space and time do not allow for a broader consideration of other extensively taught languages (Arabic, French, Mandarin, and Spanish).

3.1 Language policy: an introduction

Language policy (LP) is a complex, delicate, and interdisciplinary field that requires the adoption and understanding of multiple methods to address questions of language use, language status, and identity. It is a field that is interwoven with many disciplines of social sciences: political science, linguistics, sociology, psychology, geography, and ethnography (Ricento, 2006; Canagarajah, 1999a). Further, LP deals with the means by which policymakers and governments advocate their intentions towards the language of those they represent. In other words, it is "who plans what for whom and how" (Cooper, 1989). However, it is important to note that LP is not merely a philosophical enquiry; rather, it must address real social problems that often involve language and put forward realistic remedies (Ricento, 2006). In most cases, the choice of language policies is not totally random: instead, they emerge from social, historical, religious, educational, and cultural conditions in a particular area (Schiffman, 1996). These educational conditions will be discussed in depth in this study, as they inform the implementation of the Kuwaiti language policy.

It is through language policy that languages are taught, learned, and legitimised, and this decides where, when, and in which contexts that learning occurs (Shohamy, 2005). Thus, LP is a powerful, manipulative tool that is utilised in continuous battles between different ideologies (Shohamy, 2005). Usually, such battles take place between those in authority - who are trying to maintain a homogenous ideology in relation to local, global, regional, and national languages - and the demands of other groups in society, who are willing to preserve their identity and strive for recognition and self-expression.

Although LPs do not necessarily cause wars, they can become a major factor in instigating court trials and ethnic riots (see Horowitz, 2001 for

examples). As Patten (2001) shows, language policy is an issue of considerable political, legal, and ethical importance. Furthermore, language policy is a sensitive and delicate matter whereby simple issues, such as the language used on road signs, can lead to heavy media attention and major court trials. For instance, in Israel, after years of litigation, the courts ruled in favour of using Arabic on street signs in cities with mixed Arab-Jewish populations (Spolsky, 2012). In addition, LP is not as straightforward as it seems. Rather, it is multi-layered and acts on different levels. Ricento and Hornberger (1996) introduced the metaphor of an onion to show this complexity. However, not all LPs have a negative outcome, and they should not all raise issues of disparity, identity, linguistic human rights, and conflict. Alexander (2003) shows how multilingual language policies helped promote a peaceful LP that catered for both mother tongue and multilingual education in South Africa. In other words, as Conron (1999) argues, LPs can be oppressive they can be helpful in maintaining better learning conditions, or they can be anything in between. For example, Bolivia's Education Reform in 1994 proved to be a successful LP for opening "new ideological and implementational spaces for indigenous language education" (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, p. 528). Therefore, the success of any language policy needs to be planned and executed well. It is not enough only to state good intentions behind the implementation of any LP.

LPs are relevant not just in the domain of politics. They can be as simple as an immigrant family choosing which language to use in order to communicate with the surrounding social environment, or the language they will use at home. However, as Spolsky (2012) notes, relating LP to politics is understandable, as LP is also associated with power and authority. Moreover, LPs are usually established at government level, through constitutions, laws, or regulations, and, more importantly, governments usually have the means to enforce them. Many governments have used LPs to promote political agendas under the concepts of 'uniformity' and 'assimilation'. As Spolsky (2004) reports, the Americanisation campaign is a process that began in 1910 to make millions of immigrants to the US more appreciative of American values and beliefs. This process involves learning English and adjusting to the American culture.

A major issue with LP is that it can be uncritically developed and implemented by those in authority to avoid addressing the political and social issues that surround languages (Tollefson, 1991, 2002; Pennycook, 2001a; May, 2001, 2006). Furthermore, most LPs are created by a top-down manner without any input from the constituents who are forced to comply with and follow them (Shohamy, 2005). The latter criticism is a major concern that needs to be dealt with, and consequently, LPs are intended for individual as well as societal benefit. Therefore, a true beneficial LP is one that caters for the perceptions and views of those individuals or groups that act with it. Romaine (2002) persuasively argues that LP is rarely effective when it is operating against rather than with sociological drifts. Furthermore, Schiffman (1996) argues that it is simply trivial to evaluate LPs without considering the background from which they emerge.

LPs can be very complex, in that two different parties may support the same LP but for different reasons, as is the case in North India (see Sonntag, 2000). Therefore, Bamgbose (2006) shows that a successful LP must first be *inclusive*, so that it caters for the generality of the population. Second, it must be *equitable*, so that it minimises exclusion, specifically, denying access on the grounds of language alone. Bamgbose's point is central to this study, as language in many cases is a major criterion for students' eligibility to enter science majors in higher education. Therefore, it is important that LPs promote the rights of the speakers of all languages, and they ought to participate in the global community in and on their own terms (Hornberger, 1998).

From what has been discussed so far, it is the intention of this study to give voice to the individuals who are acting in accordance with this policy, and raise critical issues surrounding it. Thus, social, educational and political issues regarding the implementation of EMI in Kuwait need to be explored.

3.1.1 Language policy disputes

Disputes over LP often raise issues of *public recognition* and *individual linguistic autonomy*. Patten (2001) explains that public recognition is achieved if the language provides access to public services (i.e. education, legislature and social services). For example, in Quebec, English does not enjoy public

recognition, as laws restrict its use in several language domains including the workplace, education, and public signs (Patten, 2001). Indeed, the issue of public recognition is not a simple one, as one must address crucial questions concerning which language should be recognised and in which domains. This issue is central to this study, as it is important to understand the consequences of removing Arabic from the teaching of science subjects at a higher education level.

On the other hand, individuals enjoy linguistic autonomy if the state does not interfere with their choice of language in non-public domains and their selection of which publicly recognised language to use in various public domains. According to Patten (2001), the problem with linguistic autonomy is whether it is permissible for governments to restrict the individual's right to choose his/her preferred language in either of those contexts. This point will be addressed in this study to see the repercussions of restricting the students' rights to learn science subjects in their preferred language. This is a central issue in the construct of linguistic human rights (discussed in section 3.6), which is raised by CALx researchers when critically evaluating EMI policies (see section 3.7).

3.1.2 Approaches to language policy

Schmidt (2000) shows that there are three approaches to LP: assimilation, pluralism, and confederation. Assimilation entails the unity of the nation, whereby people of that nation share the same culture and language. For instance, assimilationists in the US perceive immigrants as a threat to the country's unity unless they integrate with the country's language and culture. Second, pluralism promotes several languages within the same territory, such as English and French in Quebec. These languages are officially recognised, so communication is done in both languages, and they are both taught in schools (Ricento & Burnaby, 1998). Third is the confederation approach, which proposes that true equality between languages is achieved only if each ethnolinguistic group can have their language dominant within their own territory. Examples of this include India and Switzerland where there are clear ethnographic regions: Zurich is German, Geneva and Lausanne are French, and Lugano is Italian (Sewell, 2008).

However, Schmidt's aforementioned approaches to LP are missing a new fourth approach that occurs in countries such as Kuwait and the rest of the Arabian Gulf countries. Moreover, those countries do not have issues of pluralism, assimilation, and confederation. On the contrary, the people of those nations share the same language, traditions, and culture. However, they have imported a foreign language (that is, foreign to the whole population) and have implemented it in the education domain for different reasons, such as economic development. Therefore, their approach to LP is merely following the steps of the powerful, to provide a gateway to technological advancement and economic prosperity. In this thesis, this is called the 'simulation approach'.

This 'simulation approach' notes that countries such as Kuwait and the Gulf region do not have to deal with different minorities who have different languages; rather, the whole population speaks Arabic. Thus, such countries do not try to find an LP to assimilate or affiliate several languages. Their purpose in implementing an LP which involves a foreign language is merely to 'simulate' and follow the powerful countries, such as the UK and the US, for personal, academic, political, and economic advancement. Therefore, the implementation of an EMI policy in the Gulf countries is an optional choice, rather than a necessary step that is required to cater for the different minority languages within the same country. This 'simulation approach' requires such countries to import textbooks, curricula, and teaching styles from western countries such as the US and the UK.

3.2 The global spread of English

It is undeniable that the spread of English is a global phenomenon. Today, English possesses a high level of importance and with no doubt it is the world's most dominant language in scholarship and education (Kirkpatrick, 2009). McKay (2002) also shows that English is an international language both locally (as it is used between individuals of the same country e.g. India) and globally (as an international language of communication), and has a special status in over 70 countries. English within the past century has affected other major languages, including Arabic, French, Russian, Chinese, and Portuguese. Regardless of the cause of this spread, English has

'travelled' the world and attracted positive interactions, as well as local and global tensions (Sharifian, 2009). According to Kachru (1996), "the universalisation of English and the power of this language have come at a price. For some, the implications are agonising, while for others they are a matter of ecstasy" (p.135). It could be argued that the early diffusion of English is attributed to previous military conquests, similar to Arabic in Islamic conquests, Asian empires and dynasties, and Latin in the Roman Empire, and to the rising power of the United States in the last half of the twentieth century (Ferguson, 2012). Crystal (2003) also argues that a language does not become a global language due to the number of its speakers, but rather to their power (i.e. Latin through the Roman Empire). Among other colonial languages such as Latin and Chinese, English is the only language that had the necessary military and economic power to become *the* international language (Davies, 1996).

Fishman (1977) conducted research on the causes of the proliferation of English, seeking empirical evidence. He studied 102 countries where English is not the native language for the majority of the population. He concluded that the single best predictor was that the nations were previous Anglophone colonies. Moreover, colonisation has reshaped global aspects, including linguistic ones (Coupland, 2010). Fishman also notes that people of those countries learn English for educational and economic reasons. However, Phillipson (1992) criticised Fishman's study for its methodology, as many quantitative measures of attitudes tend to guide responses into pre-set categories.

Recently, the diffusion of English has been attributed to other key factors, such as the academic, economic, and technological advancement of English-speaking countries (Crystal, 2003; Ferguson, 2012). This is the main reason why English has spread through EMI in Kuwait and other Arab countries (see section 3.7). Furthermore, most fields conduct research through English, more than any other language (Abdel-Jawad & Abu Radwan, 2011). Kachru (1996) shows that English has penetrated indirectly through translation and international media, and now through computer technology and electronic media. He argues further that it is the only language where the numbers of non-native speakers are greater than the native speakers, and the

former are those responsible for its spread, uses and teaching. The latter situation has changed, as non-native speakers of English are spreading the language through their own policies, attitudes and practices. This does show the unprecedented spread of English, as when NNS surpass NS this indicates how this language has spread dramatically around the world.

The demographic distribution of English surpasses that of Arabic, French and Spanish. According to Crystal (2003), in the late sixteenth century the speakers of English were five to seven million, and this increased almost fiftyfold from then to the mid-twentieth century, to nearly 250 million at that point. However, demographics are not a factor that supports a language to become a 'world language', or else Chinese would be the foremost world language with most speakers. Nevertheless, the impact English has on other languages, literatures, and cultures is a unique phenomenon in the history of language diffusion (Kachru, 1996).

Crystal (2003) states that English is the language most taught as a foreign language, in over 100 countries, and is emerging as the chief language of medium of instruction at schools and universities around the world, and often displacing other languages. For instance, in Kuwait and other Arab countries, English replaced Arabic as the medium of instruction in most scientific subjects at tertiary level (discussed in section 3.7.1). Crystal also shows that there are different varying reasons for choosing a particular language as a foreign language. These include political expediency, historical tradition, and the desire for technological, cultural and commercial contact.

Furthermore, Phillipson (1992) states that previously other languages have spread over large parts of the world for certain reasons such as religion and commerce. However, English has spread in a unique way, as it differs in the depth of its penetration and in terms of its geographical reach. Ferguson (1983) also attributes the distinctive spread of English to the revolution caused by modern computers. He notes that the spread of English accelerated at a time when the world's need for global communication exceeded the limits set by language barriers. However, as legitimate as this cause by computers might be, some would argue that Ferguson has neglected the political, social and economic factors that also advanced the spread of English (Pennycook, 1994, 2001a; Canagarajah, 1999a). It is

important to uncover all the reasons that led to the spread of English and not only state one, as surely when a language spreads to such an extent there are a number of contributing factors to it.

Some proponents of the spread of English (Sewell, 2008) state that English is unique because it is the language with most words (due to its ability to adopt words from other languages). Other proponents such as De Swaan (2010) refute the arguments that any language can become a global language because of the size of its vocabulary, ease of grammar, its intrinsic structural properties, or it being a vehicle of a great literature in the past. Crystal (2003) states that these are factors that motivate someone to learn a language. However, according to Crystal, a language becomes globally spoken for one main reason: the power of its people, particularly their military and political power. For instance, Greek became an international language for over 2000 years in the Middle East, not because of the intellects of Aristotle and Plato, but for the spears and swords in the hands of Alexander the Great's army. This shows that in nearly all cases, languages in general do not spread because people want them, but they spread because they have no choice.

The spread of English has been welcomed as well as resisted, and it is seen in two different views. First, mainstream researchers suggest that English was "an accident of circumstances" (Kaplan, 1987, p. 138) and it was in "the right place at the right time" (Crystal, 2003, p. 78). On the other hand, critical applied linguists argue that the spread of English is economically and politically intentional for the centre countries (Canagarajah, 1999a; Pennycook, 2001a; Phillipson, 1992) – referring to powerful western countries, namely the UK and US. Kachru (1996) illustrates that there are different labels attached to English depending on what identity one establishes with the language. On the one hand, positive labels to the spread of English include: science, technology, liberalism, universalism, modernisation etc. Second, negative labels involve: anti-nationalism, colonialism, and vehicle of Westernisation, inequality and imperialism. This study will not exclude any of these views. Rather, it will explore them according to the participants' responses and reasoning for both these views.

The spread of English has also caused tensions in several contexts between the desire to learn English for socio-economic prosperity and

concerns of cultural reproduction (Canagarajah, 1995). The spread of English has also caused a lot of discussion regarding World English variations (see Kachru, 1996, 1986a), with those concerned about which variety of English is considered native or non-native (British, American, Australian, Indian, Nigerian, etc.) and also which of those is more suitable to be taught at school. Therefore, Canagarajah states "English should be treated as a multinational language, one that belongs to diverse communities and not owned only by the metropolitan communities" (2006, p. 589). In general, English has been imposed on all groups, whether the ideological rationale was to assimilate, tutor, raise, domesticate, or civilise (Wiley, 2000).

For this study, it is important to discuss and understand the spread of English, as it is the main reason why EMI has become a wanted 'product' in Kuwait. Because English has spread dramatically, there is an increased demand to implement EMI policies. Furthermore, this study will also directly ask the participants for their views on the spread of English in general (see Chapter IV).

3.2.1 English as neutral and democratic

Many scholars see the global spread of English as a democratic or neutral phenomenon (De Swaan, 2001), and these views come under the *diffusion-of-English* paradigm (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996). Some have celebrated and welcomed this spread (Crystal, 2003), and others (Bryson, 1990) advocate that the richness of the English language established a reputation for becoming an international language. Furthermore, Crystal (2003) argues that English can be played with, expanded, and modified, even by those who speak it as a second language. However, in reality, there appears to be little evidence that Crystal believes in its neutral spread as he states that English is no exception, as it expanded due to its military power (1997, 2003). Furthermore, Crystal's attributes are not proprietary to English, as many other languages have the ability to be modified, expanded and played with, such as Spanish, Arabic and French.

Mufwene (2010) argues that there is no need to fear the spread of English, as history proves that the spread of Latin did not push towards a monolingual world, but it later diversified into several Romance languages. He

argues further, that English is mainly used as a lingua franca, in other words, on an international level not a national one. He gives examples of Japan and Taiwan where they do not need English for local trade, but rather for worldwide communication. Further, he states that Arabic is used across the Middle East and North Africa as a 'world language', similar to English, but it merely lacks being used across this geographical sphere. The shortcoming of his argument is that it lacks futuristic perceptions, and the fact that worldwide English is perpetuating local educational systems, and English as a medium of instruction is becoming the new 'preferred' phenomenon across the world (discussed below). This futuristic perspective is echoed by another proponent of the spread of English, De Swaan (2010), who states "in the next decades English is only likely to gain many more speakers, on account of the dynamics of language spread" (p. 58).

Ferguson (2006) argues that the diffusion of English is more linked to bottom-up factors, namely the demand by individuals in the Periphery (underdeveloped countries) in their belief that it will be educationally and economically advantageous. Furthermore, De Swaan (2010) shows that in some cases, for instance Senegal and India, the choice of English was merely an outcome of 'language envy'. Furthermore, the choice of English in several countries was also for practicality and convenience, and to avoid further internal conflicts. India, in particular, has many languages so to select just one as medium of instruction would create massive political rifts in a country that strives for unity. In other words, during their independence, people of such nations chose the language of their former colonisers rather than adopting other indigenous languages. Some perceive that language choice is neutral, in a sense that people choose a language that serves their needs (De Swaan, 2010). Choosing a language based on the notion of 'serving my interests best' have been criticised as promoting a neo-imperial language on the false belief that it requires sacrificing one's own language (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010). Mazrui (2000, 2004) echoes the latter argument, as he has shown that when African countries wanted loans from the World Bank to promote their educational programmes, they came with certain conditions. These conditions necessitated that the African countries use the loans to promote only English and French educational programmes and not bilingual programmes, and that

they import textbooks from Western countries, namely England, Canada and France. Mazrui's statement shows that in many African cases English was not democratically nor neutrally promoted.

With what has been discussed so far, it is clear that many proponents of the spread of English admit that the language has spread due to its military and economic power. Furthermore, others admit that this spread is intentional for serving the interests of English-speaking countries. For instance, Davies (1996) argues that English-speaking states use every means in their disposal (may that be English) to promote their foreign policy, in the same manner as other countries, such as Germany and Japan promote their policies by cars, Saudi Arabia by oil and China by cheap clothes. Such statements and arguments do reflect that the spread of English is not accidental, democratic, 'right place at the right time', nor neutral. This stance supports the critiques of critical applied linguists (discussed below) that the spread of English is promoted for economic and political reasons, particularly in education through EMI policies. In other words, in the post-modern world, education has lost its innocence as being a pragmatic and value-free enterprise (Canagarajah, 1999a).

The reception of English in Kuwait tends to be in agreement with this line of thought, that the spread of English is a neutral phenomenon, a needed language that only bears advantages and positives. The spread of English has not been properly scrutinised in Kuwait, and little investigation has been done on its possible negative outcomes. Therefore, it is important for this study to raise awareness of the critical issues raised recently by CALx researchers, which is discussed in the following section 3.3.

SECTION TWO: Critical Applied Linguistics
3.3 Introduction
This second section of the literature review discusses the birth of the critical movement, and presents its contribution to the field of language policy, how CALx researchers perceive the spread of English, and what critical issues they have raised throughout the previous decades. This section continues what has been discussed in the first section and sheds the light on critical movement in language policy. It shows the ideological issues enmeshed in

the field of ELT, and shows how issues related to identity and linguistic human rights play a role in EMI policies. Finally, this section will present a review of linguistic imperialism as a critical approach to LP, and the issues it raises. Linguistic imperialism is an important approach in this study as it informs one of its objectives: raising awareness.

3.4 The birth of the Critical Movement

In the 1950s and 1960s, research mainly focused on a number of ideologies: (1) the view that monolingualism and cultural homogeneity assure modernisation, economic and social progress, and national unity; (2) the nature of language – that it is discrete and finite; and (3) being 'rational' about language selection, in that all options are equally available to everyone (Ricento, 2006). However, in the 1980s and 1990s, critical scholars like Pennycook (1994, 1998), Phillipson (1992, 2009a), and Tollefson (1991) argued that language policies often favour the interests of the dominant group or the majority at the expense of the minority. They argued further that usually LPs serve the interests of the dominant in implicit ideologies, and this is what critical applied linguists intend to uncover. Nevertheless, the critical arguments proposed and the critical questions raised were to set a foundation for the branching between mainstream applied linguistics and mainstream sociolinguistics, which dealt with a normal and coincidental spread of English due to technological and economic advancements of the West. Thus, it encompassed critical approaches that viewed the spread of English as an outcome of enmeshed agendas that aimed to manifest the asymmetrical power of the dominant West (Ricento, 2006).

Other critical applied linguists have questioned its positioning in several postcolonial nations (Mazrui, 2004; Canagarajah, 1999a), others raised concerns in transferring Western teaching approaches to non-Western countries (Holliday, 2009; Ramanathan & Morgan, 2007). Furthermore, some have proposed practices and principles for a 'decolonised' approach to English teaching (Kumaravadivelu, 2006), showing more consideration to local cultures and knowledge (Canagarajah, 2002).

The field of CALx has attracted a lot of attention and has introduced new ways of evaluating language policy and its relation to social justice,

whereby it raised several questions and issues that deal with certain notions that have been taken for granted in mainstream applied linguistics. Critical language policy (CLP) is an emerging field that tends to critique traditional mainstream approaches (Tollefson, 2006, Davies, 1999). These traditions of thought advocate the assumptions that LPs usually unify nations, increase economic and social opportunities for linguistic minorities, and usually solve problems of communication in multilingual settings. Some critical applied linguists have criticised traditional analyses that fail to capture the complex political and social context of language policies, and often uncritically accept the claims of policy-makers (Tollefson, 2002). The issue with mainstream applied linguistics generally is the common view that it is concerned only with language in the education context (Pennycook, 2001a), or that it operates in *decontextualised contexts* (Pennycook, 1994). Thus, CALx scholars argue that mainstream applied linguistics has focused merely on language in the classroom context rather than relating it to wider social, personal and political contexts regarding society, race, and ideology. Therefore, a central issue to CALx is how conversations, texts, or classrooms are related to broader cultural, political and social relations. Canagarajah (1999a) argues that those looking at classroom education through mainstream traditional paradigms to language teaching are missing a lot of the conflicts, as textbooks, discourse, and knowledge have social and cultural implications on identities and thought.

Tollefson (2002) shows that questions like: "How do LPs create inequalities among students?", "How do LPs in education serve the interests of dominant groups?", and "How some students are marginalised whilst others are privileged?" are central to important debates about the links between employment and education, conflicts between minorities and majorities, and role of schools in societies. These questions raised seem to have become a major source of inequality, and - in the case of Kuwait - it has affected students' careers and knowledge development. Mainstream applied linguistics in Kuwait has failed to uncover such critical issues, and only attributed any failure to teaching methods, classroom size, teacher competence, etc. without taking into account broader social, political and educational issues related to the EMI policy.

Pennycook (2001a) notes that CALx is not about developing critical skills in conducting applied linguistics in a more objective and rigorous way but it is about making applied linguistics more politically accountable. Critical applied linguistics is not concerned with merely relating language contexts to social contexts, but rather exploring beyond this correlation and instead raising critical questions that deal with power, access, difference, disparity, and desire (Pennycook, 2001a). Further, it must keep a sceptical eye on the givens, and concepts that have become neutralised. Therefore, researchers should not turn a blind eye to the problems of unfavourable LP outcomes and language failures (Bamgbose, 2006). Phillipson (2000) states that critical applied linguists or sociolinguists are taking the role of what Edward Said considers as the intellectual: this entails unwillingly to accept ready-made clichés, easy formulas, or the smooth confirmations of what the conventional or the powerful have to say or do (Said, 1993, 1994). These issues and ready-made formulas are central to this study, as the current EMI policy is more of a cut and paste procedure.

The very notions behind the spread of English, including language of science and modernisation have also been put to question. Tollefson (1991) shows that 'modernising' requires developing nations to open themselves to direct control by those countries which control the sought-after information. According to Sukumane (2000), the theory of modernisation entails that the Western nations provide a model for the 'under-developed' countries that leads them to economic development. Therefore, multilingualism is seen as an 'unmodernised' feature, and monolingualism is the practical advantage for a modern society. It seems that Kuwait has absorbed these statements, as 'modernity' is one of the propagandas behind implementing an EMI policy. The current policy in Kuwait is pushing people to believe that in order to excel and progress in science and technology, you only need English. This has had a major impact on Arabic in the Gulf countries (discussed in detail below).

Critical applied linguists have critiqued the spread of English as it has caused much discrimination within the same society (Aldemar, Amanti, Keyl & Mackinney, 2016; Modiano, 2009). Sukumane (2000) argues that languages (i.e. English) which restrict access to power, mass education and economic advantages only to those who command them, in the name of nationalism and

unity, "are inherently ideological" (2000, p. 200). In cases of multilingual societies, such as in some African countries, single European languages are adopted and in return, this depoliticises other languages. Any resistance to such policies is considered an opposition to national modernisation and unity, ultimately; language becomes a device for restricting access to economic and political power, and thus sustaining socio-economic disparities. Moreover, English is seen in some parts of the world (i.e. Sri Lanka) as a class marker, namely the language of the rich and elite (Canagarajah, 1999a).

CALx has also criticised terms such as 'English is a world language', and 'global English', as misrepresenting the reality that it is not spoken by the majority of the world's population (Phillipson, 2000). Metaphors such as 'the world language' and 'universal language' refer to an imperialistic spread of the language (Kachru, 1998). CALx has also criticised labelling English, Russian and other dominant languages as "international languages", as this is a more suitable label for languages like Esperanto (Phillipson, 2000). Furthermore, as Dasgupta (2000) suggests, the language used in communication between people from different nationalities only allows communication between those local cultures; therefore, it would be more appropriately called "inter-local".

CALx has also criticised notions that are put forward by the proponents of the spread of English. On the one hand, they critiqued the argument concerning the number of its speakers. The debate about a 'moderated' and an 'exaggerated' number of speakers of English worldwide is irrelevant. As Bamgbose (2006) argues, what English lacks in numbers, it makes up for it in status, functionality and prestige. This is evident in the Arabian Gulf context where English is the official medium of instruction for the science subjects at tertiary level, despite its minimal number of speakers. Furthermore, some critical applied linguists argue that positive ascriptions to the spread of English like 'national unity' and 'economic development' do not seem to reflect the reality of globalisation, North-South hierarchisation and the fact that many speakers of many languages do not enjoy their linguistic human rights (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 2001). Kuwait is a good example, as students do not have the right of choosing their preferred language of instruction and English is the one and only way to attain a degree in science.

CALx researchers have also criticised the proponents of English

arguments about the size of the English language vocabulary. Estival and Pennycook (2011) argue by promoting the view of English as the only language that borrows and that other languages are not suitable vehicles for modern life, can have a profound impact on language policy around the world. Publicising popular discourse about languages influences the public's opinion, and we must recognise that promoting language myths such as the vocabulary size of English could have a negative impact on language policy in other parts of the world (Estival & Pennycook, 2011). In this vein, Albalqa University (2015) has shown how Arabic surpasses English by 11 million words. Regardless of the vocabulary size of any language, it is does not seem to be a justifiable reason that a language should replace other languages, cause political and social tensions, and harm people's careers merely because it has a larger vocabulary.

3.4.1 ELT: A place for learning or an ideological struggle

"There is no single way of teaching English, no single way of learning it, no single motive for doing so, no single syllabus or textbook, no single way of assessing proficiency and, indeed, no single variety of English which provides the target of learning." (Graddol, 2006, p. 82)

The ELT profession has been criticised by critical applied linguists as an imperialistic way to spread English, with many political and economic interests rather than educational (Pennycook, 1994, 2001a; Phillipson, 1992, 2009a, Kumaravadivelu, 2003). Scholars have criticised the very notion of 'method' in language teaching, and they have argued that even when a teacher begins with a specific method in mind, they are shortly influenced by classroom contingencies that would alter and change their way of teaching (Canagarajah, 1999a). For this reason, some see periphery and centre communities as having different pedagogical styles (Holliday, 1994). Every educational system needs to develop its particular method of teaching English according to the society's needs, students' needs, and - more importantly - what suits them best. How a certain society absorbs information differs from others, and what is effective in one society does not necessarily succeed in another.

As Canagarajah (1999a) and Kachru (1994) argue, there is a monolingual bias in several dominant theories of SLA, namely: the contrastive linguistic hypothesis, Chomsky's transformational generative paradigm, and Selinker's interlanguage model. There are, however, other perspectives that relate the competence of L2 with the proficiency of L1, namely, Cummin's interdependence hypothesis (1991). Canagarajah (1999a) argues pervasively that SLA theories need to be reconsidered and there needs to be a model that does justice to "the complexities of English language acquisition in multilingual societies" (p. 144).

English language teaching (ELT) is marketable worldwide as there is demand for material resources such as English teachers, books and resources, as well as immaterial resources such as teaching principles, methods and ideas (Phillipson, 1992). In 1989, Sir Richard Francis, the Director General of the British Council at that time stated that "Britain's real black gold is not North Sea oil but the English language… the challenge facing us is to exploit it to the full" (British Council Annual Report, 1987/88, cited in Phillipson, 1992).

Pennycook (1994) states that common practices in English language teaching methodologies including prioritising oral interaction over written work, only using English in the classroom and information-gap activities appear inappropriate both educationally and culturally. Thus, students might not respond to such practices due to resisting and opposing alien discourses (Canagarajah, 1993), or as a means of expression to the irrelevance of the texts (Auerbach, 1995). Pennycook (1994) perceives educational institutions as political and cultural arenas where there is a struggle between different values. He also believes that institutions in third world countries are becoming distributors of information received from the Centre (powerful western countries, namely UK and US). He argues that this one-way flow erodes cultural identity, political independence and the national sovereignty of developing countries. Watfa (2007) warns Arab countries from importing educational ideologies and methods as 'ready-made meals'. He argues that although they might seem appealing with the magical words and the radiant colours attached to them, they remain effective on awareness and impact internal human values.

While some, such as Widdowson (1999), perceive that language education is the true domain of applied linguistics, others do not see this, and state that applied linguistics includes many more domains. Pennycook (1994) challenges the notions that English language teaching has nothing to do with politics. Rather he reinstates that language teaching is always based in a political context. Pennycook (2001a) and Canagarajah (1993) argue that classrooms are not merely neutral language sites, and instead they are ideologically loaded. Some have argued that education in schools does not provide an equal chance for everyone: they are "far greater agents of social reproduction than of social change" (Pennycook, 2001a, p.129). There are examples presented, namely that with Indo-Chinese refugees in ESL classroom in the United States (Tollefson, 1989, 1991), or in resettlement camps in Southeast Asia (Auerbach, 1995), where they were restricted to limited jobs or limited education content.

3.4.2 Linguistic imperialism

For many linguists and scholars, the spread of English is not accidental, and the topic of linguistic imperialism was raised in different works during the 1980s (Quirk & Widdowson, 1986; Kachru, 1986b; Phillipson 1988). However, Phillipson's *Linguistic Imperialism* (1992) has sparked a heated debate and given it a name (Fernández, 2005). Linguistic imperialism presupposes that there is an unequal and asymmetrical relationship between languages and that the dominant languages enjoy political and economic dominance – mainly English (Phillipson, 2009a). The study of linguistic imperialism "focuses on how and why certain languages dominate internationally" (Phillipson, 2009a, p. 1).

Phillipson (1997) denotes that his linguistic imperialism is a subtype of *linguicism,* a term coined by Skutnabb-Kangas (1988) akin to racism and sexism. *Linguicism* is an attempt to put sociology of language and education in further scrutiny of how language contributes to linguistic hierarchies and unequal access to societal power (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1988; Phillipson, 1997). Linguicism involves attributing desirable characteristics to a dominant language for the purpose of inclusion, and the opposite characteristics to the dominated languages for exclusion (Phillipson, 1992**)**. In the case of Kuwait,

desirable characteristics of prosperity, modernism and development have all been assigned to English at tertiary level, which have been refuted by several Arab intellectuals (Habbash & Troudi, 2015; Al-Dhubaib, 2001, 2006). However, it is worth mentioning that although the concept of linguicism is reflected in the Kuwaiti higher educational system, it is not intentionally implemented to remove the importance of the Arabic language nor that this implementation is politically driven. Linguicism occurs when a policy supports several languages, but priority is given in school education, curriculum development and teacher training to one language. As Phillipson (1992) shows, this was a common pattern in English-speaking countries, and one that is exported to the periphery.

Phillipson's main argument is that the spread of English has not been left to chance, and language pedagogy has influentially played a part in this process. He also argues that English has spread due to the economic and political agendas of the West (particularly the UK and the US). Other CALx authors from the West, such as Pennycook (1994, 1998, 2000a, 2000b), collocate the causes and implications of the spread of English as a covert type of imperialism. Together with Canagarajah (2000) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2002), they provide solutions to overcome many problems related to the current status of indigenous languages and cultural identity, like offering better educational systems and practices. Furthermore, Pennycook (1994, 1995) and Tollefson (2000) question the benefits of the spread of English and they view it as the source of much discrimination in the world. It is for the aforementioned reasons that looking at linguistic imperialism is important to uncover the notions related to EMI, and how such a policy promotes economic benefits for certain countries, affects other languages, and raises several educational concerns. Thus, linguistic imperialism is at the heart of this study, since it aims to raise critical awareness on EMI policies.

Linguistic Imperialism (the book) has caused a lot of controversy within the field of critical/applied linguistics and critical/sociolinguistics and generated perceptions and attitudes of the notion of linguistic imperialism – naturally, both for and against. Phillipson highlights that the intention of linguistic imperialism is to expose how some countries privilege one language at the expense of others (focusing mainly on English). Moreover, linguistic

imperialism is a theoretical construct that addresses the existence of linguistic hierarchism and to study the structures and ideologies that facilitate such a process (Phillipson, 1997).

According to Phillipson (1992), English is legitimised by using two main mechanisms that are related to educational language planning: (1) *anglocentricity* which concerns language and culture, and (2) *professionalism* which concerns pedagogy.

Anglocentricity takes the functions and forms of English, what it represents and might lead to, as the norm by which all language use and activity should be measured. Thus, eventually this devalues other languages. This is reflected within many contexts (e.g. Kuwait) that English is the language that leads to technological advancements and economic prosperity. *Professionalism* refers to the procedures, techniques, theories of language teaching and learning, as sufficient for analysing and understanding language learning. Both these terms promote English as a dominant language as they rationalise the ideas and practices that contribute to the cultural and social inequalities between English and other languages.

Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas (1996) argue that the world is heading to internationalisation of entertainment, communication, commerce, and many aspects of private, public and professional activity. Thus, it is economically understandable that English-speaking nations are trying to promote their language and provide the necessary 'aid' needed to those non-speakers. Increasingly, more TESOL professionals are addressing the ethical and socio-political dimensions of language policy and English teaching (Phillipson, 1992, 2009a; Pennycook, 1994; Kachru, 1993; Tollefson, 1991, 1995). This 'aid' has become a larger industry, as countries such as Kuwait do not only import books for teaching English, but they also import books for all the science subjects, and the science colleges only use books that are developed by English-speaking nations. As Pennycook (1994) states, it is not possible to detach English teaching from politics.

3.4.2.1 Tenets of ELT

Phillipson (1992) proposes five tenets that underpin the nature of ELT methodology in periphery nations, consequently supporting the spread of

English. These periphery nations are underdeveloped countries such as the majority of Africa, The Arabian Gulf region, East Europe, Russia and some parts of Asia. They are referred to as 'periphery nations' because they receive a small share of the global market and they are usually behind other nations due to obstacles such as poor education and health systems, unstable government, and lack of technological advancement (Schenoni, 2016). Since EMI promotes English as the main language, teaching English becomes central to the EMI policy. Public universities and colleges in Kuwait exert a lot of money and effort to provide ELT courses that are mandatory for all students, especially those majoring in science, so their level of English improves and they can perform better in their modules. Therefore, the following five tenets are evident and well in practice in Kuwait, and have a profound impact on how English is taught and planned.

Tenet one: English is best taught mono-lingually

This tenet holds that teaching English as a second or foreign language should be exclusively taught though English. The implicit belief of this tenet is that focusing on English solely will maximise the learning of it, irrespective of what other languages the students might know. It also banishes the use of other languages in the English classroom and those using the mother tongue are identified as doing something 'shameful'. Phillipson argues that this tenet has economic consequences, as it creates jobs for the Centre countries and those in the periphery who attain the same standards. Canagarajah (1999a) echoes on this point by arguing that a monocultural/monolingual bias has surfaced in English language teaching by refusing to grant any active role to the students' first language in the acquisition and learning of English. This notion is motivated to a large extent by ideological and economic interests.

This tenet is reflected twofold in Kuwait. First, during ELT classrooms in school, only English is allowed. It is stressed that under no circumstance, and however severe the miscommunication is between the teacher and the student, the teacher should refer to mimicking, using flashcards, or drawing on the board to convey his/her message, even if it was a simple command not related to the content. Secondly, in the EMI context at tertiary level, only English is allowed during lectures.

Tenet two: the ideal teacher of English is a native speaker

This tenet states that the ideal teacher is automatically the native speaker, and is the formal model to all other teachers. The reason for this notion is because of the native speaker's appropriate language, fluency and appreciation of the cultural connotations of English. Phillipson (1992) refutes this tenet by showing that there is nothing that well-trained non-native teachers cannot acquire or do. Moreover, there is ample research discussing how non-native speakers (NNS) consider themselves as being able to pass native speakers fluency (for more details see Piller, 2002). Phillipson believes that teachers are made rather than born, and with some training, they will be able to raise their capacity to explain, analyse, process and use the language adequately.

Although in Kuwait most teachers are either Kuwaitis or Arabs, there are some minor practices that favour the native speakers. For instance, there are continuous in-service courses conducted to teachers of English, and usually these courses are conducted by native speakers, on the assumptions that they are better and 'know' better.

Tenet three: the earlier English is taught the better the results

This tenet states that the ideal situation in order for the learner to master the second language is to learn it similarly to his/her mother tongue. However, this is in defiance with UNESCO's recommendations that it is best to teach students in their mother tongue (2003). According to Phillipson, this tenet consolidates English on the expense of other languages and has economic affiliations - as advancing the start of teaching English creates more jobs for teachers of English.

This tenet is apparent in the Kuwaiti context, as the ministry of education adopted a new language policy which introduced English from primary stage to promote better learning outcomes. Thus, as Phillipson shows, this tenet has not fulfilled the intended outcomes nor raised students' competence level in English.

Tenet four: the more English is taught, the better the results

This tenet implies that more exposure to English would result in better outcomes and learning experiences. In addition, it stresses that quantity of the input is important, ignoring the fact that it is less important than the comprehensibility and appropriacy of what is acquired (Krashen, 1981). Furthermore, Phillipson states that dropping this tenet might result in better English standards, as teaching less English by qualified teachers to learners who have already developed high cognitive-academic proficiency in their mother tongue, could provide better English learning conditions. As Bamgbose (2006) illustrates, 'longer' instruction periods of instruction in English does not automatically mean 'better' educational outcomes.

Arguably, this tenet might be implemented with no regards to other educational factors. In PAAET in Kuwait, the number of weekly hours students are exposed to were raised from three hours (three days a week) to five or six hours (five days a week). The reason stated was that more exposure to English would lead students to improve their language competence. Needless to say, the decision was made with no needs analysis conducted, no evaluation to the current standards and the nature of each college as the level of English and the required standards of it differs dramatically between the colleges. Furthermore, Troudi (2007) states "teachers are often excluded from educational policy making and play an insignificant role in decision-making" (p.6). This resulted in several academic issues discussed in section 3.7.5.

Tenet five: if other languages are used much, standards of English will drop

This tenet, according to Phillipson, holds that the information and power are to be concentrated in the centre, and instead of exchanging plans and information for research projects; the interests of the periphery are marginalised. Phillipson states that the problem with this tenet is the two different situations that are being compared. On the one hand, the standards of an elite syllabus that has been designed for more developed countries; on the other hand, the standards in a periphery country that is trying to adjust its educational goals and ideological content.

Consequently, these tenets help maintain the existence of English around the world. As the education system of English is expanding fast, there will be fewer adequate textbooks and more under-qualified teachers (Phillipson, 1992, 2009a). This final result has not come as a shock to critical applied linguists such as Phillipson; rather it is not surprising that language policies which accommodate such tenets would produce poor educational results. Thus, linguistic imperialism, and the mentioned five tenets uncover several overshadowed critical issues that need to be addressed when implementing an EMI policy.

3.4.2.2 Linguistic imperialism contested

Some scholars (i.e. Spolsky, 2012) have criticised Phillipson for not presenting any evidence of his claims on linguistic imperialism, and relying on statements, language management, and ideologies of many professionals working in the field of ELT and other colonial administrators. They dismiss the idea as a 'conspiracy theory' (Spolsky, 2004), believing that language itself exerts hegemonic control (Widdowson, 1998). Phillipson (1999) persuasively refutes this critique by stating that he has never claimed that the book is the last word on linguistic imperialism, and rather it is a first step on a tortuous and long journey.

Other scholars have considered Phillipson's remarks on linguistic imperialism as patronising periphery countries, thus insinuating they are unable to make independent decisions. Furthermore, Berns et al. (1998) find some of the assertions and terminology both misleading and puzzling, and they interpret his attitude towards his readers as condescending. Bisong (1995) argues that parents in periphery countries, including Nigeria, choose to send their children to English schools merely because they want them to be bilingual and multilingual. However, Bisong neglects the fact that there could be other reasons why Nigerian parents choose to send their children to English learning schools, may that be that English is considered the language of academia and offers access to technological and economic development, or that it provides better job opportunities. Regardless of the intention, his argument falls short in further elaborating on the 'choice' or rationale for those parents wanting their children to be multilingual. As a matter of fact, it could

be for access and better job opportunities, which ultimately comes in agreement with Phillipson's argument.

Fishman (1996) argues that the spread of English is not necessarily politically driven as Phillipson argues. The economic power of international companies from Britain or the US may be a support for the worldwide diffusion of English. Such companies conduct and administer their business in English, and thus, other nations utilise the English language simply "because it is there" (Fishman, 1996, p.4). Fishman's argument is not accurate, as other international companies from other worldwide spread languages (i.e. Arabic, Spanish, German and French), do not conduct their business in their own languages. Regardless of how English is spread, Fishman's argument ultimately is in agreement with the outcome of what critical applied linguists propose - its effect on other languages.

Conrad (1996) argues that learning a language increases the students' knowledge and therefore empowers them, and the spread of English was merely due to people searching for empowerment. Conrad's point seems understandable and logical. However, it dismisses addressing the consequence of this quest for empowerment, and overlooks the consequences it has on cultural identity and other languages. Nevertheless, linguistic imperialism does not deny the positive outcomes of learning English or any other language, but it raises economic and social issues regarding language dominance. As the case for the current study, it does not deny the advantageous outcomes of learning English, but it will take into consideration the possible negative impacts.

Phillipson's views have received considerable criticisms. However, it is important to understand what his views can and cannot do (Pennycook, 2000b). Phillipson has stated that the issue for him is structural power, not local effects or intentions (1992). Thus, he is interested in how multiple agencies have promoted English and consequently excluded other languages. Pennycook (2001a) considers linguistic imperialism a crucial addition to CALx but appears to be aware of the untoward effects of such rhetoric and wants to "avoid what seems to be a foreclosure of discussion and possibilities by naming the spread of English as linguistic imperialism" (Pennycook, 2001b, p.84).

3.4.2.3 Linguistics imperialism in CALx

Some critical applied linguists have critiqued Phillipson's linguistic imperialism model for various reasons. Pennycook (2001a) subscribes to Phillipson's *linguistic imperialism* in a sense that it convincingly shows how English is promoted and how language is ideologically encumbered. However, he criticises it for only suggesting that choosing English is nothing but an ideological reflex of linguistic imperialism. By this, as Pennycook argues, this position lacks a sense of appropriation, agency, and resistance, as it does not consider nor address how each society might consider the EMI policy differently, and that the views toward EMI might differ from one society to another. Pennycook (2001a) states that Phillipson's framework is useful to understand how English has been deliberately spread, and to show how such practices and policies are connected to larger global forces. Then, as Canagarajah (1999a) suggests, we need to investigate language use at the micro politics level. Phillipson (1992) states that languages are not killers, rather the hidden ideologies that drive them are.

Whilst subscribing to many of Phillipson's claims on linguistic imperialism, Canagarajah (1999a) criticised it for focusing mainly on a macro-social perspective, by merely citing experts, cultural officers, and applied linguists from the West. He argues further that what is missing from Phillipson's argument is a micro-social perspective, in a sense: How does English compete for dominance with other indigenous languages in the markets, streets and schools? How does English infiltrate the minds and the hearts of the periphery nations? Thus, what is needed is a position of understanding the implications of English within the multi-layered contextual and cultural emerging perspectives from instructional practices (Holliday, 1994), and to evaluate the consequences within each given context, rather than applying pre-set assumptions regarding the spread of English (Pennycook, 2000b).

Canagarajah (1999a) argues for *resisting linguistic imperialism*, that is, rather than seeing language as monolithic and coming with a set of homogeneous ideologies, post-colonial nations can find ways to alter, oppose, and negotiate language structures, as well as reconstructing their identities,

cultures, and languages to their advantage. Therefore, whilst language could have a repressive effect, it also could be liberating by facilitating critical thinking that enables marginalised groups to rise above domination and serve their own interests. Canagarajah talks about how speakers of English have agency. They appropriate English to their own needs, reinterpret it, adapt it and recontextualise it. This is a view against the passivity assumed by the linguistic imperialism view.

However, I believe this valid approach of resisting the spread of English and appropriating it (by contextualising the textbooks, teaching methods, etc.) to each society's need is much suitable for post-colonial nations, and would not be very beneficial to countries similar to Kuwait. English in the GCC countries has never been, and is still not, used for government administrative communication, local newspapers, or the language of the people. This is the opposing reality of colonial countries where English has been used on several cultural and political scales (the latter countries where the focus of his book). Therefore, this approach might be appropriate to GCC countries in its 'micro' form, which entails appropriating materials and resources from Western publishers to local cultural ideology and thought. This micro-form of Canagarajah's approach is useful in GCC countries when students strongly want to continue their studies in English (as the analysis of this study shows in Chapter V). Therefore, GCC universities and colleges could alter and modify science textbooks to serve students' interests rather than completely importing them, which is more educationally useful.

Some of Phillipson's ideas might seem somewhat extreme, and this study does not consider English or the ideologies it carries as 'killers'. However, linguistic imperialism is central to this study as it helps to uncover the reasons why English has spread and what critical issues this theory could uncover when critically evaluating EMI policies, as we will see in the following two sections 3.5 and 3.6. Although linguistic imperialism falls short in describing the whole picture and works mainly on a macro level, it does inform important critical issues that are central to this study. Therefore, adding Canagarajah's and Pennycook's resistance and appropriation of English, seems an appropriate solution that strikes the balance between accepting

English as a wholesale, and rejecting English as a 'harmful' or imperialistic language.

3.5 Identity

"Language itself is a cultural construct; it is not inherited genetically from one's parents" (Schiffman, 1996, p. 9).

The issue of identity is an important construct to this study, and it is one of the issues raised by CALx researchers when implementing an EMI policy. This study aims to see specifically if the Arab identity (discussed further in 3.5.1 below) is affected by studying through the current EMI policy and to elicit the participants' views on this issue.

Identity is about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others (Weeks, 1990), thus, it is the recognition of cultural belonging (Nunan & Choi, 2010). Indeed, language is central to the construct of identity, as many consider their languages as a core value in their identity (Crystal, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001), particularly those in linguistic minorities (Patten, 2001). Furthermore, Norton (2010) states "every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world, and reorganising that relationship across time and space" (p. 350). Therefore, identity is not a fixed attribute in the mind of the learner, "rather identity is theorised as a contingent process involving dialectic relations between learners and the various worlds and experiences they inhabit and which act on them" (Ricento, 2005, p. 895). As the term 'mother tongue' implies, language and identity are linked, and communities express part of their identities in education (UNESCO, 2003, 2008).

Inevitably, language impacts people's identity, for it is endlessly created according to various social interactions, encounters and social constraints, such as economic, institutional, historical, etc. (Tabouret-Keller, 1997). Therefore, it is not possible to discuss the issue of language without raising a number of concepts, including identity (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Patten, 2001). Christison (2010) argues that identity is similar to language, they both change over time, and they are both not fixed notions (Norton Pierce, 1995). Scholars have argued that the identities of language learners

are not static. Rather, they are multiple and are subject to change. With their interaction in the second language, whether written or oral, they are in a state of negotiating and constructing their identities (see Norton Pierce, 1995; Norton, 2000; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Block, 2007; Norton & Toohey, 2011). For these notions, identity becomes a central issue to EMI, as students are in a constant state of construction.

Maalouf (2000) argues that globalisation impacts languages and identities, as he and Suleiman (2003, 2011) argue that language is an important marker of the Self. The spread of English has also affected the identity of non-native speakers of English. Li (2009) found in his study that 80 per cent of his English teacher participants preferred to speak native-like English, whilst the rest are struggling with reflecting a Chinese identity in their spoken English, and the concern that this might lead to unintelligibility. Furthermore, Sharifian (2009) argues that some learners of English seek a native-like accent to distance themselves from their first language identities. For instance, Arabic is spoken in many countries but with different dialects, and what it is considered standard in one country is non-standard in another.

Further empirical research conducted by Canagarajah (2010) on the construct of identity on the Sri Lankan Tamil community in Canada, showed that many Tamils never reveal their identity to avoid facing problems of social inequality. They perceive English as a source of liberty that provides them with better social status and a more sophisticated life. Max van der Stoel (1997), who was appointed the Higher Commissioner on National Minority in the OSCE (Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe), stated that in the course of his work it became obvious that education is of vital importance to those minorities and in preserving their identity. Surely, this could be applied to other groups (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001).

Crystal (2003) argues that polarising the need for cultural or national identity, as opposed to the need for mutual intelligibility, is misleading. He states that there could be a situation of bilingualism, with one language acting as a global language and providing access to the world community. The other is a regional language, which provides access to the local community. This simplistic view of complementary language use is inadequate in complex contexts such as India (Pennycook, 2000b). However, at the same time

Crystal does not deny that the emergence of a global language could influence the structure of other languages and reformulate their identities. Thus, the issue of identity is also not a simple topic to address and put forward complete solutions. Many people define their identities in a number of ways, including religious, ethnic, sexual, lifestyle or professional (Patten, 2001). Therefore, Crystal's proposal is not as simple as he proposes.

3.5.1 Arabic language and Arab identity

Watfa (2007) argues that the Arab identity is targeted by Western ideologies, and especially the profound effect of globalisation. He states that Western politics could not hide their intention to diminish the Arab identity by targeting its educational systems to promote feelings of inadequacy, surrender and dependency.

Although globalisation and its close connection with the spread of English have profoundly affected several identities, (as in the case of Kuwait discussed below), there are other political and cultural reasons that have affected Arab identities and linked it to English in a certain way. For instance, for some, because of the political struggles in the Middle East, the Arabic language and Arab identity have been affected. Such a position is reflected in Safouan's (2007) book *Why Are the Arabs not Free? The Politics of Writing*, as he views Arabic as a dead language which has been associated with dictatorship, including the Saddam Hussein and AbdulNasser regimes with discourses regarding 'Arab-unity' and 'defeating Israel', and their policies of considering Arabic as the key to achieving their goals. Safouan's views toward Arabic have well been shaped by the 1967 Arab defeat by Israel, as he himself points out. Therefore, according to Safouan, moving from Standard Arabic to the vernaculars or other major world languages is a gateway to freedom and enlightenment.

Also, in a similar case, Ahmed (2000) argues that *fusha* (standard Arabic) is an instrument of internal colonialism in Egypt. She states that Arabic has been used as an intellectual tradition in religion to oppress women. This negative attitude towards Arabic was developed due to Jamal Abdul-Nasser's government decision to make Arabic a compulsory language in all Egypt's foreign schools, and resulted in a hostile attitude to European

languages and those who practised them and were educated by that medium. Thus, it contested her value system in seeing European languages as a sign of modernity and privilege (Suleiman, 2011). Furthermore, Ahmed (2000) considers the spread of Standard Arabic as a case of linguistic and cultural imperialism conducted in the name of Arab unity and education. Ahmed and other females at that time resented Standard Arabic because then it was associated with class structure and masculinity (Suleiman, 2011). Therefore, associating themselves with English and other European languages gave a sense of self and associating their identities with liberating cultures.

Political struggles have also had opposite effects on the aforementioned positions. Said (1999) shows that although he lived most of his personal and intellectual life through or in English, he refrains from naming English his mother tongue. He also shows (1999, 1994) that he perceived Arabic as a marker of his identity and a bridge that linked him and his family to their ancestors back in Lebanon and Palestine.

Furthermore, Suleiman (2011) argues that even when English dominated his professional life, he bans any type of code-switching between Arabic and English amongst the participants in his teacher training programs. He shows that this does not mean he is against learning foreign languages (including English) but he believes it is a step to be proud of his identity and his Arabness by only allowing Arabic to be spoken amongst his participants. He eloquently argues that banning the use of code-switching is not against English, but rather towards the attitudes that perceive Arabic as a frozen, boring or traditional language.

The above examples, Said's positive attitude to Arabic and Ahmed's antagonistic attitude to it, prove that language, one way or another, is an identity marker. Therefore, language is a personal matter and an identity marker that is mingled with political affiliations and cultural adaptations. This is why the issue of identity is crucial for this study, as EMI promotes notions of 'prosperity' and 'economic and technological development', which could lead Arabs to link themselves with the English-speaking nations, as a way to distance themselves from the current societies they live in. This section shows how the Arab identity has been affected for several decades by continuous political conflicts in the region, which continue until this day. Thus, today some

Arabs still perceive other languages as a gateway to freedom and development, which consequently will affect their identity. This rationale of liberty and following the footsteps of the powerful is what drives the importance of EMI in the Arab world (as discussed in section 3.7).

3.6 Linguistic human rights

"Language and, in particular the choice of language of instruction in education is one such concern and often invokes contrasting and deeply felt positions. Questions of identity, nationhood and power are closely linked to the use of specific languages in the classroom." (UNESCO, 2003, p. 8)

In line with the birth of the critical movement, issues of linguistic human rights (LHR) were taken up by many scholars (Tollefson, 1991; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996). These rights stress that governments must respect people's liberty to choose the language of their medium of instruction (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006; Walter & Benson, 2012), as well as legal, political and other domains. LHR aims to provide people with choice rather than being forced to learn languages against their will. Furthermore, researchers note how some languages struggle when favoured languages drive them out, and disadvantaged groups - including the colonised, minorities, and immigrants are pushed to the bottom of the social hierarchy (Spolsky, 2012).

Language is used as a form of control to impose certain languages in certain ways (i.e. correct, native–like etc.). Shohamy (2005) illustrates that there are always groups who want to manipulate and control language policies in order to promote social, political, personal and economical ideologies. It is through this promotion that language/personal rights and democratic processes are violated. There is a breach in human rights when students are forced to learn in the prestigious language or the 'language of science and advancement' with limited support. Yet, some LPs are unattainable and result in viewing students as failures. This is the case in Kuwait, as we will see in Chapter VI, as students are considered failures and that they need constant language improvement. However, governments usually do not consider the possible failure of the policy as a whole, and that it does not suit the current language, educational or societal needs.

Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) argues that language rights are important because with their absence ethical and language boundaries are formed and could lead to ethnic conflicts. Today, languages are disappearing faster than ever before, where media and formal education are the main contributors to this disappearance, alongside other subordinate factors such as military, economic and political structures (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001). McCarty (2002) argues that without immediate intervention most of the 175 indigenous languages in the US will disappear in the next 30 to 40 years. UNESCO (2007) states that the number of languages in the world is estimated at between 6,000 and 7,000, and half of them are in danger of disappearing in the coming years. These statistics and statements are alarming, and need proper preservation procedures to maintain these languages. It is not possible to dismiss the importance of a language merely on the number of its users.

From the arguments of LHR, the notion of language ecology emerged, which was developed by Mühlhäusler (1996). The *ecology-of-language* paradigm builds on linguistic diversity and promoting multilingualism (Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996), also insuring equality of speakers of all languages by granting them their linguistic rights (Tsuda, 1994). As Pennycook (2000b) argues, it is a very useful way to protect languages in the same way as promoting the protection and diversity of species. For instance, Canada has two official languages (English and French) and over 100 languages used by immigrants (McGroarty, 2002). Therefore, it is important to preserve them.

Advocates of linguistic human rights consider educational rights central to their arguments. Skutnabb-Kangas (2009) argues that teaching minority and indigenous children through a dominant language prevents access to education, because of the pedagogical, psychological and linguistic barriers it creates. Furthermore, some advocates of linguistic human rights, such as Skutnabb-Kangas, draw on the works of Nobel laureate Amartya Sen and his contributions to "welfare economics", that such educational systems often reduce the development of the students' capabilities and thus perpetuate poverty. Dunbar & Skutnabb-Kangas (2008) argue that a subtractive dominant language medium of instruction can have harmful consequences economically, psychologically, politically and socially on indigenous and

minority children. Although the EMI policy in Kuwait does not lead to poverty, it does have harmful consequences (discussed in detail in chapter V).

There have been struggles and tensions throughout the world that concern the issues of linguistic rights and medium of instruction. For instance, McGroarty (2002) and Sonntag (2003) call for bilingual education in the US and Wiley (2002) emphasises the need for understanding on how access to language rights is important to language policies as it affects other human rights.

Phillipson (2003) also warns that Europe might be heading to becoming an American-English-only area if the inaction on language policy at national and supranational levels continues. Pennycook (2008) shows that this threat can be waived by protecting diversity through support for other European languages. In Africa, there has been resistance to the spread of English and other European languages, claiming that they are a disaster to people of the world and their cultures. Ngugi (1993) argues that "The languages of Europe were taught as if they were our own languages, as if Africa had no tongues except those brought there by imperialism, bearing the label MADE IN EUROPE" (p. 35). It seems that Gulf countries have succumbed to the spread of English, and see that the implementation of an EMI policy is the one and only way for a better educational outcome. Therefore, there needs to be more resistance and support for diversity in the Gulf States, as students need to have a voice and a choice.

Nevertheless, there is accumulating evidence that language education and language policies are profound mechanisms in promoting the versatility, stability and vitality of indigenous languages (Hornberger, 1998). One of such is Bolivia, where indigenous-language speakers make up 63 per cent of the population, and where major language and education policies are being introduced that have significant consequences for indigenous language maintenance and revitalisation. The Bolivian National Education Reform of 1994 envisions a comprehensive transformation of the educational system, including the introduction of all thirty of Bolivia's indigenous languages alongside Spanish as subjects and medium of instruction in all Bolivian schools. Teaching and learning modules are being developed by native speakers for all the languages.

There are other examples in recent years, for instance in Catalonia, Wales and the Basque Country, where education has been instrumental in revitalising regional language, and thus rejecting the old cultural/linguistic hegemony of a centralised and dominant state (Ferguson, 2006). Therefore, organising both minority and indigenous language education can result in better learning of the dominant language, school achievement and resolve issues around identity (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009; UNESCO, 2003). These steps are needed in the Gulf countries, and Kuwait in particular, as they are evidence that any language can be preserved and revitalised.

LHR is a crucial construct for this study, as it informs it by raising issues of autonomy and choice. It will allow this study to ask participants if they feel deprived from their linguistic rights, and how they react to this issue. This study will explore students' views on this issue, and to see if they approve of incorporating more Arabic in their learning experience.

SECTION THREE: English as a medium of instruction

After discussing the broader issues of language policy in section one, and the raised critical issues of CALx such as identity and LHR in section two, this section narrows the literature and links the above issues specifically to EMI policies. This section begins by introducing EMI with a general overview, then describes the use of EMI in the Gulf States and in Kuwait, whilst raising issues of its effect on Arabic, the teaching and learning quality in an EMI policy, and the issues of tests used. Finally, it will state why it is important to promote a critical perspective to EMI policies.

3.7 EMI: an introduction

> "If a nation does not speak in its mother tongue, and borrows other people's
> connotations, then do not hesitate to judge it with literary slavery."
>
> Ahmed Alzayat (1937, p.1)

EMI is "the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English" (Dearden, 2014, p. 4). EMI necessitates teaching academic subjects in English either at universities or schools to students who,

in many cases, are non-native speakers of English. The spread of EMI policies has presented arguments both in favour of and against this strategy. Dearden (2014) notes several arguments presented by those in favour from scholars, researchers, and policymakers. These arguments focus on students developing foreign language skills, enabling them to work in a foreign language environment and become bilingual and multilingual; enhancing students' education to respond to globalisation; preparing students for postgraduate studies; and attracting foreign students to local universities.

The arguments against the spread of EMI policies centre on the lack of pedagogical and organisational guidelines to ensure effective EMI learning and teaching (Dearden, 2014), the shortage of linguistically qualified teachers (Chapple, 2015), and other social and political issues discussed above.

EMI is an LP implemented by many nations, mainly at tertiary level. Tollefson and Tsui (2004) explain that the revival of interest in LP in the 1990s contributed to the awareness of the negative effects EMI in education has on economic and social inequalities. Most research during the 1970s and 1980s addressed the effectiveness of different models on academic achievement and on first and second language acquisition. At that time, most research was conducted on bilingual education - including in the classroom and by the individual - therefore, focusing on effects at micro level and disregarding the context in which EMI policies were implemented. It was not until the emergence of critical research that issues of equality, linguistic human rights, and identity were considered and dealt with.

Medium of instruction policies are powerful tools for maintaining a culture and a language (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004; Tsui & Tollefson, 2007), as they are an essential form of intergenerational transmission (Fishman & Fishman, 2000). Indeed, medium of instruction policies can encourage language shift and language attrition at both the group and the individual level. Furthermore, since selecting the medium of instruction is an integral part of any educational policy, concerns ought to be raised regarding the efficiency of the education policies that are presented by policymakers (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004). Pennycook (2010) argues that we need to understand how languages relate to the deep inequalities of education, health, and poverty. This understanding that Pennycook calls for will help to

mitigate any misconduct and negative outcomes of EMI policy, as it will allow us to critically evaluate these policies.

Language education policies are imposed by central authorities, such as ministries of education and parliaments, in a top-down approach, usually with very limited resistance (Shohamy, 2005). It must be noted that, in some cases, implementing obligatory mother tongue instruction is unwise, where adequate and appropriate resources are unavailable (Ricento, 2000). Kuwait is a good example, as the analysis chapter of this study will show that appropriate textbooks are unavailable, which results in raising critical educational issues that harm students' career prospects. Thus, LP in education is not merely about choosing the medium of instruction; rather, it is a pillar of cultural governance, with its essential role in reflecting and producing constructions of the Other (Pennycook, 2002).

When English is declared the medium of instruction, it simultaneously devalues and overlooks other languages (Shohamy, 2005), as in the case of Arabic. Moreover, promoting English at tertiary level sends an implicit message to people about the low regard in which the local language is held (Ramanathan, 2005; Ricento, 2010). Phillipson (2008) argues that the label "English medium' excludes other languages, at least within the classroom or course material, but hardly from the heads of bilingual or multilingual students. This is because English as a medium of instruction is usually dealt with in an obligatory manner, and students encounter difficulties in working with something that they are not convinced about.

Furthermore, when local LPs present English as the 'language of freedom' and 'language of world democracy', they perpetuate the influence and domination of Western ideologies (Shohamy, 2005). Given the considerable advantages conferred from having learned English, choice, or a lack of it, becomes a problem (Owu-Ewie & Eshun, 2015; Bamgbose, 2006), or in other words: "given the broader inequitable relationships in the world, people have little choice but to demand access to English" (Pennycook, 1994, p. 74). Bamgbose (2006) argues that by closely examining why people send their children to EMI schools, go abroad, or hire private English tutors, it becomes clear that they do not *want* to learn but rather *need* to learn,

because there is no choice. This lack of choice is very evident in the Kuwaiti context, as students at tertiary level have no choice but to learn English.

Some language policies unrealistically demand that students study all academic subjects in the new language. However, this is a violation of human rights, as research findings have reported on the length of time it then takes students to acquire achievement in academic subjects (Shohamy, 2005). Such low achievements could have huge ramifications for students, such as preventing them from graduating or forcing them to change their careers. In addition, EMI has been criticised as being economically and socially costly (William & Cooke, 2002), as well as educationally inefficient where the language is poorly understood (see Ferguson, 2006).

William and Cooke (2002) argue that EMI in the post-colonial countries of Asia and Africa is educationally ineffective, and in turn, delays human development. The continued failures of LPs are not surprising, given that several political, social, and economic forces affect, and are affected by LP processes (Tollefson, 2013; Fairclough, 1989). In countries where English is largely acquired through formal education, the detrimental effects of such an LP can be seen in the status of languages other than English, and in problems associated with literacy and education (Bamgbose, 2006). Although several factors - including learning environment, teaching materials, and teacher competence - may affect students' failure or success in schools, nevertheless, the medium of instruction itself is also a significant factor.

Pennycook (2000a) cautions us that when dealing with questions about which language of instruction to choose, we should not fall into the trap that languages are a neutral medium for the conveyance of culture and media. He argues that in the case of Hong Kong, the debates regarding the language of instruction (English or Chinese) were merely reductive arguments about the medium of instruction, whereas wider political and cultural issues had been overlooked. He further warns of mapping liberal analysis onto complex LP contexts (monism is bad, pluralism is good), as the support for local languages and the support for English has been promoted by an array of competing demands. Unfortunately, when language is considered neutral, it seems unlikely that educational and cultural issues will be dealt with. For instance, since Kuwait implemented the EMI policy nearly twenty years ago,

research has been conducted continuously only on improving the language of instruction, and the calls for revisiting or rethinking the usefulness of the EMI policy as a whole are virtually non-existent.

Ferguson (2006) and UNESCO (2003) state that there is ample empirical and theoretical evidence of the educational benefits that an indigenous language instruction can deliver. As an example of this, Jones and Jones (2004) illustrate how in the 19th and 20th centuries, Welsh was regarded as an obstacle to progression in Wales. Political moves were carried to eradicate Welsh from the educational system, and EMI was implemented instead to move the society forward. Later, continuous efforts were made to maintain the Welsh language and resist Anglicisation. Consequently, Welsh was declared an official language of the country as well as the medium of instruction at some schools and universities. Nevertheless, Welsh-medium of instruction built a reputation that attracted many students and eventually led to better social and individual opportunities (Jones, 2016).

In a similar case, movements to promote Maori-medium of instruction in New Zealand were successful, which led to a revival of the Maori philosophy and culture that had been impaired by the implementation of EMI. This movement led to the Maori Language Act, which requires that Maoris be given the same economic, social, and political opportunities as Pakehas (New Zealander of European origin). These examples show that reviving a language can be done with careful preparation and proper collaboration. The case of Arabic in the Gulf States is much simpler than the previous examples, as it has only been completely implemented in the educational domain. Thus, trying to promote Arabic as a medium of instruction has fewer complications than was the case with Welsh or Maori.

LPs need to be understood within their own complexity (Pennycook, 2000a), as they are interlinked with several other political, economic, social, and cultural concerns. They also need to be understood contextually (ibid), as their implementations need to be justified and their implications evaluated. Tollefson (2002) argues that a 'critical' approach to LPs in education entails aggressively evaluating the effects of those policies on the lives of individuals and groups, rather than taking policymakers' rationales at face value. McGroarty (2002), building on the work of the social philosopher Michael

Walzer, argues that an educational system ought to identify and nurture the individual abilities and talents of its learners, rather than reproducing the existing social structures. Thus it is crucial to link LP with socio-political developments (Blommaert, 2010; 1999). One of the consequences of language policy and planning (LPP) was the inability of policy makers to predict the outcome of their policies and plans (Tollefson, 2002). In this thesis, it is argued that such an inability persists in the present day, particularly in the Arabian Gulf region. The rationale presented by policymakers to implement EMI in Kuwait needs aggressive evaluation to see if it helps to develop students' intellectual and individual abilities.

Francis and Ryan (1998) show that Mexican students studying English as an academic subject either in schools, institutions, or universities are in a love-hate relationship with the language, with their feelings ranging from very positive to extremely negative. According to the authors, these opposing views are caused by many factors. One such factor is the prestige associated with learning English while another is the imposition of English on Spanish speakers as a necessity for academic, economic, and professional achievement. Also, although some communities (i.e. Tamils in Sri Lanka) see English as the language of power, science, and education, they also perceive it as an imperialistic language that symbolises an alien religion and culture (Canagarajah, 1995). As the current study shows, such conflicting views are also evident in Kuwaiti society (see the next section 3.7.1).

3.7.1 Gulf states

The Arabian Gulf region, consisting of Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Qatar, Bahrain, United Arab Emirates (UAE), Oman, and Yemen, has fewer complex issues regarding LP, as it contains both monolingual and mostly mono-cultural countries. These countries share the same language and religion, and have many similar cultures and traditions. Many countries in this part of the world are not concerned with many of the issues mentioned in the previous sections discussing LP, such as different religions, backgrounds, and minorities. All the seven countries have declared Arabic as the only official language in their constitutions. Yet, they have all adopted the EMI policy at tertiary level. Indeed, their intentions are to develop economic prosperity and follow the

footsteps of the powerful, and English is seen as a device that provides access to scientific and technological advancement (Wiley, 2006). These norms were taken for granted for decades, until recently, when critical theories combined with empirical findings began to raise concerns regarding the impact of EMI on the status of L1, on identity, and on consequences in the future. They believe that, in such countries, EMI needs to be engaged in self-criticism (Troudi & Jendli, 2011). Without any awareness of socio-linguistic issues being raised, it is clear that English will continue to hold its position as the language of science and academia and of empowerment in the Gulf region. The reverse is the case in the GCC countries, when much of the literature discusses the detrimental outcome of announcing a language as official (Phillipson, 2003, 2009a; Pennycook, 1994, 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), so their 'official' language (Arabic) is under threat.

Al-Dhubaib (2006) argues that because globalisation reflects the dominance of the Centre by imposing economic, cultural, and political terms, developing countries are forced to align themselves with them, eventually dissolving their own cultural and historical characteristics. He argues further, that the Arabs have exaggerated the importance of English, and claims that the challenges that the Arabs face today are self-created.

There have been several empirical studies conducted in the Arabian Gulf regarding the effect of EMI. In the UAE, Belhiah and Elhami (2015) found that students viewed English as the language of academia and science, whereas Arabic was the language of the Quran. However, whilst the students acknowledged the importance of English for securing employment, they feared the disastrous effects English might have on Arabic as a cultural symbol. Therefore, the researchers commented that the relationship between English and Arabic is not based on mutual equity and coexistence; instead, Arabic has an asymmetrical relation with English. Furthermore, students wanted more Arabic to have a better comprehension of lectures and to improve their overall grades. In their conclusion, they called for dual language instruction, a point shared by Troudi and Jendli (2011) and Findlow (2006).

Similarly, Qatar, Pessoa and Rajakumar (2011) found that English was seen as the language of business, education, and personal development. Like their parents, students of this study feared the impact English might have on

Arabic, and they expressed an anxiety about importing Western thoughts, traditions, and cultures, whereby their identity is affected. Surprisingly, despite these findings, even those students who expressed their concerns that EMI might affect Arabic as a language and as a culture stated that in the future, they would send their children to English-medium schools.

In Saudi Arabia, Al-Jarf (2008) surveyed 470 Saudi female university students' views of the status of Arabic and English, and found that the dominance of English poses a threat to Arabic. Another study conducted by Al-Abed Al-Haq and Smadi (1996) reflected a *resistance to linguistic imperialism* (Canagarajah, 1999a), as the 54 male Muslim teachers did not see English as a threat and thought that English could act as a vehicle for preaching and spreading Islam. Thus, this finding shows that some people believe that the spread of learning English could be manipulated to produce positive outcomes, rather than trying to abandon it completely.

In Oman, the findings were different from the aforementioned studies, as many students preferred English to Arabic. Abdul-Jawad and Abu Radwan (2011) attributed these attitudes to the fact that Oman has never been colonised and to the close relationship the country has with the UK with the continuous help the UK provides in various domains. Regardless of these findings, the researchers insist there are critical concerns regarding the impact English as a medium of instruction might have on Arabic.

What is apparent in the above empirical studies is that English is promoted as the language of science and academia, whereas Arabic is related to religion, daily life, and social communications. These perceptions are very alarming and reflect the asymmetrical relationship between Arabic and English. Therefore, building on these findings, future studies should take into consideration the outcomes EMI has on Arabic.

3.7.2 English and development: A rationale for EMI

Due to the global spread of English (see section 3.2), it is seen as a crucial element for participating in the 21st century society (Erling & Seargeant, 2013). Many parts of the world, including Kuwait and the GCC countries, see English as a resource for social, economic, and personal development in a range of diverse contexts. Indeed, English is seen as something that offers

the ability to influence the global political and economic trends, as well as providing access to education and certain sectors of employment. Furthermore, as Seargeant (2012) argues, English is associated with the powerful economic and political Anglophone countries consequently promoting English-language education in school curricula (Lillis & Curry, 2013). Troudi and Jendli (2011) show that policy makers in the GCC countries in general make practical and ideological associations between the learning of English and economic viability. To these countries, English through EMI represents freedom, liberalism, power and success, modernism, and equality. Therefore, as Troudi (2009b, p. 203) argues, these countries have "no choice other than to prepare its workforce to function in this economy through a good command of English" (Troudi, 2009a, p. 203). Although he was specifically talking about the UAE, it is also valid to encompass other GCC countries.

Nunan (2003), in his survey of English-language education in the Asia-Pacific region, shows how these programmes did not achieve their intended goals due to a general lack of support to teachers. Williams (2013), building on empirical evidence from his study in Rwanda, Zambia, and Malawi, argues that EMI has had negative impacts on those societies, and there is little evidence linking learning English with national development. Offering similar empirical evidence in postcolonial contexts, Arcand and Grin (2013), found no relation between English and development. In fact, the finding was that using local languages, or societal multilingualism, increases income per capita.

These recent critical studies inform the basis of this research, as it aims to evaluate the rationale for implementing an EMI policy in Kuwait. It is important for this study to understand EMI's possible negative impacts on students, and to see if it leads to better outcomes for students. This study will seek to scrutinise the effects of this policy, and demonstrate whether it has favoured the 'footsteps of the powerful' at the expense of students' educational achievement and intellectual prosperity.

3.7.3 Language tests

Implementing an EMI policy will result in giving language tests more priority and a higher status, as they will become a decisive factor for university acceptance and student evaluation in higher education. Language tests can

be a very powerful tool used by those in power to prioritise specific languages in society and education (Shohamy, 2001, 2005). They have a major impact on individuals, education and society, by imposing what will be learnt, how it will be learnt, who is eligible to learn and continue learning. Shohamy (2001) argues that critical strategies need to be developed to examine the consequence of tests, minimise their detrimental force, reveal their misuse and monitor their power. Shohamy states, "by introducing tests in the power language, given the power of tests, the power of the language is reinforced" (2005, p. 95).

Many language policy documents are no more than declarations that are easily manipulated. They are announced but they are rarely implemented (Ferguson, 2006). For example, some language policies declare the importance of a specific language as a priority for the educational system. However, by including a test of another language as an entrance criterion, another "de facto" policy is created, and the tested language becomes the only important language (Shohamy, 2005).

This is similar to the case of Kuwait, as Arabic is stated in several government documents as an essential part of the educational system, but at the same time, English is imposed as the tested language that must be mastered and achieved. This test is crucial to students as it is *the* marker that would decide if he/she would enter his/her chosen major, regardless of their secondary school scores. Such policies violate democratic practices and breach language rights by contributing to the loss of the Arabic language and act as gatekeepers to prevent students from entering universities and their chosen careers. Institutions themselves set the English language tests that students are required to sit for at tertiary level. Moreover, students applying for postgraduate studies at higher education institutions in Kuwait are required to take the IELTS and TOEFL tests.

Khan (2009) argues that international tests such as TOEFL and IELTS are new tools of imperialism. Such tests have been criticised as biased and inaccurate in reflecting the test-taker's proficiency (Davies, Hamp-Lyons & Kemp, 2003). Davies, Hamp-Lyons & Kemp found that several words in the TOEFL test are culturally specific to North American contexts, and are unfamiliar to other English-speaking students, let alone international learners.

Khan (2009) investigates the effects of implementing the TOEFL as an entrance test to higher education institutions in Saudi Arabia. She concludes in her findings that the students in her study felt resentment and frustration because it was long and difficult. Yet, it was culturally and socially inappropriate and does not reflect what they hear in class or on television. Khan argues that it was implemented and maintained still for institutional and socio-political benefits. On the one hand, the economic benefits enjoyed by the creators of TOEFL from providing test preparation materials to opening further job opportunities. On the other hand, Khan argues, that according to Gramsci's definition of hegemony, it continues to colonise the minds of the educators and those in managerial positions whom maintain professional links with Western institutes where they studied; or what Phillipson (1992, 2009a) calls 'educational imperialism'.

Similarly, in Kuwait, Kuwait University (KU) requires students applying for its postgraduate programmes to score a minimum of 500 in the TOEFL test as an entrance prerequisite. Ironically, they are expected to gain a minimum score of 400 in the TOEFL test when entering a postgraduate programme in Islamic Studies or Arabic Studies, and both programmes have absolutely no association with the English language either in course content, material or medium of instruction. Unsurprisingly, the IELTS and the TOEFL will in the future replace the current language tests made by Kuwaiti tertiary institutions.

3.7.4 Effect on Arabic

The spread of English phenomenon has several potential consequences. First, it diminishes other languages (Kirkpatrick, 2009) and the status of 'indigenous knowledge' has become devalued, namely by local people (Kirkpatrick, 2009; Canagarajah, 2005). English has been considered as a threat to Arabic in several domains, including education, media, new technologies and linguistic landscape (Abd Al-Salam, 2001; Al-Dubaib, 2006; Batahir, 2001). Although some Arabs support globalisation (Abed, 2007), the majority do not (Suleiman, 2011). Moreover, globalisation is considered by some as a penetration aiming at cultural hegemony through multi-national companies (Al-Dubaib, 2006; Suleiman, 2011, Johar, 2013).

Suleiman (2011) shows how matters changed when Qatar decided to teach mathematics and science through English as a medium of instruction in Independent Schools. Consequently, Arabic teachers in those schools were marginalised and therefore forced to learn English, not to follow the trend of code switching between Arabic and English, but rather to secure employment opportunities. He argues further, that for code switching to happen, the native language (Arabic) has to lose some of its prestige. With such practices, Arabic, a language of the country, finds itself lost between its own speakers.

Al-Qhatani (2016) found in her study that, although Saudi parents preferred to send their children to private schools that use English as a medium of instruction, they feared that it has negatively affected their children's competence in Arabic.

Maalouf (2000) argues that resisting the popularity of English is doomed a failure. Therefore, he argues not to reject English but to (1) 'tame' the language and accommodated it to local appropriations (a view shared by Canagarajah, 1999a), and at the same time (2) develop and maintain the national language. There are several specialised societies established in the Arab world to protect Arabic, in Sharjah, Morocco and Egypt (Suleiman, 2011). However, although many applied linguists have called for the importance of Arabic for nation building, little sustained research has been conducted to show how this will be done.

There should be some precautionary measures taken to preserve the status of the Arabic language. Troudi (2009a) gives four strong suggestions to resurrect Arabic as a medium of instruction. First, academics, linguists, and educationalists must raise awareness regarding the impairment of Arabic by identifying it as a language of academia and science. Second, research funding must be made available to discuss the challenges Arabic faces in an era of the spread of English, and further promote it as the language of science and academia. Third, institutions, ministries of education, research centres, and teacher education ought to play an important role by increasing the translation of scientific and academic books from English into Arabic. Finally, teacher-training programmes should support teachers to transfer from an English teaching-mode to an Arabic teaching-mode.

Al-Askari (2013) adds additional measures to return the status of Arabic. First, Arabic literature should be translated into foreign languages and spread throughout the world. Second, Arab leaders should refrain from using foreign languages in international events and respect their own Arabic language. Finally, he suggests building Arabic language councils that would support its spread and use. With what Troudi (2009a) and Al-Askari (2013) suggest in preserving the status of Arabic, it must be noted that regardless of how appealing the language policy may be, without any will to implement this, there will be no effect.

3.7.5 Learning and teaching quality

Besides looking into the issues of identity and effect on local languages, there are related critical educational issues when implementing an EMI policy. These educational issues are the main issues that this study sets out to uncover.

Forcing language policies such as EMI in a top-down approach does not guarantee its success, as there is a considerable disadvantage for those receiving instruction in a foreign language (UNESCO, 2003). Also, language learning and acquisition need to be based on needs analysis and teachers' perceptions. Needs analysis is another construct that is essential to the EMI language policy in Kuwait, as without it the language policy could result in underachievement of students and their lack of interest in learning the language (Alazemi, 2006), as well as teachers (Troudi, 2009a). Furthermore, the importation of ready-made teaching approaches and materials affect learning/teaching quality. In their study on East Timor, Appleby, Copley, Sithirajvongsa & Pennycook (2002) showed how students found that their lack of English and Portuguese was a barrier to participation in decision-making and to employment.

Ideas about language teaching and learning (i.e. communicative language teaching, and task-based language teaching) do not merely emerge in one context and then freely flow worldwide (Block, 2010). Rather they are ideologically loaded, as they are related to sets of beliefs, feelings and values (Canagarajah, 1999a; Pennycook, 1994). Canagarajah (2002) has criticised the USA and UK for holding an unfair monopoly over less developed nations

by the marketing of their language teaching methods. Besides being ideologically loaded, textbooks imported are based on teaching methods that are applicable to Western societies but not necessary applicable in others, as some argue that there is no best method to suit all contexts (Prahbu, 1990; Kumaravadivelu, 1994; Holliday, 1994). Blommaert & Dong (2010) argue that what works in one place may well not work elsewhere.

On an academic level, importing pedagogical practices in an unquestioning manner might limit the learning outcome as neither teachers or students feel any sense of ownership (Block, 2010). However, by reconfiguring and appropriating the imported pedagogical practices, and combining the local with the global, the results are far more rewarding. Indeed, combining different global and local ideologies will result in conflict. Yet, there are several proposals to rectify these conflicts (Canagarajah, 1999a, 2005; Holliday, 1994; 2005; Kumaravadivelu, 2008). Although they considerably differ, they all encourage teachers to adjust global ideas to what is locally appropriate.

Auerbach (1995) states that, although pedagogical choices about curriculum content, development, process, and language use may seem apolitical, they are in fact inherently ideological in nature. She argues further that, when we see from an ideological lens, dynamics of inequality and power begin to surface in every aspect of classroom life, from instructional process to needs assessment, lesson content, material, language use, and discourse. Consequently, we are forced to question the seemingly natural practices: Who asks questions? Where does the teacher stand or sit? Who chooses the learning materials? Who evaluates progress? And, more importantly, how is it evaluated? These questions need to be answered critically so to uncover any hidden issues that could impact students' proper progression.

Crystal (2003) argues that, in many countries, there is a hindrance in achieving the language teaching goals due to lack of government support. With some truth to this statement; however, it is not completely correct. For instance, in the case of Kuwait, the government invests millions annually on English language symposiums, state of the art equipment, and brings books from world-renowned publishers and universities. Yet, many language-teaching goals are not met. Furthermore, contradicting himself, Crystal (2003)

states that although one would expect people in a country where English is some sort of an official language to be competent in the language (due to more exposure), it turns out this is not always so.

UNESCO (2003) illustrates that giving instruction in the mother tongue is an "important component of quality education" (p.14), and it should cover both teaching *through* and teaching *of* this language. UNESCO echoes on the importance of language instructions "since effective teaching depends on clear and understandable communication, the language of instruction is at the heart of any learning process" (2007, p. 1). In Saudi Arabia, Al-Jarallah & Al-Ansari (1998) surveyed 516 students for their views on using Arabic as a medium of Instruction at the colleges of medicine in King Saud University. They found that 45 per cent of the students comprehended 25 to 75 per cent of the lectures, and 49 per cent comprehended 75 per cent when the lectures are delivered in English. However, the percentage increased when lectures were delivered in both English and Arabic. This comprehension issue during lectures in Saudi Arabia was also reflected in recent studies (Ebad, 2014), along with issues of writing and speaking.

Many learners are confronted with a language of instruction that is different than their mother tongue, and this a double set of challenges (UNESCO, 2007). The double effort required by students not only involves learning the content but also coping with the new terminology and knowledge within that language.

The issue of comprehending lectures is very critical to this study, as it affects the teaching and learning process in an EMI context. Lectures aim to provide students with knowledge, and they are designed so that students build and develop their intellectual abilities in that subject. Therefore, when they become a source of 'blurry' information and cause comprehension conflicts, then they are a burden that complicates the matter and puts students in a vulnerable place that could negatively affect their careers.

Besides the learning quality, teaching though EMI poses issues with the teaching quality. In many cases, teachers find it difficult to say what they want to say freely, and stumble on certain words. Griffiths (2013) has found that many teachers in Norwegian universities preferred to use Norwegian rather than English. Those who had to use English faced several speaking

problems during their teaching, and resorted to using a lot of 'umhs' when trying to freely express their ideas or respond to students' questions. She stated that this hindered communication during lectures.

Similar issues were found in Malaysia (Mansor, Badarudin & Mat, 2011), as students' achievement was affected due to issues in teaching quality. The issue is also echoed by Vu & Burns (2014), whereby teachers faced problems when they tried to explain things or answer questions, which could ultimately affect the teaching quality.

3.7.6 EMI: The case of Kuwait

The language policy in Kuwait is not a case of interwoven issues of administrative systems, policy formulation processes and ideological contexts that favour one national language over another at different federal and state levels, such as the issues of Urdu and Nepali in Northern India (Sonntag, 2003). Indeed, it is neither an issue of promoting bilingual education or assimilation such as in the US (McGroarty, 2002; Wiley, 2002, 2006), Europe (Phillipson, 2003), or Asia (Coulmas, 2002). The language policies implemented in GCC countries are due to the force and development of globalisation and a wish to follow the footsteps of the powerful (Khan, 2009), such as those implemented in Anglophone Africa (Mazrui, 2002) and several parts of Asia (Jung & Norton, 2002, Wright, 2002).

The Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in 1990 was a pivotal marker of the status change associated with English. Prior to the encroachment, English functioned as a foreign language in a formal education context. Arabic was used as the medium of instruction, and the Kuwaiti dialect was used for daily social communications. Post-invasion conditions presented several educational and social shifts. The continued presence of the Western coalition forces deployed in Kuwait and the entire Gulf region to restore political balance supported the role of English in the Kuwaiti mindset. As Al-Yaseen (2000) shows, another contributing element to the status of English was its use by Kuwaiti diplomats during this time at international bodies, such as the UN, to convey the catastrophe Kuwait has experienced. Furthermore, Kuwaitis expressed their appreciation and gratitude to the countries that contributed to liberating their country.

Coinciding with this socio-political marker was the spread of globalisation. The post-war era witnessed the Kuwaiti interest in Western culture due to American influence (Mohammed, 2008). With it came the interest in Western consumer labels, thus, resulting in an identity shift.

With the rise of the international market, the banking and oil sectors flourished, and highly motivated bilingual citizens were needed. Eventually, this led to changes in the educational system, and English became "a need rather than a luxury, a 'must' rather than a non-obligatory choice, a tool for survival on the highly competitive international market rather than a commodity when travelling or shopping" (Al-Rubaie, 2010, p. 45). At that time, the sociolinguistic repercussions of EMI on the status of Arabic and social identity were not considered. Some began to question the intentions of such countries' critical awareness and sober perspectives regarding the Anglophonic power, and their contribution to reconsidering the potential ideological power possessed by the integration of Islamic-Arab cultures with Western Cultures.

Kuwait has a "double standard national linguistic ideology" (Akbar, 2007, p.23), whereby students receive twelve years of their schooling through Arabic whilst English is a foreign language. When progressing to tertiary level, English is presented as the medium of instruction and a requirement for educational development and personal progression. Mainstream research in Kuwait was indulged in how to better teach English and the appropriateness of the communicative approach (Alazemi, 2006; Al-Mutawa, 2003; Sawwan, 1987), curriculum evaluation (Mohammed, 2008), distribution of classrooms (Hajjaj, 1997), and teacher-centred classrooms (Al-Darwish, 2006). Unfortunately, little has been done to evaluate and address critical sociolinguistic issues.

The current language policy in Kuwait contradicts itself by promoting English through mixed signals. At tertiary level, English is given an important status. However, most graduates tend to work in the public sector which provides good salaries, a more flexible environment, and better job security. This contradicting fallacy in linguistic ideology produced student cohorts who only learned English for graduation purposes rather than cultural endorsement and personal development. Several studies demonstrated how unmotivated

they are to continue their English courses, and they experienced multiple obstacles in acquiring the language (Al-Edwani, 2005; Al-Bustan & Al-Bustan, 2009). These outcomes reinstate the idea that English is promoted as a 'burden' and 'obstacle to overcome' rather than fulfilling the government's message to endorse its importance for personal, social and international advancement. Arguably, this shows the limitation of mainstream-applied linguistic research, and refutes their conflicts and attributions regarding "what suits the Kuwaiti society best" and their continuous battles on "the best method" clash with the government's de facto practices.

This does not in any sense diminish the legitimacy of mainstream research that has been carried to render the shortcomings of ELT in Kuwait. Rather, it calls for more critical empirical evidence that evaluates the current policy within the given context. It also necessitates taking into consideration the impending dangers that EMI threatens for the status of Arabic and social identity.

3.8 Final remarks: A call for a critical perspective

A critical voice is missing in such an important field in the Kuwaiti context, as mainstream research has failed to address the negative impact of EMI, and neither has it improved students' achievements in English. The progression of English from a foreign language to the sole medium of instruction and the subsequent reduction of Arabic to a minimal role is alarming. Al-Askari (2013) illustrates that the Arabic language informs our identity and offers a means of expression of cultural, religious, and creative heritage. The supporting rhetoric promoted by the government that English is the language of science is a fallacy, as it is contradicted by the fact that many other languages are used in research and at tertiary level (Phillipson, 2008). Furthermore, Germans have regarded the dominance of English as the language of scientific communication as an additional burden (Ammon, 2000, 2010).

As Troudi (2009a, 2009b) shows, technology and science are not the product of one language, and one need only look at the *Al-Arabi* magazine, among other Arabic medium publications, to see the existence of Arabic in many disciplines, including medicine. He supports his claims by examining the case of Iceland, and the Icelandic language as a medium of instruction. In

addition, other world examples contradict this argument, namely, Germany, Russia, and Japan, since they successfully build and conduct their inventions through their mother tongues. Hence, Arabic is already a language of science, and the Arabic language has its fair share of scientific journals and publications (Al-Askari, 2002). For instance, the works of Ibn-Rushid and Ibn-Sina are true examples of the rich Arabic terminology, and universities in Syria still teach medicine in Arabic. The long and rich history of Arabic and the contributions of many Arab scientists in the fields of engineering, chemistry, and medicine should not be simply overlooked. As Al-Khalili (2012) eloquently puts it, the attributes of Arab scientists are only taught in history lessons and are not mentioned during science and mathematics lessons. Unfortunately, it is the lack of productivity of the Arab nations that has brought Arabic to its current status worldwide. Al-Asakri (2013) denotes that the weakness of the Arab world curricula, the incompetence of its educational cadres, and its high percentage of illiteracy are attributes that contribute to the demise of Arabic. He argues further that learning foreign languages ought not to affect the first language. For instance, it is difficult to find a German or French student learning English in her/his country without them prioritising and being competent in their first language.

It is unrealistic to dismiss the critical impact EMI has on Arabic. The students' daily use of English words instead of their Arabic counterparts is the first inkling of what might come in the future. Furthermore, in social networks such as Twitter, terms such as 'hash tags', 'follow' and 'retweet' have overtaken the Arabic words. Indeed, it remains a fact that English is considered an 'addition' for a Kuwaiti applying for a job in his/her own country. To some mainstream researchers, these issues are simple and the results of their impacts are mere exaggerations.

Another important critical construct that has been affected by EMI is identity. Pennycook (1994) addresses this issue by stating that "students around the world are not only obliged to reach a high level of competence in English to pursue their studies, but they are also dependent on forms of Western knowledge that are often of limited value and extreme inappropriacy to the local context" (p. 42). Aspects of Western lifestyle are apparent in Kuwait, and are reflected in the ever-changing social lifestyle and daily

routines. Teenagers in Kuwait have replaced the Kuwaiti traditional clothes, called *Dishdasha,* with casual Western clothing. Their perceptions of Anglophone ideas, clothes, and thoughts as signs of progress and modernity have also affected the Kuwaiti identity to the extent that such a perception is widening the gap between Kuwaitis and their local identity, and isolating Kuwaitis from their values and traditions. Thus, their traditions are seen as signs of the past, and the only progress to the future is by mimicking Western lifestyles.

What will be central to this study is that critical applied linguistics needs to operate with a vision of a preferable future, rather than merely criticising and offering a pessimistic vision of social relations (Pennycook, 2001a). It is through CALx and linguistic human rights that scholars and researchers strive to search for LPs that promote linguistic diversity. They are trying to understand why LPs promote certain languages. In the European context, for example, the working languages are English, French, Dutch, Danish, Spanish, Portuguese, Greek, Swedish, Italian, and Finnish, whereas Catalan (spoken by more than six million people) is left out, although it has more speakers than Finnish and Danish (Miller & Miller, 1996; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996).

I would agree with Pennycook (1994, 2000b) in acknowledging the significance of linguistic imperialism, language ecology, and linguistic human rights. However, the current situation in Kuwait calls for an understanding of the spread of English through "contextual sociologies rather than a priori assumptions about imperialistic effects" (Pennycook, 2000b). I would also agree with Ives (2010) that language is not neutral. However, global English is not always an oppressive method related to global imperialism, capitalism, and cultural domination. Furthermore, as Sonntag (2003) argues, English is central to globalisation, and therefore, will continue to be locally politicised as long as there is more globalisation.

To conclude what has been discussed so far, a critical stance is important to evaluate the current language policy imposed on the Kuwaiti educational system to tackle the shortcomings of mainstream research. As Watfa (2007) argues, during the 1950s until present day, the Arab educational systems have worked to remove all signs of criticality. Therefore, the problem

is with neither the Arabic language nor its ability to produce critical thinkers that are able to promote Arabic as language of science and academia. The problem is that Arab educational systems do not promote creativity and self-thinking. In short, these Arab education systems were designed to turn students into first class consumers and world-class copiers (Watfa, 2007, Watfa & Al-Rashed, 2004). Thus, this shaped the view that English (and EMI) is the source of freedom, liberty, technology, science, and advancement.

3.9 Conceptual framework

The current study aims to evaluate and explore the EMI language policy implemented in Kuwait at tertiary level and to evaluate further its effectiveness with an element of criticality that challenges the participants' ideologies. The literature was searched for models that would serve the study's conceptual framework and that would be appropriate for the study's social constructivist theoretical framework.

In light of the study's questions and objectives, a post-modern approach to the current language policy seems appropriate. This position is concerned with how Arabic deals with the challenges of the new millennium and how it performs under the current economic, academic, and social relations atmosphere. Pennycook (2006) illustrates that this view of postmodernism deals with the causes and effects of the spread or promotion of a major language (i.e. English). Furthermore, it addresses the issues of identity and of how notions including language rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, 2001) could help maintain the status of other languages – Arabic, in this case. More importantly, it explores the effects of EMI and considers whose interests are served, and also deals with the possible implications of EMI on the mother tongue and on local identity.

This position needs to remain engaged and responsive with questions of domination, disparity, desire, and difference. Nevertheless, a postmodern look at LP points towards contextual, local, contingent, and situated ways of understanding LP (Motschenbacher, 2016; Pennycook, 2006).

Therefore, a postmodern view maintains a healthy scepticism towards many concepts and modes of thought, and particularly the idea that teaching students through English alone provides better access to technological and

educational advancements, and opens gateways to the modern world. Although some CALx scholars, such as Canagarajah (1999b), warn of the absolutism of notions like linguistic imperialism, such concepts have their roots in reality and raise important issues regarding language rights, impacts on identity, mother tongues, why some languages are preferred more than others, and the tenets that underpin the worldwide spread of English (Philipson, 1992).

A postmodern view of LP emphasises the importance of performance. It shifts the focus from the number of those who read, write and/or speak the language to the number of those using it, and where, why, and how proficient they are in that language. From a postmodern perspective, as Pennycook (2006) claims, LP is not about selecting a language for use in education, or choosing a medium of instruction in school. Rather it is about how LP is concerned with "the use of language as part of language governmentality" (p. 64). The notion of governmentality was developed by Foucault (1991) to shed light on how power operates at a micro-level rather than a macro-level. Therefore, language governmentality could be understood in terms of how language is used in education through a range of instruments, such as exams and textbooks, and by regulating the language action, thought, and use of different groups and people (Pennycook, 2006; Abdulmanan, David, Dumanig, & Naqeebullah, 2014). As Carney (2016) states, postmodern insights are reworked to resist the negative effects of education policies (such as EMI) and present a more just and democratic solution.

Thus, from a postmodern view, the success of an LP is determined by observing how policy users act within a certain context. It is not enough to take the rationale presented by governing bodies for implementing an EMI policy at face value. Instead, the current EMI policy needs to be evaluated and critiqued based on its given Kuwaiti context to see how Kuwaiti students act and work under the current policy.

3.10 Gap in knowledge

There is a gap in knowledge in the field of language policy and English as a medium of instruction; this gap is related to the absence of higher education students' views of the use of EMI in Kuwait. Students' voices seem absent

from the previously conducted research. Therefore, this research seeks to fill this gap by answering the research questions stated in Chapter 1.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter has reviewed the relevant literature in EMI policy. It began with the introduction of general ideas, such as the spread of English, LHR, and the issue of identities. Then the focus was narrowed gradually to consider all these broad issues with regard to English as a medium of instruction in the Kuwaiti context. The worldwide spread of English has been debated extensively, and researchers have explored and investigated it from both positive and critical angles. Along with this spread of the English language, critical applied linguistics was developed to evaluate and question the given notions of ELT, and to raise other social, economic, and political issues. Thus, CALx researchers argue that EMI policies need to be situated in a wider context, and should not focus merely on classroom contexts (Pennycook, 2001a). Therefore, EMI policies need to be viewed from both aspects, that is, the positive attributes provided by mainstream researchers and the critical attributes provided by CALx researchers, in order to provide a better evaluation of any EMI policy and its suitability for each specific context. It is thought that considering the arguments from both parties could provide a more appropriate and context-specific policy that caters for the needs of Kuwaiti students.

This study adopts an exploratory methodology, and this made it possible to review the literature from multiple angles by presenting all possible views and contributions to the debates regarding EMI policies. Because of the exploratory nature of the study, the literature review needed to explore all possible sides of the phenomenon, since the outcome or findings of the study were largely unknown.

Reviewing the critical issues raised by CALx researchers is important in order to cover any possible effects they might have on students' learning/teaching experiences. However, this does not mean that EMI has not been accepted in Kuwaiti society. Since the topic of EMI, from the students' perspective, has not been explored in depth, it is important to review the literature from all possible angles in order to allow the study to accommodate

any possible outcome whether the outcome is a complete acceptance or a refusal of EMI, or any possible solutions in between to modify and/or improve the current policy.

Chapter IV

Methodology and the research design

This chapter presents the methodological justifications and design for the current study. It first discusses the philosophical and theoretical assumptions. Then, it discusses the research design, data collection methods and its procedures and justifications, the administration of those methods, and details of the data analysis procedures. Further, this chapter discusses the steps utilised to ensure the quality of the data, including piloting, trustworthiness, and triangulation. Finally, the chapter ends by stating the limitations of the study and its ethical considerations.

4.1 Philosophical Assumptions

The philosophical and theoretical assumptions form the foundation of any study effort, and it is thus the responsibility of the researcher to identify and justify the paradigmatic stance that supports the achievement of the objectives of that research. A paradigm is a set of basic beliefs that guides those actions (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) and it is "a lens through which we view the world" (Lynch, 2003, p.2). Crotty (1998) demonstrates that these theoretical and philosophical assumptions are concerned with knowledge (epistemology), reality (ontology), and the approaches employed to achieve reality (methodology). Therefore, it is essential for researchers to present the paradigmatic position they will adopt to ensure the quality of their conduct and be assured that they are fully aware of all other possible positions.

Ontology is concerned with the nature of reality (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011) or with 'what is' (Crotty, 1998). It addresses questions, such as: when is something real? (Creswell, 2007) and what is the nature of reality and what can be known about it? (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). On the other hand, epistemology is a branch of philosophy concerned with the nature of knowledge. It is a manner of understanding and explaining what we know and how we know it (Crotty, 1998), to inform the relationship between the known and the knower (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

4.2 Research Framework and Theoretical justification

Since this study explores the English as a medium of instruction policy in Kuwait and its participants' views are sought, an interpretivist approach is appropriate. The study was designed to allow the researcher to elicit students' views and the challenges they face when learning using EMI, but without neglecting the surrounding social reality. The interpretivist approach allows the researcher to communicate effectively with the students and to historically situate and socially derive their interpretations of the social world (Crotty, 1998). Further, the interpretivist approach captures the participants' natural everyday environment. In other words, the task is "to get inside the person and to understand from within" (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 21) as well as individual implications and challenges when studying through EMI at the tertiary level.

Hammersley (2012, p.22) states that "in methodological terms, interpretivists argue that we cannot understand why people do what they do, or why particular institutions exist and operate in characteristic ways, without grasping how those involved interpret and make sense of their world." The focus, therefore, in this study (an interpretive research) is on the individual (Bryman, 2012; Pring, 2005; Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). The interpretivist ontological position perceives that reality is multiple and also subjective in that it differs from one person to the next (Guba, 1990; Crotty, 1998; Scotland, 2012).

Although positivism is a legitimate approach, it cannot fulfil the aims of this study both epistemologically and ontologically. The researcher does not consider that he is the sole barrier to the truth; rather, he regards the participants as partners in research/evaluation "in sustaining processes of communications in which meaning is never frozen or terminated, but remains in a continuous state of becoming" (Gergen, 2009, p. 120-121). Moreover, although critical theory might seem to be another adequate choice besides interpretivism, it also cannot fulfil the major aims of the study.

Critical theory seeks to uncover the hidden agendas and power relations that perpetuate inequality in society that need to be revealed and understood to bring about social justice. Both repression and domination often act to prevent social and individual freedoms (Habermas, 1988). Before

embarking on this study, I have not set forth any pre-assumptions or predicted any outcomes or responses, as outcomes may well be a full approval of EMI. Thus, there is nothing to build on at the outset to improve or change the current situation. However, one critical element will be implemented in this study, namely, that concerning the raising of awareness. During the interviews, critical issues of Arab identity, the effect on the Arabic language and the issue of linguistic human rights will be raised to elicit opinions on them. Further, other possible negative outcomes of EMI will be raised to capture those responses. This is an essential process, as Pennycook (2001a) argues that critical applied linguistic research must keep a sceptical eye on the givens and the concepts that may have become neutralised.

In line with this designated interpretivist exploratory nature of the study, it seems appropriate to adopt a social constructivist epistemology. The aim of this research then is to explore the current EMI policy in Kuwait by understanding the participants' views, while not neglecting the surrounding social realities. Knowledge is perceived via social constructivism as participants often construct their views through personal interaction with their own environment and with each other (Creswell, 2009; Williams & Burden, 1997). Thus, it can be implied that these participants have shaped their views on learning through EMI, the status of Arabic and the importance of English through their interaction with each other, their surrounding environment, their school experience, and their educational and social lives.

Through the use of a social constructivist epistemology, meanings can be seen as multiple and varied, whereby the researcher can then seek a complexity of views rather than simply narrowing meanings into few ideas or categories (Creswell, 2013). Knowledge is perceived as a human product, one that is culturally and socially constructed (Gredler, 1997; Prawat & Floden, 1994). Interactions and communications socially entail agreed-upon ideas of a society and the rules and social patterns found in languages (Ernest, 1999). This study aims to understand how the participants shaped their views, on the importance of English and the possible positive or negative outcomes of learning through EMI by examining their social and personal interactions with the rest of the society.

This interpretive / social constructivist approach promotes a thorough

understanding and presents a deeper look into the context within which participants act and the process by which incidents and events take place (Maxwell, 1996). That approach can help explain why things happened from the viewpoint of the insiders (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). The aim in this study is to present a true reflection of the participants' everyday actions and convey as closely as possible their concerns, how they feel, and their views on current language policy. It is important to shadow the possible challenges they face and discuss how they overcame them, and what additional effort they had to apply to overcome any possible obstacles.

It is suggested then that the participants of this study organise and reorganise their knowledge through new experiences that are provided by their daily encounters and engagement with English and learning through EMI at the academic site, and in the surrounding environment. At tertiary level, students experience English as a new understanding, and thus, English is presented as 'the' language they need to master to succeed in their studies and also as the language of economic and scientific prosperity. This is in contrast to what they have experienced during their schooling, namely, viewing and studying English merely as a foreign language. Hence, at the stage of higher education, students integrate the new knowledge about English with prior knowledge they gained from previous experiences, either in their social life or at school, an experience that leads them to formulating new meanings about learning English.

This position comes in line with the interpretive / social constructivist mode of enquiry, and as such, this study aims to explore and understand the participants' subjectively held views about the current language policy. The participants are seen from a social constructivist view as "meaning-making organisms, theory builders who develop hypotheses, notice patterns, and construct theories of actions from their life experience" (White & Gunstone, 1992, p. 101).

Radnor (2002) argues, "The interpretive approach rests on the premise that in social life there is only interpretation. Everyday life revolves around persons' interpreting and making decisions about how to act based on their own experiences and their interpretation of the experience[s] and behaviour of others." (p.4). It can be argued that individuals are affected by their

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surrounding context, which enables them to take certain actions. This knowledge is reformulated and experientially constructed in relation to the experiences of each individual. Nevertheless, each individual does have his/her own unique experience, so the further aim of this study is to interpret and capture all of these to develop a general understanding of the phenomenon. Kiely and Rea-Dickins (2005) show that each individuals' experiences, and how each makes sense and interprets those experiences, are different; thus the overriding task of the researcher is to understand these interpretations and experiences, but without seeking only a universal single, objective truth.

4.3 Research Design: A mixed Method Research

The nature of this study is an exploratory research, which is conducted when the topic investigated has not been clearly addressed, or is underdeveloped (Shields & Rangarajan, 2013). Thus, Kuwaiti students' views on EMI have not been thoroughly investigated in previous literature. Therefore, this study will explore the phenomenon and reflect on their views. In line with the exploratory nature of this study, its research design employs a sequential mixed method, a procedure for collecting, integrating and analysing both qualitative and quantitative data to better understand the research question (Perry, 2011; Borkan, 2004; Creswell, 2005). Quantitative and qualitative research can thus be integrated so one method can support the other (Bryman, 2012), or be used as complementary strategies (Hammersley, 1996). Indeed, Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) propose that a "truly mixed method methodology (a) would incorporate multiple approaches in all stages of the study (i.e., problem identification, data collection, data analysis, and final inferences), and (b) would include a transformation of the data and their analysis through another approach" (p. xi). However, it is important to note that in this study, the multiple methods will only be utilised on the data collection level and analysis.

The aim of mixed method research is to achieve a deeper scope and understanding of the phenomenon (Sandelowski, 2003), and it has particular value when examining an issue that is embedded in a complex social and/or educational context (Mertens, 2010). Greene, Caracelli and Graham (1989) state that one of the functions used for achieving this broader picture is the

development function where quantitative and qualitative methods are used sequentially so that each method informs the development of the other. Therefore, the focus groups inform the development of the questionnaire items, and in this study, the questionnaire becomes useful for raising any unaddressed issues and other possible complications of EMI in Kuwait and further investigates them via the in-depth interviews. Finally, observations provide the researcher with an inside look to help evaluate or potentially raise any heretofore unnoticed issues that may be present in the interviews.

Miles and Huberman (1994) argue that rather than polarising research, qualitative and quantitative inquiry can inform and support each other. Dörnyei (2007) argues that in mixed methods research; the strengths of one method can help overcome the weakness of another. For instance, in this study, using a questionnaire allows the collection of large amounts of data in a very short time; however, more complex meanings cannot be explored because the respondents' replies are rather short. The follow-up interviews can remedy this weakness by asking the participants to elaborate further on certain elements and patterns.

The research design thus employed four data-collection methods. First, the focus groups allow the issue to be discussed within a group of students, and the information gathered better shaped the questionnaire and build its items. In the second phase, a questionnaire was constructed and piloted with a group of students that have experienced learning through EMI. The revised version of the questionnaire was then given to students at KU and PAAET. The use of questionnaires was deemed important for several reasons. First, the administration and construction of the questionnaire was designed to capture an overall picture of the general critical issues that students face when learning through EMI. Second, it also leads to developing and better refining the selected/chosen questions for the in-depth interviews. Third, the questionnaire gave the students a general idea of the general themes of the study, but before participating in the interviews.

The third method employed for this study was semi-structured interviews. This method provided in-depth insights of the phenomenon. It is in compliance with the goal of social constructivism research, namely, to rely as much as possible on participant views and experiences of the situation

(Creswell, 2009). This study traced the transformation of individual consciousness and perception (Giarelli & Chambliss, 2001), and its objective was to elicit meanings from the participants and how they are attached to the surrounding environment.

The final phase involved using observations, which allowed the researcher to have an insider look to see how students act, react, and participate in a natural setting. Based on what has been said so far, the sequential mixed method design was chosen so as to expand and elaborate the findings of one method with the other (Creswell, 2013). Thus, the strength of each method complemented the other to complete the formation of synergy, while still neutralising the drawbacks of each method. Utilising a questionnaire in the first phase allowed for the organization of large amount of data, incorporated any unanticipated answers, and further defined the direction of the in-depth interviews that follow.

By employing this design, the goal was to produce a "pieced-together set of representations that are fitted to the specifics of a complex situation" (Denzin & Lindoln, 2005, p. 249) and thus create a complex and holistic overall picture (Creswell, 2013). In other words, the study explored and further understood the complexity of EMI in Kuwait and reported on the challenges that these students face in that process. The everyday natural learning environment at KU and PAAET was important for this study to uncover the possible challenges and how students cope with them when learning through EMI. The following figure represents this research design:
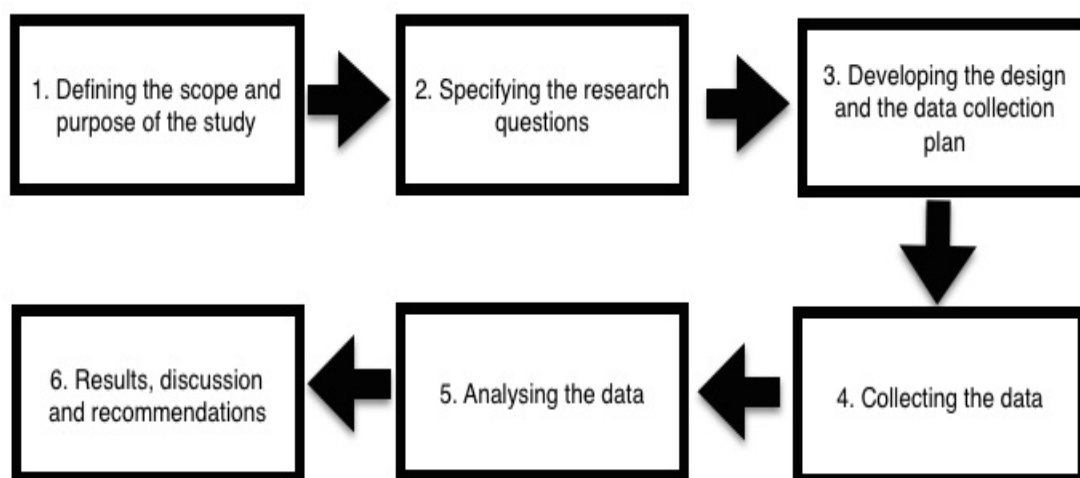
Figure 4.1 Research Design of the Study

4.4 Data Collection Methods

This study adopts both qualitative and quantitative methods for data collection. The qualitative data were collected through focus groups, semi-structured interviews and semi-structured observations, and the quantitative data were collected through several closed-ended questionnaire items. However, more dependence was placed on qualitative methods, due to an awareness of what will be most useful to answer the research questions. In this case, participant views and how they construct meaning and reality are closely sought after.

There are several purposes for placing the weight of this study on the qualitative strand. First, Maxwell (1996) shows that qualitative studies are especially situated for understanding the meaning of participants' actions, situations and events with which they are involved, and understand the accounts that they give of their experiences. Second, qualitative methodology is important in order to "understand the particular context within which the participants act and the influence this context has on their actions" (Maxwell, 1996, p. 221). In this particular study it was important to see how Kuwaitis perceived the prominence of English and how this general notion and its associations has affected the participants. Third, Creswell (2013) argues that we conduct qualitative research when an issue or a problem needs to be *explored*. This exploration is needed when one wants to study a group or population and identify and hear their neglected voices. Creswell states as well that we conduct qualitative research when we need a detailed, complex understanding of an issue. Such detail can only be achieved by talking to people directly and allowing them to tell their stories. Although, qualitative research has been critiqued for often using small samples and also for lacking methodological rigor, its exploratory nature is indeed an effective way to explore new areas and gather original or neglected ideas (Dornyei, 2007). More importantly, as Dornyei states, qualitative methods are "useful for making sense of highly complex situations" (ibid, p. 39).

The relationship of qualitative research to social constructivist is manifested in what Greene, Kreider and Mayer (2005) state, that "qualitative advocates emphasized the interpretive, value-laden, contextual and

contingent nature of social knowledge" (p. 274). From what is said above, the reliance on qualitative methods was based on the nature of the research itself, which examines the cultural and social aspects of the students' contexts wherein they construct their own knowledge and meaning. Undoubtedly, the usefulness of the quantitative method for this research cannot be overlooked. Both types of data collection methods provided a useful array of information and yielded valuable input.

4.4.1 Focus groups

Focus groups were an important initial data collection method for this study, as they are appropriate for gathering insights on exploratory research (Bryman, 2012; Krueger, 1994; cited in Wellington, 2000). These groups were useful for generating qualitative data; gathering data on opinions, values, and attitudes; and will provide greater coverage than only surveys (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Hesse-Biber and Leavy (2006) suggest that focus groups are an important method to use to gain exploratory data and shape it for further research, such as the qualitative in-depth interviews planned for the current research effort. According to Bristol and Fern (1996), these are useful for learning people's everyday experiences, such as their feelings, behaviours and thoughts.

Focus groups are very important as their concentration on a particular topic can yield insights not available easily in a straightforward interview (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Their distinct advantage presents when the researcher does not know all the related issues surrounding the topic. In this particular case, I entered the research without a full understanding of the students' experience with English as a medium of instruction, such as whether it is a positive or a negative endeavour. More importantly, and very much central to the objective of this research, is that focus groups often can challenge and elucidate the taken-for-granted assumptions of research participants, that can at times be difficult to discern precisely or clearly (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2006).

Focus groups are different from group interviews, as their reliance is on the interaction within the group rather than between the interviewer and a group (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). This is important, as individual

participant views will emerge rather than simply promoting the researcher's agenda. Moreover, as Bryman (2012) states, one advantage of focus groups is that participants will often challenge each other's views. Thus, the researcher can gather fuller and more realistic accounts of what people in that group think. Further still, as participants listen to each other they may modify or quantify a view or voice agreement regarding an issue that is raised that he or she would have not thought of examining without group discussion. Therefore, focus groups are an essential initial data collection method and give this research the advantage of in-depth discussion, and possibly raise awareness of the possible effect of EMI on Arab identity, the mother tongue, and linguistic human rights.

It is important to decide on the number of participants in a focus group, as a small number might exert a disproportionate effect, and a large group can be unwieldy and difficult to manage (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011). Therefore, from suggestions found in the literature, six participants for each group was seen as an adequate number (Fowler, 2009; Wellington, 2000; Morgan, 1988). Further, Newby (2010) raises other important considerations to ensure the quality of this method, namely, (1) Focus groups should be focused and clear about the agenda; thus in this instance three general topics were set in place to cover and discuss; (2) The setting should be conducive to discussion; and (3) A record of the discussion and its details is needed.

4.4.2 Questionnaires

Questionnaires are a popular research method and have been proven useful for establishing opinions on a number of issues (Dornyei, 2003). They are familiar to most people, less intrusive, and very cost effective (Bryman, 2012; Denscombe 2010; Fitzpatrick, Sanders & Worthen, 2004). They also allow for gathering of information from a large number of respondents and are easy to administer (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Richards, 2001). Questionnaires are useful for in-depth investigations of opinions, attitudes, and experiences of people with language (Brown, 2001). Although questionnaires are not particularly situated for exploratory/qualitative research, open-ended questions can have merit (Dorneyi, 2007). They can present illustrative quotes that lead to uncovering unanticipated issues

(Brown, 2001).

It is also important to note the disadvantages of questionnaires, namely that respondents are usually not motivated to answer all the items (Denscombe, 2010; Gillham, 2000). This issue can be resolved by personally administering the questionnaire and making clear the importance of it to the research and making it personally relevant to the participants. In that way, they will look for issues and challenges to address and improve their current situation regarding the topic.

4.4.2.1 Questionnaire Design

This questionnaire was designed to explore Kuwaiti students' experiences in learning through EMI, at KU and PAAET (see Appendix 1). The questionnaire also sought to raise awareness by introducing items related to identity, the status of Arabic as a language, and the other possible effects English might have. Students were asked to express their views on the status of English, their experience with EMI, and any related critical issues. This mixed close-ended and open-ended questionnaire focused on two question types: (1) behaviour/experience questions (Patton, 1987) that involve how participants behave/act, what they encounter, and how they respond, or what occurs; (2) attitudinal questions (Dorneyi, 2007) that the questions are used to find out the participants' views, opinions, attitudes and thoughts and thinking.

The questionnaire items were derived from the two focus groups and the literature review (Troudi & Jendli, 2011; Abdel-Jawad & Abu Radwan, 2011; Pessoa & Rajakumar, 2011; Al-Rubaie, 2010). They were designed to yield data to help understand students' views toward EMI and also prepare the semi-structured interviews, to be held at a later stage of the study. The questionnaire was divided accordingly into particular themes. Each theme had closed-ended items and also open-ended items to allow students to elaborate further on their views or add any related information or details. In constructing the questionnaire, care was taken to build it around the study objectives and make sure each item was directly related to one or more of the main research objectives.

Development of the questionnaire proceeded through several draft stages that took a few months. The first draft was submitted to colleague

professors at PAAET and KU for comments and further amendments. The second draft was handed in to my supervisor for further comments and changes. After revising the third draft with my supervisor, the final copy was delivered and translated into Arabic. Translating the questionnaire was important for allowing the students to express themselves more freely and be able to provide complete and detailed answers.

The final questionnaire focused on five different areas and included a total of 27 items: (1) students' backgrounds, (2) students' perception on the spread of English, (3) possible effects of that spread of English, (4) their experiences with EMI, and (5) their views on the importance of EMI.

The introductory page of the questionnaire provided the participants with information on the nature of the study, its purposes, and aims. It also emphasized the importance of their contributions and the value of the questionnaire to the study. Further, it stressed all-important ethical considerations, such as having the right not to participate, the right to withdraw at any time, and participant anonymity and provided my contact details for any further comments or questions.

The first part of the questionnaire asked for five demographic / background items: year of study, gender, when did one formally begin learning English, type of school (public or private), and which language did one prefer to use to read books and magazines. These requested multiple-choice answers. Students had to specify their degree of agreement / disagreement to statements about English as a medium of instruction using a 5-point Likert scale that ranged from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. A Likert scale was used because it was seen as the most useful method for acquiring precise views and perceptions of the participants. Brown and Rodgers (2002) state that "Likert scales are generally useful for getting respondents views, judgments, or opinions about almost any aspect of language learning" (p. 120). Age was not included in the questionnaire, as it was not considered essential in this instance.

The second part of the questionnaire included two sections. The first section had 8 items, some aimed at students' perceptions on the spread of English and what led to its prominence. Other items aimed at the possible effects of English on Arab identity and the status of Arabic. The second

section had 11 items on learning through English as a medium of instruction. These items focused on the students' experiences, possible difficulties, perceptions on the importance of learning through English, and whether they prefer learning through Arabic.

The third part of the questionnaire had 4 open-ended questions. According to Dornyei (2007), open-ended items are useful when "we do not know the range of possible answers and therefore cannot provide pre-prepared response categories" (p. 107). Also, open-ended questions are better able to capture the complexity and full richness of each respondent's viewpoint. The first three open-ended items asked students to elaborate further on: (1) their experience in learning through EMI (giving examples), why do they believe it is important to learn through English, and the possible effect English has on their Arab identity. Although the topics of questions repeated the closed-ended items (and again were repeated in the interviews), the purpose of re-introducing them in a more open manner was to gain more detail on these important issues for the study (Dornyei, 2007). The fourth question asked students to raise any additional issues that might have not been covered in the questionnaire and comment on them.

4.4.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

Interviews were a major data collection method used in this study, and indeed, they are one of the dominant methods used in qualitative research (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). Further, in social constructivist research, the more open ended the questions are, the better, as the researcher can then listen carefully to what the participants do or say in their own life settings (Creswell, 2013). Unlike questionnaires, semi-structured interviews offer predetermined questions with a flexible design, and the order of the questions can be adjusted to be more appropriate to the situation (Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2006; Robson, 2002). Interviews are also based on the fact that knowledge is often generated in human conversation (Cohen et al., 2011). Flick (2007) argues that interview research focuses largely on individual experiences. Interviews are not undertaken to reproduce existing knowledge, but rather are used as a construction site for new knowledge (Kvale, 2007), and especially for the value of two-way exchange (Wellington, 2000).

In the literature, there are two other types of interviews. First are the structured interviews, which are more systematic and do not allow for in-depth explanations and or permit individual views to surface. Second are the unstructured interviews, which require a much longer time period with no specific focus. In applied linguistic research, most of the interviews conducted are semi-structured, as they offer a valuable compromise between the two types (Dörnyei, 2007). Moreover, semi-structured interviews can explore a topic more openly and can allow participants to reflect on their experiences and express their opinions (Esterberg, 2002). Qualitative interviews represent a construction site where two or more people discuss an issue of mutual interest (Brinkmann & Kvale, 2014). In other words, an "interview is literally an *inter view,* an inter-change of views between two persons" (Kvale & Brinkmann 2009, p. 2). In semi-structured interviews, the format is open-ended, and the participant is encouraged to elaborate on the issues being discussed in a more exploratory manner (Dörnyei, 2007).

In semi-structured interviews, rapport is built to create a convenient atmosphere that allows the interviewees to elaborate on and talk freely about the topics. Building such rapport can also prevent further complications. Yee and Andrews (2003) state that this 'friendly' atmosphere may encourage the participant to ask the researcher his/her own personal views on the topic, so too much disclosure from the researcher could block whole areas of the interview. Back (2010) asserts that this constructed atmosphere can allow the interview to develop into a site where social forms are staged, rather than becoming merely an ongoing open resource for knowledge.

Another important justification for using semi-structured interviews is their openness, for, as Kvale (2007) states, "There is openness to changes of sequence and forms of questions in order to follow up the specific answers given and the stories told by the subject" (p.51). This aspect is useful when asking emerging questions about what participants have just said, or asking for further clarifications.

Nonetheless, however compatible these semi-structured interviews may be for the framework of this study, it must also be recognised that some difficulties and disadvantages accompany this type of data collection. Interviews are time consuming; they need careful arrangement for an

appropriate time and a specific ideal location for participants to feel relaxed and able to elaborate freely during the discussion. It is also critical that precise attention is given to the functionality of the recording equipment (Silverman, 2005; Back, 2010). Using two devices and testing them before starting the interview resolves this issue. The flexible nature of the semi-structured interviews can also leave the researcher stranded in the middle of an interview with an ample amount of data, and the interviewee may answer questions that have not yet been asked. A reasonable procedure to avoid losing control of the interview is Robson's (2002) suggestion, which is to have the topics on cards and set them aside one by one once they have been covered. In that way, the interview will not move back and forth between topics and produce confusion or delays.

4.4.3.1 Student Interviews

The interview schedule was divided into 3 sections, with a total of 22 items (see Appendix 2). The first section included general questions regarding the participants' first name, year of study, and major. The second section asked questions about English as a medium of instruction, the students' experience with EMI, and their learning experience as a whole. The final part of the interview schedule asked questions that raised critical issues, such as language rights, and the effects of the spread of English on Arabic and Arab identity.

The purpose of the interviews was to get a closer look at the issues raised during the previous two methods, namely, the focus groups and the questionnaire. During the interview, the researcher allowed time for the inclusion, deletion, and modification of certain questions, depending on the flow of the interview and each participant's responses. Close-ended questions were used to reaffirm some of the students' views on certain problematic issues (Dornyei, 2008).

During the interviews, 'why' interrogative questions were avoided at the beginning so as not to lose the participants' specific individual descriptions of their experiences, as the main aim was not to look for any cause-effect analysis of their experiences. Semi-structured probes in the interview schedule allowed the interview process to be conducted via a more

determined structure, while still providing enough space for the respondents to manage the flow of the data easily (Birmingham & Wilkinson, 2003).

4.4.4 Observations

Observations involve not merely looking at the phenomenon; they systematically note events, behaviours, and people (Simpson & Tuson, 2003). The method has the potential to provide more authentic and even more valid data than other inferential or mediated methods (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). Observations allow the researcher to look at behaviours that might otherwise go unnoticed or might be taken for granted, as well as to discover topics that participants might not discuss freely in interviews, or that might be unconsciously missed by the researcher (Cooper & Schindler, 2001). The distinctive feature of an observation is that it allows the researcher to gather information directly from a naturally occurring social setting rather than relying on second-hand accounts (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2011). It also provides a reality check, as what people actually do may differ from what they say they do (Robson, 2002).

As with any other method of data collection, there are different types of observations. However, for the purpose of this study and its questions, a semi-structured observation was appropriate. Semi-structured observations have a list of topics to be observed, but use a less systematic or predetermined manner than structured observations (Patton, 1990). Thus, they offer flexibility to cover emerging issues or any potentially useful, but unexpected, data that might be offered. One important difficulty with observations is gaining access (Bailey, 1984); therefore, access in this instance was planned well ahead, and all permissions were obtained a month before any data collection took place.

These classroom observations focused on how students interact during the class, ranging from asking and answering questions to noting their response to unknown words or sentences in English. The observation schedule (see Appendix 3) included columns to note students' use of Arabic and English, as well as a column to observe their strategies during the lecture and to focus on their use of any ICT devices or requests to colleagues for clarification. Furthermore, a column for general remarks was essential to note

any unanticipated issues and discuss them later for further clarification. Within the observation schedule, teachers' responses and inputs were also sought. Although they were not part of this study, it was informative for the researcher to see how teachers responded to students' questions and what they expected.

4.4.5 Insider Research

Insider research refers to when research is conducted within an organisation, social group or culture of which the researcher is a member of (Greene, 2014). Loxley and Seery (2008) state that insider research is conducted by members of the same group. Thus in this study, the researcher, an insider researcher, was able to better understand the context. Being familiar with the culture and/or the social group under study facilitates a more natural interaction between the researcher and the participants (Berger, 2013). Furthermore, the insider researcher does not need to worry about orienting himself/herself with the research participants and/or environment, as he/she already has a pre-existing knowledge of the research context (Bell, 2005). Being a Kuwaiti citizen and a teacher at both the Ministry of Education and PAAET, the researcher had pre-existing knowledge of the Kuwaiti society and of students' level of English.

Having an insider perspective provides several benefits in contributing to knowledge in this study. Insider researchers have the ability to raise meaningful questions (Berger, 2013; Innes, 2009), they are able to understand the psychological, emotional, and/or cognitive precepts of the participants, and they have a deeper knowledge of the practical and historical events in the field (Chavez, 2008). Thus, insider researchers have the ability to project a more authentic and truthful understanding of the culture under study (Merriam, Johnson-Bailey, Lee, Kee, Ntseane & Muhamad, 2001). The aim of this study is to explore students' views regarding the EMI policy in Kuwait, and thus, as an insider researcher, the researcher was better able to understand the participants' responses in a multileveled and nuanced way (Berger, 2013), for example, the culture specific assertions and references they made. Thus, this provided an opportunity to better analyse their participations, and discuss them in more depth. Thus, the insider researcher's

existing experiential knowledge and deeper understanding is utilised both during the data collection and analysis in order to produce authentic and deep findings (Corbin-Dwyer & Buckle, 2009).

LaSala (2003) asserts that participants may believe that an insider researcher wants to improve their social and/or educational situation, and thus, they are more willing to share their experiences. Furthermore, scholars (Hayfield & Huxley, 2015; Bridges, 2001) argue that insider researchers are able to generate rich data and are in a strong position to make sense of and understand the participants' world.

Furthermore, researchers have also suggested that due to the insider researchers' awareness of the lives of the participants, they are in a strong position to conduct ethical research that represents the participants' voices and keeps them at the top of the research agenda (Hayfield & Huxley, 2015; Gair, 2012). It is the aim of this study to reflect on the students' voice and to bring more attention to how the students work with and experience the EMI policy.

However, the insider perspective has been accused of being inherently biased (Greene, 2014). In addition, the insider researcher has been criticised on the grounds that the researcher's personal values, experiences, and beliefs influence the study's design, data analysis, and results (Van Heugten, 2004). Taylor (2011) and Berger (2013) argue that insider researchers should not fear bias, but they must take the necessary measures to ensure that the research is as error-free as possible. Scholars have suggested that a crucial step to help avoid bias is reflexivity.

Reflexivity in qualitative research has been increasingly recognised as an important technique in the process of generating knowledge (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2002). The positions of the researcher, such as his/her theoretical, political, and ideological stances could affect the research and lead to bias. Thus, reflexivity allows for a critical reflection on the practices and processes of the research and the role of the researcher (Lichtman, 2012). In addition, it helps make bias apparent (Adkins, 2002; Skeggs, 2002). Therefore, qualitative researchers need to address and recognise these biases, and they implement reflexivity as a "means to monitor the tension between involvement and detachment of the researcher and the researched

as a means to enhance the rigor of the study and its ethics" (Berger, 2013, p. 3). One aim of reflexivity in qualitative research is to enhance the credibility of the findings and the accuracy of the research by accounting for researcher biases, knowledge, beliefs, and values (Cutcliffe, 2003). Reflexivity allows the researcher to think of the ways in which who they are might hinder, as well as assist, the process of co-constructing meaning (Lietz, Langer & Furman, 2006).

Berger (2013) asserts that reflexivity is not limited to certain parts of the study, but is crucial throughout all the phases of the research. These phases include collecting and analysing the data, and drawing conclusions (Bradbury-Jones, 2007). For example, a practical measure for maintaining the credibility of the analysis in this study was to review the same interviews a couple of weeks later after the original analysis (Bolton, 2010). Such a time difference offered the researcher an opportunity to examine the same material from a different angle or through a 'new lens' and helped to identify where the researcher's own experience interfered (Berger, 2013). Furthermore, member checking (discussed further in section 4.8.3.1 on credibility) was also used in this study to make the data collecting, analysis, and conclusion more credible.

4.4.6 The Relationship of Designated Research Methods to the Research Questions.

The following table (Table 4.1) shows how each data collection method helped answer each of the research questions for this study.

No.	Research Question	Research Method
1	Students' perceptions of EMI	1. Focus Groups 2. Interviews 3. Questionnaires
2	Students' learning experiences	1. Focus Groups 2. Interviews 3. Questionnaires
3	Challenges students face	1. Focus Groups 2. Interviews

		3. Questionnaires
		4. Observations
4	How students cope with their challenges	1. Focus Groups
		2. Interviews
		3. Questionnaires
		4. Observations

Table 4.1: Methods used to answer the research questions

4.5 Participants

Sampling is a crucial step in any research effort, and it requires careful decision-making. In qualitative research, it is important to select an appropriate sampling strategy (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2011; Onwuegbuzie & Leech, 2007). The participants for this research were purposively chosen from KU and PAAET (the only two public institutions) for several reasons. First, according to KU and PAAET's Admission and Registration Deanship 2016, these two institutions serve 84.8% (95,081 students) of the total students in all the higher education institutions in Kuwait, while the private universities and colleges accommodate only 15.2% (17,000 students). Moreover, out of the latter 15.2% of students, many are non-Kuwaitis. Second, the private institutions differ drastically in terms of their programmes (some offer only diplomas and some offer Bachelor degrees), their size, the colleges they have within their institution, and the language they use. Therefore, it would have been difficult to include them in this study due to their different and varying natures. Third, the public institutions must align with the Kuwaiti Constitution and the general laws set by the government. These laws force the government to provide free education (including higher education) to all Kuwaiti citizens. At the same time, Arabic is the only official language in Kuwait; however, the two public institutions teach scientific subjects only through EMI.

The first phase included 12 participants selected using convenience sampling. The participants were divided into two groups, one of which comprised students at the University of Exeter, while the other comprised current students at KU and PAAET. The first group consisted of six of the

researcher's colleagues at the University of Exeter, who were former students at KU and PAAET and had experienced learning through EMI. The second group was recruited by entering two classrooms at both institutions and asking for voluntary participants.

The second phase involved 100 students who were purposively selected from both KU and PAAET, ranging from first year to final year students. The science colleges were purposively chosen, as they were the target colleges. The purposive sample approach was complemented by a volunteer sampling, as students from the selected colleges volunteered to be involved in the second phase. Therefore, after students had been purposively selected from the science colleges, KU's administration provided the researcher with 13 classrooms from all the science colleges and CBA, and PAAET provided 8 classrooms from all three science colleges and the science departments in CBE. From those 21 classrooms in both institutions, 100 students volunteered to participate in the questionnaire. The study included students from several academic years to conceptualise further the phenomenon and provide a broader scope of enquiry for the research topic. For instance, first year students provided their current challenges and their first encounters with EMI, whereas final year students provided a different scope by recording their experiences after overcoming some of the obstacles. The goal was to bring in different perspectives from different experiences.

In the third phase, that is, the in-depth interviews, 11 students were sampled according to a criterion sampling strategy, wherein only those who met certain criteria of importance and usefulness for the specific study were selected (Kuzel, 1992; Patton, 1990). The chosen criteria were those students who elaborated on their answers in the open-ended questions, filled in the questionnaire, and were willing to participate. These criteria of importance and usefulness help to choose participants who are likely to provide information-rich data (Patton, 1990). Therefore, participants are chosen based on the assumption that since they elaborated on their answers in the questionnaire, filled in the questionnaire, and are willing to participate, they are likely to discuss the topic in more depth and provide more detailed accounts of their experiences (Palinkas, Horwitz, Green, Wisdom, Duan & Hoagwood, 2015).

Students participating in the questionnaires were asked to write their first names only (or they could use pseudonyms) and their contact details if they wished to participate in an in-depth interview. There were 11 students who fulfilled all these criteria: 5 from PAAET and 6 from KU.

For the fourth stage, the classrooms observed were chosen purposively, five from each institution, and the participants were given the right not to be observed. After receiving approval from each institution, a list of the possible observable classrooms was sent to the researcher. Then, from that list, specific classrooms were chosen to be used during the observations. These classrooms were chosen so the researcher could observe students from a range of different disciplines, rather than observing students from one or only a few specific majors. As the study aim is to explore the science colleges, therefore, different departments from different colleges were included in the observations to incorporate various disciplines rather than observing only a few.

4.6 Data Collection Procedures

In this study, data were collected in four main phases using a sequential process. In phase one, data were collected from two focus groups and then analysed. The findings of phase one informed the development of the second phase, the questionnaire. The data were collected from the questionnaire and analysed in phase two. The findings of the questionnaire then supported the development of the semi-structured interview questions by adding any emerging issues to that method. Finally, the last phase included observations, where the researcher gained an insider look at actual lectures. The rationale for using such a consecutive design was to aid each method and to support the topics covered in the previous method. For example, using semi-structured interviews after the questionnaire was useful for refining and explaining the statistical findings and exploring the participants' views in more depth (Creswell, 2003; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 1998). Figure 4.2 shows the sequential mixed methods design procedure used for the study:

Phase	Procedure	Product

Phase One
Data Collection

Two focus groups.
In-depth.

Audible data.

Phase Two
Data Collection

Distributing questionnaires to 100 students.

Numeric data.
Descriptive data.

Phase Two
Analysis

Inserting Data into SPSS.

Descriptive statistics e.g. frequencies and percentages.

Phase Three
Data Collection

12 in-depth interviews with KU and PAAET students.

Audible data.

Phase Three
Analysis

Transcribing and translation.
Content analysis.
Coding and thematic analysis.

Codes and themes.

Phase Four
Data Collection

10 classroom semi-structured observations at KU and PAAET.

Field notes.

Phase Four
Analysis

Content analysis.
Coding and thematic analysis.

Codes and themes.

Integration of quantitative and qualitative results.

Explanation and interpretation of the data.

Presenting the analysis of the data.
Discussion.
Implications.
Recommendations.

Figure 4.2 Sequential Mixed Methods Design Procedure

4.6.1 Phase One

The first phase of the data collection involved two focus groups, each containing 6 participants. Both of the focus groups lasted from 45 to 60 minutes at a chosen site of their choice; both were conducted at university sites. The first group included six participants' situated in Exeter, England. Although they were not from the target group (current students at tertiary institutions in Kuwait), they were previous students from Kuwaiti public institutions. Thus, their input provided still another scope of inquiry, namely, those students who experienced EMI teaching in Kuwait and were currently learning in an English- speaking country.

The second focus group also had six participants, and all were current students from Kuwait University and PAAET. These participants were recruited by visiting two classrooms at KU and PAAET. The discussion in both focus groups was conducted in Arabic; thus, they were able to express themselves more efficiently and freely. The nature of the focus groups enriched the discussion by allowing participants to disagree with each other, challenge ideas, and elaborate on each other's views. The bulk of the data generated from the two focus groups was then used to develop the questionnaire to cover the issues that were discussed.

The focus groups covered three major topics: (1) the participants' views on EMI, (2) the possible advantages and disadvantages, and (3) are there any other solutions or possible ways to improve the current LP.

4.6.2 Phase Two

In the second phase of this study, a questionnaire was distributed to classes (randomly selected) over a period of several days. First, permission was obtained from the department heads of all the classrooms that participated, and permission was also obtained from the lecturers before distributing the questionnaire. I personally administered all questionnaires and visited the participating classrooms. Secondly, when all potential candidates were informed of the questionnaire and its purpose, research aims and study procedures, participants were told their contribution was voluntary and they could withdraw at any time. All students in all the classrooms agreed to participate, no one withdrawing. Students were asked to fill in their contact

details if they showed a willingness to participate in the next data collection phase - the in-depth interviews.

Students were given approximately 50 minutes to fill in their answers. The questionnaire was translated from English to Arabic, and this choice played a major role in making it easy for all students to understand and answer the questions efficiently and precisely. The translation of the questionnaire to Arabic supported their understanding of the items, and this step was successful, producing a 100% response rate. The closed-ended items were analysed using SPSS. The significant results of the closed-ended items, along with the findings from the open-ended questions at the end of the questionnaire, were duly noted and then discussed in further detail during the interviews.

4.6.3 Phase Three

The third phase was one of the main data collection methods. It began after the findings of the focus groups were collected and the questionnaire answers were analysed. The two phases that occurred before the interviews provided a general overview of the students' views on EMI, and raised a variety of issues that allowed further in-depth discussion in the interviews. The interviews were undertaken with 11 students who had expressed their willingness to participate in the interview phase. In order to provide a convenient atmosphere for these students to express themselves freely, they were asked to choose the site for the interview. Consequently, all the interviews were done in lecturers' offices, as all kindly offered their offices for the interviews.

Prior to commencing each interview, I restated the purpose of the interview for the study, their right to withdraw, their right not to answer any question, and the usefulness of their information and its contribution to the general objectives of the research. Due to a conservative society, and bearing in mind that some female participants were shy about talking freely and expressing their views, I was prepared to conduct some interviews by telephone. This option was planned for in advance in case I needed to resort to it at any stage. The female participants were given the option of a telephone or a face-to-face interview. Only 1 female student was interviewed

face-to-face; the others preferred to be interviewed via telephone. According to Burke and Miller (2001), conducting phone interviews is necessary when it is convenient for participants to deliver information.

Telephone interviewing is a well-established method of interviewing (Bampton & Cowton, 2002) and an important data collection method in social science literature (Cohen et al., 2012). It is a method that produces information that is comparable to face-to-face interviews (Borg & Gall, 1996). Although telephone interviews do not allow the researcher to capture body and facial expressions, given the aim and nature of this particular study, this aspect was not a crucial matter.

Despite its usefulness, however, several researchers contend that telephone interviews need special arrangements (Oppenheim, 1992; Bampton & Cowton, 2002; Burke & Miller, 2001), aspects that I took care of when conducting the interviews. For instance, I made sure that students understood that the interview might take an hour, and they should be alone in a quiet place. Furthermore, on the day of the interview, I sent text messages to the students in advance to confirm the time of the interviews. The recording of the interview was done using a special mobile recording application, which I piloted with a friend beforehand.

The interviews lasted between 35 to 55 minutes each, and they were tape-recorded after gaining each participant's permission. Written notes were also taken during the interview. Fortunately, all students, including the female participants, expressed themselves freely and openly on the topics being discussed.

Before the interviews could be conducted, there were several issues to be considered. The first was which the language would be used during the interviews. All the interviews were conducted in Arabic to allow participants to express themselves freely. Using English might have affected the flow of ideas, as participants might have had linguistic obstacles refraining them from expressing themselves. Another issue considered was power relations, as qualitative research encourages authenticity and disclosure, and proposes to reduce the power differences between the participant and the research (Strier, 2007). Thus, it moves away from the standpoint of quantitative research

where the researcher is seen as the ultimate source of authority (Shaw, 2003).

Power relations in this study were addressed in two phases, that is, before and during the data collections, as suggested by Karnieli-Miller, Strier and Pessach (2009). At the initial stage, the researcher introduced the study, described its objectives and goals, and stated the main purpose of the study. Thus, the researcher was dependent on the participants' autonomy to voluntarily participate in the study and express their knowledge and experience regarding the phenomenon. This 'negotiation' shifts the power relations and gives students greater power.

During the data collection stage, the researcher seems entirely dependent on the participants' willingness to participate. Thus, the researcher must try to elicit as much information as possible, and this could be achieved by building a rapport with the participants (Karnieli-Miller, Strier & Pessach, 2009). In this research, this was achieved by the researcher engaging in unrelated discussions with each participant before the interview, and engaging with the participants socially (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2006). The rapport building was crucial to better incorporate Klein and Myer's (2009) interaction principle during the interview. This principle emphasises the interpretivist view that facts and realities are produced as a result of a social interaction between researchers and their participants (Rowlands, 2005). Klein and Myer (2009) argue that this principle is achieved if the conversation does not flow in one direction. Rather, the interviewer must engage, discuss, and become more involved in the interview by showing their interest and empathy, and by communicating with the participants rather than expecting them to do most of the talking (Dickson-Swift, James, Kippen, & Liamputtong, 2006). Thus, building a rapport facilitated the interaction between the researcher and the participants and helped the interviews to be more of a social encounter rather than a one-sided interview. It also allowed the participants of this study to engage with the questions.

The final issue considered during the interview was participants' identities. Some researchers have argued that people's stories could be very individual, and so, simple anonymisation (such as pseudonyms, discussed in

section 4.9 Ethical Considerations) might not be sufficient (Kaiser, 2009; Seidman, 2006). Therefore, Wiles, Crow, Heath and Charles (2006) and Richards and Schwartz (2002) suggest that the researcher needs to disguise any specific information providing doing so does not affect the integrity of the data. For example, during the interviews, students provided detailed information, such as their year of admission, their GPAs and grades, the exact names of their lectures and lecturers, the first names of friends, the exact semesters in which they took certain subjects, and their exact specialisation. Such detailed descriptions were not disclosed at any stage in this study, and any irrelevant information that could possible lead to their identities was not used or referred to.

4.6.4 Phase Four

The final phase of data collection involved ten observations, which were randomly selected and the consent of the lecturers and students were obtained. This phase was not undertaken after phase three (the interviews). Rather both the interviews and the observations were done in parallel. Conducting the interviews while observing at the same time gave the researcher an exact inside look at the classroom. Consequently, this choice allowed me to raise any questions during the interviews regarding something I had observed, and vice versa. It also allowed me to match what was being said in the interview to what happened in class. The observations were done in 10 different classrooms and lasted 50 minutes each (the entire class period). At the beginning of an observation, the students were told what was about to take place, its purpose, and what I intended to observe. All the students signed consent forms and were assured that they had the right not to be observed. Their lecturers also stated the purpose of this method, and the researcher's intent, which was to observe the actions, and not the individuals. They were not asked to disclose their names verbally or on any written form.

4.7 Data Analysis Procedures

In this exploratory mixed-method research effort, the data were collected both qualitatively and quantitatively. The closed-ended data collected from the questionnaire was analysed quantitatively, whereas the open-ended data

collected from the questionnaire and the data collected from the focus groups, semi-structured interviews and the semi-structured interviews were analysed qualitatively (see Appendix 4 for an example of a transcribed interview and Appendix 5 for an example of the coding process done through MAXQDA). Finally, presentation of the data analysis will be based on combining qualitative findings with quantitative statistical results for better understanding and to formulate a broader, more specific picture of the phenomenon being studied.

4.7.1 Questionnaire Data Analysis

Before analysing the questionnaires, they were numbered for easy management. The closed-ended results were analysed using SPSS, presenting both the frequency and percentage counts of responses to the questionnaire items. The advantage of using SPSS is that "it enables you to score and to analyse quantitative data very quickly and in many different ways" (Bryman & Cramer, 2001, p. 15).

4.7.2 Qualitative Data Analysis

In qualitative research, there are no clearly agreed procedures or rules for analysing the data. Rather they will vary depending on the epistemological assumptions and the aims of the analytic process (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). The data collected from the focus groups, the open-ended questionnaire items, and the semi-structured interviews were analysed and coded using thematic analysis. Braun and Clarke's (2006) steps for analysis was implemented with certain other techniques gleaned from the literature (Radnor, 2002; Bryman, 2008; Holliday, 2007). These steps helped analyse the data both logically and sequentially in terms of formulating codes, organising themes, producing thematic charts, and presenting final results, arguments, and conclusions for the research.

Phase 1: Familiarising Oneself with the Data

At the beginning of this phase, the data was transcribed into written form. Since I personally collected the data and handled the transcription process, there was an initial personal familiarity with the data. However, analysing data

involves moving back and forth between the data, the coded extracts, and its analysis. To immerse myself in the data I read and re-read across and within the data (Lalik & Potts, 2001), and searched for patterns and meanings (Clarke & Braun, 2013). During this phase, I also started taking notes and marking ideas for coding (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Phase 2: Generating the Initial Codes

This phase began with reading the data and becoming familiar with it and then generating an initial list of ideas from the data. It also involved generating initial codes. It was important at this stage to work systematically through the entire data bank, and give equal attention to each data item (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This phase involved reducing an ample amount of data, by dividing it into smaller blocks through labelling and coding, so as to assign units of meaning to the data (Radnor, 2002). This step was essential, as it turned a huge amount of data into more controllable fragments (Bryman, 2008). MAXQDA was used to facilitate this process and categories the relevant quotations with their relevant themes.

Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest two key steps to follow for this phase: (a) code as many potential patterns/themes as possible and (b) code individual extracts into as many different themes as they fit into easily.

Phase 3: Searching for Themes

Phase 3 began when all data was initially coded and a long list of different codes was produced. This phase involved sorting the codes into potential themes, and putting extracts with identified themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Moreover, by producing a thematic map at this point, I started to consider how different codes relate to form an overarching theme. Some of the previously developed codes formed a main theme, whereas others formed a sub-theme, and others were discarded. Also, some themes did not seem to belong anywhere; therefore, a miscellaneous theme was developed to house such codes. It is important at this stage that nothing is discarded (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

Phase 4: Reviewing the Themes

Phase 4 involved the refinement of the devised set of candidate themes from Phase 3 on two levels. Level one involved reading the themes and their extracts to consider whether they form a coherent pattern. Level two reworked the themes if they do not form a coherent pattern. Here it was important to reconsider if the theme itself is problematic or whether the extracts within a theme do not fit there.

Then, it was important to assess whether the candidate thematic maps reflected the meanings evident in the data as a whole. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), in this phase, the entire database should be re-read for two purposes. First, check if the themes work in relation to all the data. Second, code any additional data that has been left out during earlier coding strategies.

Phase 5: Defining and Naming Themes

At this stage, after a satisfactory thematic map of the data was produced, the themes were defined and refined, in other words, to identify the essence of what each theme is about and what aspect of the data each theme captures (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Further, a detailed analysis was written to identify the storyline of each theme, and how it fitted the broader overall picture and addressed the research questions. The refinement in this stage also required determining whether or not each theme actually contains a sub-theme.

Phase 6: Producing the Report

After finalising a set of fully worked-out themes, the task of writing a thematic analysis is to tell the complex story of the data in a way that convinces the reader of the validity and merit of the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This analysis provided a coherent, logical, interesting, non-repetitive, and concise account of the story the data told. It involves providing sufficient evidence and enough data extracts to support the declared theme.

4.8 Quality of the Research

Considering the quality of any research will ensure a well-established outcome. Thus, a major concern of this study was to make sure that the data

were both valid and reliable. Several steps were taken to achieve this goal and they are discussed in the next sections.

4.8.1 Piloting

Piloting is an important stage used to test the instruments and rectify any potential problems. Untested instruments could possibly render the findings; therefore, De Vaus (1993) recommends that researchers "do not take the risk. Pilot test first" (p. 54).

In this current research, the pilot stage of the questionnaire was completed in two stages. The first stage involved 30 students from Kuwait University and PAAET. In the first pilot, it was clear that there were some missing items in the questionnaire design. For instance, on the introductory page a couple of sentences were added to explain what was meant by English as a medium of instruction, necessary for clarification. Also, in Part 1, two questions were deleted as not necessary; the two questions related to student hobbies and the language students used to watch television. An important item regarding "which year they are studying" was added. Furthermore, in Part 2 of the questionnaire, some items were repeated while others needed re-ordering and re-structuring. Moreover, certain items in Part 2 and Part 3 were re-organized and re-grouped, so that related items were listed together and make the questionnaire easier to follow and also more systematic.

After the first pilot study, it was evident that some items were repeated or irrelevant; therefore, more revisions were undertaken. In the second stage of the pilot study, 18 students (all current students at KU and PAAET) were asked to administer the final draft of the questionnaire to ensure that there remained no misunderstandings or ambiguities. The result indicated that only minor clarifications related to wording was needed.

The semi-structured interviews were the main source of data collection; thus, as Dornyei (2007) suggested, a trial run was conducted to test the efficiency of the interview schedule and develop precise interview skills. Three students (two males and one female) from KU and PAAET were involved in the pilot study. Several changes were made, according to suggestions and feedback from the students.

Personally I learned more skills and gained more confidence through this effort. For instance, during the pilot interviews, I was overwhelmed with the amount of information generated, and the interviewees began answering questions not yet asked and discussing topics not yet covered. Therefore, Robson's (2002) suggestions of having topics on cards and setting aside those already covered were implemented. It helped ensure a successful sequence of topics. I also learned the importance of prompts and how they can help maintain the flow of an interview (Wellington, 2000; Back, 2010). According to Leech (2002), "Prompts are as important as the questions themselves in semi-structured interviews. Prompts do two things: they keep people talking and they rescue you when responses turn to mush" (p. 667).

There was also a need for further practising and piloting the in-depth interview instrument, when some participants preferred to undertake theirs by telephone. Two female students participated in the piloting. One was a first-year student and the other, a second- year student. It was important to pilot this circumstance, as this was my first experience conducting telephone interviews, and practicing it supported me and helped me better deal with the process. The suggestions and feedback from the participants were also helpful and informative, as changes were then applied to the interview schedule and the process as well.

For the observation stage, two classrooms were used for the pilot study. These two observations affirmed that the current design was adequate for the intended aims of the main observation. However, the section on "general comments" was extended, as more space was needed for more detail.

4.8.2 Reliability and Validity of the Questionnaire

Whenever conducting questionnaires, researchers need to consider and be aware of any issues of validity and reliability, as both these factors can influence the quality of the data obtained. Validity, refers to "the extent to which there has been an approximation of truth" (Osborne-Daponte, 2008, p.86), that is, the questionnaire measures what it was intended to measure (Pallant, 2005, 2007). For this questionnaire, I used content validity or the extent to which the items represented the content of interest (Punch, 1998).

This validity was achieved by showing the questionnaire to my supervisor for suggestions, additions or deletions of the questionnaire items. The questionnaire was also checked by several colleagues who are professors in Kuwait and specialise in the field of Applied Linguistics. The final draft of the questionnaire was also translated into Arabic. To make sure that the translation was as accurate as possible, it was checked and verified by a bilingual colleague (English and Arabic) who holds a PhD in translation studies at Kuwait University. Finally, the pilot study discussed above further helped to ensure the validity of the questionnaire device.

Reliability indicates how free the research is from random error. In this research, internal consistency was used to check the reliability of the questionnaire, namely, the degree to which all the items in an instrument measure a certain behaviour or characteristic (Drost, 2011). Internal consistency can be achieved through different measures. The most popular is the Cronbach Alpha test, which measures the average correlation among all the items that make up the scale. Nunnally (1978, cited in Pallant, 2005) recommends a minimum level of 0.7 for a questionnaire's reliability for it to be considered sufficient. For the questionnaire in this research, a Cronbach's Alpha coefficient of 0.752 was obtained, a measurement considered internally reliable.

4.8.3 Establishing Quality in Qualitative Research

Quality in interpretivist research has been tested and questioned for the simple reason that it does not subscribe to any predetermined set of criteria. Interpretivists argue that due to the different strategies, intentions and backgrounds of research and the fact that qualitative research is an exploratory enterprise, this method cannot be contained by any set of fixed rules (Flick, 2007; Seale, 2002). Lincoln (1995) and Seale (1999) saw the terms reliability and validity as 'old fashioned', stating that interpretive research has moved beyond any consensually derived criteria.

Although interpretivist researchers agree that qualitative research is not bounded by any fixed criterion, a variety of general principles and guidelines have been proposed to help researchers ensure the trustworthiness of their findings and effectively evaluate the quality of their research. Researchers,

such as Lincoln (1995), and Klein and Myers (1999), have presented different principles and standards for improving the quality in interpretivist research. Hammersley (2007, p.3) also advocates for these principles: "While I am rejecting the idea of a finite set of explicit and exhaustive criteria that can substitute for the judgment, or render its role minimal, the above discussion indicates my belief that criteria, in the form of guidelines, can play an important role in the work of researchers."

Eisner (1998) contends that the believability of any research can best be achieved by consensus, tightness, and coherence of narrative style; that is, the presentation of the data and the data analysis, as well as the link between the reported data and the researcher's conclusion/s. Therefore, trustworthiness was a key element used to enhance the data and the findings in this research. Trustworthiness refers to the quality of research, as opposed to the principles of reliability and validity (Shenton, 2004). According to Harrison, MacGibbon and Morton (2001), trustworthiness is the process we undertake to meet the criteria of validity, believability, and credibility. In this research, Lincoln and Guba's (1985) criteria for ensuring trustworthiness of findings was implemented (the questions are adapted from Bryman, 2012):

- Credibility (preferred over internal validity): How believable are the findings?
- Transferability (preferred over external validity): Do the findings apply to other contexts?
- Dependability (preferred over reliability): Are the findings likely to apply to other times?
- Confirmability (preferred to objectivity): Has the researcher allowed his or her values to intrude to any high degree?

These guidelines as well as others were useful when shaping this research's procedures, as they provided a clear viewpoint about what matters in interpretivist research and also clarified many issues. For instance, Klein and Myers's (1999) principle of interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee is crucial to the role taken by the researcher in the interview. Interpretivists see that reality is produced from social interactions with

participants. Further, Lincoln's (1995) criterion of 'positionality' was also essential for this research, as it does not present generalisable or grand knowledge.

4.8.3.1 Credibility

The term 'credibility' refers to whether participants' views on an issue being discussed are correctly portrayed in the research report (Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2006). In other words, because qualitative research is usually based on multiple realities, it is imperative that qualitative researchers ensure that their findings are credible to their participants (Gass & Mackey, 2005). Different strategies were implemented in this study to achieve that credibility. For instance, the accuracy of the interpretation of the data was checked through triangulation on different levels (Guba & Lincoln, 1989). Further, a member check was an essential consideration to ensure the accuracy of the descriptions (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2006). After the interview, the findings were shared with the participants involved, which gave them a chance to affirm that the findings represented their feelings, views, and experiences. A copy of the transcripts and a summary of the interpretations were sent to each participant so they could confirm that the interpretations of their interviews were accurate. Thus, after transcribing the interviews, reading them, analysing and highlighting the main points, interpreting the findings, and writing the conclusions for each interview, the researcher returned all of these to the participants to confirm the credibility of the information (Creswell & Miller, 2000). Each participant had the opportunity to confirm what was elicited from their interviews only; they were not sent the findings or interpretations elicited from other interviews. Thus, a member check was not conducted during the interview; rather, it was done after the analysis phase. Doing a member check at this stage allows the participants to check if an authentic representation was made of what they said during the interviews (Harper & Cole, 2012). Through member checks, the misrepresentation of findings and the incidence of incorrect data are thus limited (Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2006).

4.8.3.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the ability of readers to judge the degree of similarity between one context and another and apply the same research in other venues based on the researcher's description of the setting (Given, 2008). Although this study's findings are related to only two public institutions in Kuwait, the study offers an example in a similar context that can help implement EMI as an LP (Shenton, 2004), especially within the Gulf region. The descriptions and details in this study may help the reader decide on the need for similar policies, culture, site, resources, participants and other characteristics examined in this study (Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2006).

It is important to note, however, that it is not the aim of this study to generalise across contexts; rather, its intent is to stress the unique characteristics of a specific learning/teaching situation. Nonetheless, that is not to say that this study could not be used as an example in other contexts. Furthermore, since there are other private universities in Kuwait that do fall under the same rules of the same governing party, the Ministry of Education, the results and recommendations of this study could be transferred to them.

4.8.3.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to "whether one can track the procedures and processes used to collect and interpret data" (Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtle, 2006, p. 275). Good qualitative research provides a detailed explanation of how the data were collected and analysed (Mangal & Mangal, 2013). Therefore, throughout this study, the researcher's aim is to explain thoroughly and in detail all the procedures that were conducted. In this way, the reader will be able to evaluate whether the proper research processes were carried out.

4.8.3.4 Confirmability

The concept of confirmability necessitates that essential steps be taken to ensure as far as possible that the research findings derive from the ideas and experiences of the participants (Shenton, 2004). In other words, has the researcher been biased during the study? In this research, confirmability was achieved by implementing respondent validation, that is, the participants of this research validated the data interpretation, the analysis, and the

conclusions. This procedure is necessary to make sure that the researcher's interpretations did not intervene or misrepresent any views, and that the interpretations were consistent with the participants' expressions and ideas (Radnor, 2002; Yanow & Schwartz-Shea, 2006).

This step was achieved by returning the interview transcripts to the participants by email or cross-checking them by telephone for those participants who did not provide their email address. The participants were asked to read the interpretations thoroughly to make sure that their actual views were reflected and agree that the findings were consistent with their perceptions. According to Shenton (2004), a detailed methodological discretion allows the reader to determine how acceptable the constructs and the data emerging from them are. Critical to this step is the "audit trail". During this process, an outside reviewer was shown in detail the processes of this research and how they were conducted, and he was able to evaluate whether the processes were consistent at both the methodology and literature stages.

4.8.4 Triangulation

Another procedure implemented for this research to ensure its validity was triangulation. According to Guion (2006), the importance of triangulation emerges from the fact that reality cannot be reached using one single data collection method. The triangulation strategy strengthens the research procedures, analysis, and findings by using multiple data collection methods in a single study (Golafshani, 2003; Gass & Mackey, 2005). Several levels and types of methods were identified to accommodate and confirm all the processes of this research.

Investigator triangulation was adopted for this research. It is a process where colleagues or experts within a field of study examine a certain process of the research (Guion, Diehl & Mcdonald, 2011). Two investigators were asked to check and verify the translation accuracy of the Arabic interview transcripts. Both investigators were PhD holders in English-Arabic translation.

In addition, methodological triangulation was used in this study; this process involves using multiple methods to see if similar results are still found (Guion, Diehl & Mcdonald, 2011). Patton (2001) advocates using methodological triangulation by stating that "triangulation strengthens a study

by combining methods. This can mean using several kinds of methods or data, including using both quantitative and qualitative approaches" (p, 247). Hence, according to Golafshani (2003), since constructivism values the multiple realities that people perceive, it is essential to adopt multiple methods for gathering data so as to acquire reliable and valid diverse and multiple realities. Further still, the rationale behind implementing four quantitative-qualitative data collection methods as a procedure is that one method alone cannot provide adequate support for a study (Gass & Mackey, 2005) and thus the weakness of one method is compensated for by the strength of another (Jack & Raturi, 2006). However, it must still be acknowledged that although implementing triangulation on several different levels will consequently strengthen the research, it is a task that requires massive effort, time and precision.

The role of triangulation in the data analysis is crucial, since this study adopts four different methods, to allow the data from the different sources to be compared and/or complete each other to strengthen the findings. Kara (2015) states that triangulating data during the analysis phase helps provide a better explanatory narrative to answer the research questions. Thus, the qualitative strand and the data from the qualitative strand were used to analysis and validate the findings of this study. For instance, when analysing a certain category, the different data sources were incorporated to support, explain, or show any contradiction in the findings of each method (Fielding, 2012). In most cases during the analysis of this study, triangulation helped support and explain the findings from different methods (Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2014). For example, the analysis of the qualitative helped explain further the findings of the quantitative data, and in other cases the quantitative findings supported the qualitative findings.

4.9 Ethical Considerations

Conducting social research entails obtaining a different sort of data from several different individuals. Therefore, it is important for researchers to follow precise underpinning guidelines "to reach an ethically acceptable position in which their actions are considered justifiable and sound" (BERA, 2011, p. 4). It is essential for every researcher "to place it (ethics) foremost in the

planning, conduct and presentation of his/her research" (Wellington, 2000, p. 54). While conducting this research, I was aware of a number of ethical issues, which I then addressed and made sure were not breached. During the course of this study, I acted carefully so as not to harm the participants in any way. I also ensured that they were respected as individuals. These ethical considerations were achieved by following specific guidelines.

Before engaging in the study, I submitted a Certificate of Ethical Research Approval form to the college's Ethics Committee at the University of Exeter, wherein I stated the focus and purpose of my study and the procedures I would follow while collecting the data (see Appendix 6). The next step was to gain access to the institutions involved, Kuwait University and PAAET. I contacted these administrations beforehand, as I was aware that certain access procedures could take a long time. The permission to enter both sites was granted for any time throughout the course. It was also necessary to obtain an informed consent form (see Appendix 7) from the participants to allow them to show their agreement before engaging in the study (BERA, 2011; Creswell, 2009). This form necessitated their voluntary participation and their right to refrain from answering any questions, and their right to withdraw from the study at any time. The consent form was provided to all participants at all stages of the research: Focus groups, questionnaires, interviews, and the observations.

According to BERA (2011) researchers must ensure that all participants understand and agree to the process they are engaging in, including why they are participating, how important the process is, and how their participation will be used. To ensure this aspect, I personally administrated every stage of the data collection. I introduced myself, stated the purpose of the study, how important the research was for them and me personally and academically. I also reinforced their right to withdraw at any time. Particular attention was given to administering of the questionnaire, as participants usually lose interest when answering them and consequently, this action may hinder the findings. Therefore, I explained how the questionnaire will eventually benefit them. I also made sure they understood each section and each item, and I remained available throughout the whole session.

Finally, issues of confidentiality and anonymity were considered, and all possible steps were taken to ensure both aspects. Pseudonyms were used for all interviews and focus groups to protect participant identity. Respondents to the questionnaires were asked to answer and return them anonymously. In the observations, all findings related to students were numbered. All participants across all data collection procedures were given assurances, both verbal and written, that no personal information would be disclosed, and no one would have access to the data collected during the study except the researcher.

4.10 Limitations of the Study

Research is usually limited by several imposed boundaries, such as the nature of the study, timeframe, and/or other related circumstances. One of the limitations of the current study was the pool of participants. The study did not involve students from private universities in Kuwait, as that would put a wider scope on the phenomenon and force me to compare the findings of very different site. Including private universities was not possible due to the time constraint and the different learning nature of these universities. Some private institutions offer Bachelor degrees only, while others offer only diplomas. More importantly, the importance of English and how it was taught differed from one type of institution to another; therefore, it would be difficult to accurately compare the findings and cater to these differences.

In addition, within public institutions, other parties could have been involved, such as university professors, administrators, government and university officials in order to add new dimensions to the study. I am aware that the involvement of these aforementioned parties would have strengthened the study; however, due to access circumstances and time constraints, that focus was not possible.

Another limitation of the study concerns the data collection itself. In the observation stage, it would have been better to videotape the lectures observed. That choice would have allowed me the opportunity to revisit the actual classrooms observed and checks whether anything was missed. Having the luxury of returning visually to the observed site would have allowed me to observe and re-observe the data and crosscheck what had

previously been collected and recorded. However, due to the lecturers' refusing any videotaping of their classrooms, I did not have that option.

Interestingly, some of the students in the study were hesitant about speaking freely about issues dealing with the policy of English as a medium of instruction. They thought they were discussing politics and indeed the general policies of the university. I reassured them that what I was interested in was their experience with this policy and the possible challenges they dealt with, and their identity would never be exposed or even identifiable to any other parties.

A final limitation of the study is that it is possible that those students who volunteered to be interviewed were those who held the strongest views about EMI. This would lead to a rather skewed set of interview responses. Therefore, further research needs to be done to concur such findings.

Chapter V

Findings and Data Analysis

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents and interprets the findings of this study. The findings respond to the four research questions, and are thus divided accordingly. Following a thematic analysis of the different data sources – focus groups, questionnaires, interviews and observations – several main themes, categories and sub-categories are developed. The first section discusses students' positive and negative views of English as medium of instruction (EMI). The second section presents their views on their learning and teaching experiences, such as the challenges they face when learning through EMI, and students' recommendations to teachers on how to increase their learning. The third section discusses the effects of EMI on identity, its effect on Arabic, students' pride in Arabic, and linguistic human rights. The final section concludes with the students' opinions of Arabic as a medium of instruction.

Table 5.1 Table of the Themes, Sub-Themes, and Categories

Categories

Theme I: 5.2 Views on English as a medium of instruction

    a.   5.2.1 Positive Views of EMI
          5.2.1.1 Employment: 'I need it for my job'
          5.2.1.2 Postgraduate Studies: 'I cannot continue my studies without English'
          5.2.1.3 Research is Conducted Mainly in English: 'When I search for a word, I find English resources'
          5.2.1.4 Language of the World: ' We use it everywhere'

    b.   5.2.2 Negative Views of EMI
          5.2.2.1 'EMI is a waste of time and over exaggerated'
          5.2.2.2 Not Prepared During School: 'It is like throwing you in the sea'
          5.2.2.3 'The University does not prepare us'

Theme II: 5.3 Learning/teaching experiences

    a.   5.3.1 Challenges of EMI
          5.3.1.1 'We struggle at the beginning'
          5.3.1.2 'I have to give a double effort'
          5.3.1.3 'I have wasted hours in learning the language'

5.3.1.4 'Learning through EMI is affecting our careers'

b. 5.3.2 Lectures
    5.3.2.1 'Arabic is used extensively in our lectures'
    5.3.2.2 'Missing information during lectures'
    5.3.2.3 Class Participation: 'I need to prepare first'
    5.3.2.4 Torn between Different Teacher Attitudes: 'It depends on the teacher'
    5.3.2.5 'We prefer teachers who use Arabic'

c. 5.3.3 Grades
    5.3.3.1 Overall Score: 'We lose several points because of simple English related issues'
    5.3.3.2 Understanding Exams: 'Sometimes we answer in a different way'
    5.3.3.3 'I just want to pass'

d. 5.3.4 Textbooks
    5.3.4.1 Limited Use of Textbooks: 'We only use several pages'
    5.3.4.2 Understanding Textbooks
    5.3.4.3 Lecturers' Notes: 'They are much easier'

e. 5.3.5 Writing
    5.3.5.1 Writing during Exams: 'We are marked on everything'
    5.3.5.2 Writing Assignments and Essays.

f. 5.3.6 Coping strategies
    5.3.6.1 Study Groups: 'We all help each other'
    5.3.6.2 Private Tutoring and English Courses.
    5.3.6.3 Translating: 'I spend hours in translating'
    5.3.6.4 Asking Senior Students: 'It is faster and more straightforward'

g. 5.3.7 Students' Recommendations: 'These will help us'
    5.3.7.1 Going Abroad: 'I Will Learn English Much Faster'
    5.3.7.2 English Intensive Courses

Theme III: 5.4 The effect of EMI

a. 5.4.1 The Effect of EMI on Identity: 'We are changing'
    5.4.1.1 Western Thought and Speech: 'They have changed a lot'
    5.4.1.2. Appearances and Daily Life: 'Our Society is Changing'

b. 5.4.2 The Effect on Arabic
    5.4.2.1 Limiting the Use of Arabic: 'How did you do in calculus today?'
    5.4.2.2 Writing Ability: 'Our Arabic has changed'
    5.4.2.3 'It is a Language of Science and Technology'

c. 5.4.3 Pride in Arabic: 'It is my language'
d. 5.4.4 Linguistic human rights.
    5.4.4.1 Choosing between AMI and EMI: 'We need a choice'

Theme IV: 5.5 Arabic as a Medium of Instruction (AMI)
a. 5.5.1 Positive Views: 'It is easier to learn through my language'
b. 5.5.2 Negative Views: 'It would not help us in our careers'

Conclusion: 5.6

5.2 Theme I: Views on English as a Medium of Instruction

This section presents the students' views on English as a medium of instruction, and offers insights into their perspectives on the purpose of this language policy (for detailed information of the participants see appendix 9). The effectiveness of EMI has been at the centre of intensive debate in the Gulf region (Troudi & Jendli, 2011, Al-Bakri, 2013, Belhiah & Elhami, 2014). Yet EMI in Kuwait and students' views and experiences have not been researched; therefore, it is important to examine Kuwaiti students' perspectives to achieve a better understanding. The analysis showed that students saw both advantages and disadvantages to EMI.

Students' positive views of EMI centred on their employment prospects, ability to continue their postgraduate studies, the preponderance of English in research and English being the language of the world. Their negative views pertained to problems related to future employment and the belief that using EMI was a waste of time. Some students complained that neither their previous education nor their university had prepared them for EMI.

The data for this section were gathered using three of the four methods in this research: focus groups, questionnaires, and semi-structured interviews.

5.2.1 Positive Views of EMI

The majority of students were in favour of EMI. These views were related to their future employment, their postgraduate studies, the research in their field, and their view that English is the language of the world. They perceive English as a gateway for future prosperity, and as a means to achieve their goals.

Table 5.2 English Provides Many Academic Benefits

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
15	English-medium education provides many academic benefits.	50%	36%	10%	3%	1%

The majority of the participants (86%) agreed that proficiency in English brings many academic benefits. This does show that English is important to them. These benefits will be discussed in detail.

5.2.1.1 Employment: 'I need it for my job'

Employment was mentioned by the majority of the participants, even by those who disliked EMI. The analysis of the questionnaire data revealed that 97% of the respondents agreed that English is important for their studies (item 13) and only 2% disagreed (Table 5.3). Item 14 asked about the importance of English to their future jobs; a large majority (95%) agreed with this item whilst 3% disagreed. The reason for this high percentage in item 13 is explained by item 14, as English is a necessity for their future progress. Students link the importance of English to securing better jobs in the competitive market. This shows the tendency towards English as a means of finding good jobs, which was also reflected in other EMI studies conducted in other Gulf countries, such as Oman (Abdel-Jawad & Abu Radwan, 2011), and Qatar (Pessoa & RajaKumar, 2011). Similar findings were found in other Arab countries, such as in Morocco were students preferred English (Belhiah & Abdelatif, 2016).

Table 5.3 Students' Views on the Importance of English to Their Jobs.

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13	English is important for my studies.	72%	25%	1%	1%	1%
14	English is important because it helps secure better jobs.	69%	26%	2%	2%	1%

In line with these results, the analysis of the interviews revealed that English is seen as a necessity for future jobs. This was clearly expressed by all the students who participated in the semi-structured interviews. Hassan, a mechanical engineering student, stated:

> *When you need to look up a word or information in engineering, you find it in detail in English, and most of the machinery is in English and the instructions manual that comes with it does not come in Arabic. As a future engineer in the oil sector, I need to*

explain to the non-Arabs that I supervise how these dangerous
machines work. We are talking about people's lives here.

Hassan is unequivocal about his belief in the need to learn English to better communicate with his co-workers, and possibly save their lives. He also describes how in his field, instruction manuals are written in English, and that learning through Arabic will cause more problems in the future. Huda, a fourth-year medical student, also explained the need to learn English:

> *Learning through Arabic alone is not sufficient. How am I*
> *supposed to communicate with patients who don't speak*
> *Arabic? Sometimes during night shifts I am the only doctor*
> *there, so I can't refer the patient to another doctor. I know that*
> *those who don't know any Arabic make up only 3% of the*
> *population, but still, I am the one who needs to learn the other*
> *language so I can explain to him/her.*

This need to learn English for communication purposes could stem from a sense of responsibility, as Huda suggested. It is also possible that students believe it is their role to learn English in order to control their job surroundings. Dhari, a chemical engineering student, made the same point but from a different angle:

> *It doesn't look good when you don't know how to communicate*
> *with those you supervise. What would I do if I wanted to explain*
> *something to them? Bring a translator with me!*

Dhari discusses the issue from a personal perspective. This stance could be attributed to the fact that Kuwaitis take learning English seriously and attach significant importance to acquiring it. Therefore, people like Dhari would feel left out if they could not use English in the workplace when needed.

   Ali, a student in the college of business administration and a participant in the focus group conducted in Kuwait, said:

> *I would love to study in Arabic, but what am I going to do about*
> *English? After I graduate and start working in a bank,*

everything is done in English, including the computer programs
we use and the reports we write.

Ahmed, a chemistry student at KU, agreed with Ali:

Exactly. In the oil sector as well as the banking sector, if we do
not pass the English test when applying for the job, we simply
won't be accepted. It has been imposed on us.

Both views indicate that, although many students would prefer to learn subjects in Arabic, they acknowledge the difficulty this might cause. They do not have a choice, as passing the English test is an essential step for university admission and for securing a better job.

It is astonishing how Kuwaiti/Arab students feel that they are obliged to learn English for the sake of their work, whilst those non-Arabs who are coming to work in an Arab country are not given any specialised Arabic courses. According to the Ministry of Social Affairs Labour Law (chapter 4, article 14): workers need to master some level of Arabic, and their contracts should be only written in Arabic. Although a translation could be offered for the contract, only the Arabic version is legally accepted. Thus, there seems to be some contradiction between theory and practice, as the laws state that the non-Arab labour force must acquire some Arabic, but the government pushes Kuwaiti students to master English in order to be able to work efficiently with other labour.

Although most students (95%) agreed that English helps them secure better jobs (questionnaire, item 14), during the in-depth interviews, 3 students did not agree. Hunouf, a biology student at KU, said that:

I do not need to learn in English, because I know that I want to
be a secondary teacher, and at secondary school biology is
taught in Arabic. So what is the purpose of learning my scientific
degree in English? … I have friends who are teachers now, and
all they do is translate the textbook. Can you believe it? Arabs do
not know the Arabic terminology! They translate the Arabic words
into English so they can understand them, because throughout
their university years, they only studied in English.

Mariam, a geology student at KU, agreed with Hunouf:

> *In the college of education where I study, many of us major in scientific subjects to become future science teachers. The college and the students know that after graduation they will work at the Ministry of Education, where everything is in Arabic. So why are we learning the hard way? I do not want to learn in English because it will do me no good in my future career.*

According to Hunouf and Mariam, EMI will not help them in their profession. The College of Education at Kuwait University offers bachelors degrees in biology, chemistry, geology, and physics. These programmes are for students who want to teach; graduates are guaranteed a teaching job. Moreover, the college of cducation is one of the largest colleges at KU, with more than four thousand students, many of whom are science majors. Thus, learning through EMI has no professional benefit for them.

Hunouf's amazement is evident when she mentions teaching at the ministry of education, where everything is taught in Arabic. If teachers are taught using EMI, they will not be prepared to teach school children in Arabic. This could cause a lot of frustration if, as teachers, they do not understand the Arabic terminology. As a result, they will need extra help in translating or understanding the textbooks. Such a finding was also found in a similar context, in Qatar (Pessoa & Rajakumar, 2011), where findings showed that some students do not initially know the word in Arabic, so they need to first translate it from English.

Bader, a pharmaceutics major and one of the focus group participants in PAAET, echoed such sentiment:

> *People who are planning on working in the private or oil sector should learn through EMI and work hard to acquire the language. But those who are not interested in these sectors and say that they are happy with working at the ministries should not give themselves a hard time and should learn through Arabic.*

Bader referred to an issue related to linguistic human rights. But here he is also addressing the same issue raised by Hunouf and Mariam: if the student is committed to a teaching or public sector job, why should he/she take the trouble to learn through EMI? This is a concern related to the students' linguistic human rights as they are not given the opportunity to learn through the language of their choice (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006), rather they are only left with one obligatory option.

The findings in this section show that relating English to future prospects is received both positively and negatively. This discrepancy in the results shows that the importance of EMI is related to students' future goals, and depends on the students' future prospects. Although most students stated that English is important in finding better private-sector jobs, others did not see how EMI would benefit them.

5.2.1.2 Postgraduate Studies: 'I cannot continue my studies without English'

Some of the interviewees and the participants in the focus groups raised the issue of continuing their postgraduate studies. They discussed this as an important step for their future development. Huda observed that:

> *Studying in English gives me an advantage when I continue my postgraduate studies. It will also allow me to communicate during my studies abroad and give me the chance to communicate with the people over there.*

Barrack reiterated this idea but with some apprehension:

> *If I continue my postgraduate studies I will not need a lot of time to gain the necessary IELTS of TOEFL scores needed for university entry. I know some people who lost their scholarships because they couldn't reach the minimum language requirement. Other people I know wasted two years of their lives just to fulfil the language requirement.*

Omran, who is completing his master's degree in business and participated in the focus group at the University of Exeter, agreed:

> *Now that I have studied here in Exeter, I can see how my previous learning through EMI has benefitted me. All I needed to reach the minimum language requirement was six months.*

Some students who have plans to continue their postgraduate studies believe it is important to complete their undergraduate degree through EMI. They also see that EMI gives them an advantage in reaching the minimum language requirement established by universities abroad. It is possible that they consider EMI important because, according to them, many students lose their scholarships if they fail to achieve this target or they struggle before achieving it.

Although the above reasons are understandable, they do not apply to most students. Many do not continue their postgraduate studies; therefore, arguably EMI has no advantage to them. Moreover, the students who shared these reasons had not yet decided whether or not to continue their studies, except for Omran.

Another point worth mentioning is that Omran considered himself fortunate to have needed only six months to meet the language requirement. Indeed, Kuwaiti institutions provide a whole calendar year (all expenses paid) for their scholars to achieve English proficiency. In light of this situation, there is an important issue here, that regarding the usefulness of learning through EMI if students still need several additional months to demonstrate their mastery of English. The completion of an undergraduate study through EMI is supposed to be a prerequisite for graduate study. However, the public institutions are willing to pay for an additional year so that students can learn English, which adds more financial burden.

5.2.1.3 Research is Conducted Mainly in English: 'When I search for a word, I find English resources'

Students of both medicine and engineering noted that research is available primarily in English. Thus, studying through EMI will help them find more resources in their fields. Dhari, a chemical engineering student, said:

> *When I want to research a topic in engineering to write my assignment, the majority of the resources are in English. I would*

love to find what I need in Arabic because it would be easier for
me … we have bright and well-educated professors, however,
even they produce their research in English.

The results demonstrate another issue in Kuwaiti and Arab societies: a lot of researchers and teachers conduct and publish their research in English. This reinforces the importance of English and does not give students the opportunity to find useful Arabic sources. Thus, as they see their teachers conducting research in English, they start to understand that English is a necessity. In an interview, Huda commented:

The detailed research written by Arabs is also in English … even
the medical dramas we watch on television are in English, such
as Grey's Anatomy. I gained a lot of information about anatomy
from watching this drama series.

Huda's view is that Arabs limit themselves in research, and those who do write, write in English. In Kuwait, we have many medical television programmes featuring Kuwaiti doctors; however, these doctors do not translate their discussions into valuable academic research. This shortcoming in Arabic research compromises students' ability to search for information in Arabic and forces them to search in English. Yet many Arabs neither write in Arabic nor translate the research that they have written in English into Arabic.

It is evident in both statements that students initially searched for information in Arabic, and they would benefit from more intensive Arabic research in their fields. However, this lack of research does link English with medical and scientific advancements, as the interviewees indicated.

5.2.1.4 Language of the World: 'We use it everywhere'

Most students in this study stated that English is the language of the world and that it is therefore a necessity to learn English. Therefore, many participants perceive learning through EMI as important because it provides them with at least enough English for use in travel, at work, and at conferences.

Table 5.4 Students' Views of English as the International Language.

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
6	English is an international/global language.	57%	36%	4%	2%	1%
7	English is popular due to the military and economic powers of the countries where it is spoken as a first language (i.e., the US and UK).	38%	34%	25%	3%	0%
8	English is popular worldwide because it is the language of modernity and technology.	35%	39%	14%	8%	4%
12	Nowadays, it is more important to learn English than Modern Standard Arabic.	29%	29%	15%	13%	14%

An analysis of the questionnaire data showed that 93% of the respondents agree that English is an international/global language (item 6). The majority of respondents attributed the popularity of English to the economic and military power where it is spoken as a first language (item 7) and to its status as the language of technology and modernity (item 8). This could be due to the technological development of the Internet, laptops, and phones, as using these devices require an understanding of English. The similarities in the results of items 7 and 8 show how the participants believe that all those four factors (military, economic, language of modernity and language of science) have contributed to the spread of English. However, the percentage of disagreement in item 8 is higher than that in item 7, as this could be related to issues of pride in speaking Arabic (see section 5.4.3)

Furthermore, although the majority agree with item 12, the number of participants who believe that learning English is more important than Modern Standard Arabic has decreased to 58%, in contrast with their belief that English is the language of the world (93%; item 6). This drop in the percentage could be because the participants associate English with academic and career success, but Arabic is of equal importance for religious, social and personal reasons. Thus, for them the importance of Arabic and English depends upon the purpose for which the language is used (Findlow, 2006).

The findings of the qualitative methods confirm those found in the questionnaire. Students who participated in the in-depth interviews expressed the belief that English is the language of the world and that learning through EMI offers them an opportunity to learn the language. Mahdi, an engineer student at PAAET, said:

> *Learning through English is never a waste, as English nowadays is the language of the world, and I need it everywhere … Now, I am used to ordering purchases online, especially from Amazon, and they do not have Arabic, so I need someone to come and read any emails that are sent to me about my purchases. Learning English will allow me to do everything myself.*

Hassan, a mechanical engineering student, agreed:

> *I need English everywhere, even when I travel. Thousands of Kuwaitis go to London every year, and I am one of them. I need to know how to buy, talk and move around. I do not know a lot of English but I still have my laptop and iPhone in English, as I am used to the simple functions from the first iPhones that did not support Arabic at that time.*

Arab countries' and organizations' modest participation in the technological world unintentionally promote English as the language of modernity. As Hassan stated, the first-generation iPhones had no Arabic support, forcing most Arabs to use English. Some, like Hassan, are now used to using English in this context. In addition, as Mahdi explained, he needs to use English when shopping online, and some websites do not support Arabic. This could be rectified if the League of Arab States (similar to the EU) coordinated with such companies by establishing an organization to support Arabic.

The results from both statements imply that EMI gives students a chance to learn and master English. Therefore, the benefits of EMI extend past the academic realm, and it adds an extra advantage to what has been discussed so far. Hassan and Mahdi explained, respectively, how English would benefit them online and while traveling, both of which are unrelated to learning through English in an academic context.

5.2.2 Negative Views of EMI

Some students dislike EMI and consider it a waste of time. Some believe that the importance of English is exaggerated. These views are not centred on learning another language but rather on learning their subjects in another language.

5.2.2.1 'EMI is a waste of time and over exaggerated'

Students from both the interviews and the focus groups stated that the importance of learning through EMI is a waste of time and exaggerated. Thus, English should be limited to certain contexts and subjects. Mohammed, a chemical engineering student at PAAET, explained in his interview:

> *The English I had to learn for my mathematics and physics subjects is useless. I will not need it for my future job. I know that English is very important for being an engineer in the oil sector, but what am I going to do with the physics and mathematics that I learned in English?*

Saud, a mechanical engineer at KU, added:

> *If I am not going to use any mathematics in English when I go to the private sector, then why am I studying it in English? Why do I have to learn the hard way and lose grades and scores for something that is irrelevant to my job?*

The findings show that students' learning of certain subjects such as mathematics and physics in English will not be useful to some. For example, as engineers they will be working with machinery and specialised programmes, and they will not apply the mathematical equations they learnt. Moreover, in the oil sector and most of the private sector, private companies administer and are responsible for fixing any errors within the machinery or programmes. Thus, students mainly perform a supervisory role, which is a crucial and central role, but does not need them to apply everything that they have learned. Furthermore, the analysis indicates that students might feel this way because they did not make any use of the mathematics, chemistry, biology, or physics that they learned in Arabic when they entered the

university and they are not going to make use of it in English after they graduate. They had a hard time learning their subjects in Arabic and then in English, with no connection to their future studies or jobs. Consequently, this might have affected their grades, leaving them frustrated.

Fatima, a business administration student at KU, explained how she would not use some of the things that she learned in English:

> *The types of programs we are working on are not used in the public sector, so I am wasting my time. All the English terms that I had to learn are useless, because even if these programs are used in the public sector, they are all under the administration of private companies. So I am never going to apply what I learnt through English.*

This confirms that students who hope to work in the public sector would learn through English for no immediate reason. This also confirms that the technicians of the private companies resolve any technical errors; and thus, their studies and knowledge will be limited to supervisory and administrative roles.

Salem, a chemistry student, talked about the extensive use of English in his classes and how, he thought that English could be taught in a more useful way:

> *Why are all our subjects in English? We do not need all of this. I should only learn the terms in English and everything else in Arabic or at least take two or three subjects in English to prepare me for the future … it is simply a waste of time.*

Dhari shared Salem's view on learning only specific content in English:

> *We are very competent in Arabic, and learning in my mother tongue will surely raise my grades. If I need to raise my level of English, I can go to any English teaching institute and learn what I need.*

Based on these statements, although students see the importance of English, they view their current English-only curriculum as a waste of time. They

believe that learning only what they need is more worthwhile. Students might have expressed this view because, even in the private sector, English is important but has limited use, such as talking to non-Arab co-workers, using the computers/machinery, and writing reports. However, everything else is done in Arabic, even engaging with customers. Therefore, they see that studying English for a few months will be all that they need.

Students who discussed this issue said that they should only learn what they need in English for a shorter, more specific period of time. This view is explored in section 5.3.2.5, when other students talk about their preference for learning through EMI but using Arabic in lectures, which is a bilingual dual programme.

5.2.2.2 Not Prepared during School: 'It is like throwing you in the sea'

One of the points mentioned in the in-depth interviews, by all students, is that secondary school did not prepare students for university. Although tertiary level should be a continuation of secondary school level, from the students' point of view, there seems to be a gap. Dhari, a chemical engineering student, said:

> *It is difficult for us students graduating from public schools, as we only take one English subject ... even if we were doing 100% in that English subject, then all we are competent in is general English. However, at the university, everything is in English—scientific terminology, textbooks, and exams.*

Because public school students learn science subjects in Arabic they need to take on extra work to translate and understand the terminology. Furthermore, the analysis reveals that since English is treated as a foreign language in school, acquiring a perfect grade is not sufficient to use it in university courses. Dhari's view is quite similar to those of Hunouf and Mariam who explained how they would struggle with switching from English to Arabic after graduation. However, Dhari discussed the issue of switching from Arabic to English at university.

Barrack, another interviewee, discussed the type of content learnt in school, even within the English subject:

> *At the university level we learn in-depth terms in English, but at school even the topics we learned in the English subjects were about family and travelling. Even this doesn't help me.*

Barrack expressed his disapproval about the type of content learned at secondary school, claiming that such topics do not help him with his future higher education studies. Huda also complained about not having used her biology teaching at secondary school:

> *I studied hard at the secondary school and exerted a lot of time learning the Arabic terminology and then sitting for the exam in Arabic. So who is responsible for the time I wasted in secondary school if I have to learn everything again (as if I am a school kid again) in a different language?*

Mariam concurred, saying:

> *It is like they took you and threw you in the sea, telling you to swim by yourself with no teaching whatsoever. I should be prepared properly to blend in smoothly in the university.*

These statements reflect the frustration some students feel when the hours they put in during their school years are simply ignored after entering university. At university, they are asked to relearn everything that they have already learned, but in a different language. Mariam's analogy explains this frustration, and considers this step as one in which they sink or swim on their own.

The results in this section reveal that students are disappointed in what they learned in secondary school but never used. These students could have put a lot of effort into earning good grades in secondary school in order to be accepted into competitive majors such as engineering and medicine. Therefore, as Huda stated, they are frustrated with having to learn something in one language and then do it all over again in a different one. So, rather than focusing on acquiring more advanced information, they need to learn the basics again.

5.2.2.3 'The University does not prepare us'

All of the students in this research asserted that colleges and universities do not prepare them for undergraduate work. Participants blame both schools and universities for this situation. They believe that the school system does not prepare them for university, and that universities do not assist with the transition. Huda said:

> *Suddenly everything is in English, and I need to attain a very good level of English to communicate, because in our college we have several non-Arab professors. I cannot even discuss with them my medical absence if I need to … I am good at English, but I still have a fear of talking for a long period of time, and this is the case with most of us.*

According to Huda, students generally do not feel prepared for university where it is essential to be able to communicate outside of the classroom. She explained that both she and other students have trouble discussing personal or educational matters if their professors do not speak Arabic. This problem in communication could negatively affect their university experience, which might extend to not discussing important issues related to course content.

Mahdi shared this view but from a learning perspective, explaining how he faces problems in his science subjects:

> *We have to write a report after every experiment, and some professors mark the simplest grammatical errors. When we say that this is not an English course, so we do not need to be 100% grammatically correct, they say that we need to understand for our future careers. If the university or college does not prepare me for this, then how am I supposed to excel? We waste our time learning general English and specific content that is irrelevant to our studies.*

As shown in Chapter 2, in some colleges in Kuwait, English subjects are general ESP courses. Therefore, the content in the English medium subjects is not consistent with the content of their specialised subjects. So, according

to Mahdi, the university does not introduce students to the content and terminology that are most relevant to them.

Esteqlal, a nursing student at PAAET, opined that the college uses only placement tests to evaluate students' English proficiency:

I am good at English and I understand it and learn it very easily, but when it comes to medical terminology, it is difficult. But they do not consider the students' situations. The university admits us according to the placement test, and this test is just about grammar we learned in school. I passed the placement test, but I requested to enter the English foundation course because of the level of English that I saw.

According to Esteqlal, the current system does not serve her academic interests, as the focus on these subjects is general English, and she needs more advanced English to engage in EMI and to fully understand the textbooks used. Although she did pass the English test, she requested to take the foundation course to improve her language competence.

5.3 Theme II: Learning and Teaching Experiences

The second major theme in this analysis discusses student learning and teaching. This issue has been the centre of some debate (Troudi, 2009a; UNESCO, 2007; Baumgardner, 2006; Block, 2010), which centered mostly on the incomprehensibility of lectures and on the problems of reading textbooks that are not written for a particular context.

Students in this study described their challenges and struggles. Furthermore, they talked about the lectures and how they manage to study in another language. Moreover, they discussed their grades and achievement, the textbooks they use, how they write reports and assignments, and finally what strategies they use to overcome obstacles.

The analysis of this section was taken from all four data collection methods: focus groups, questionnaire, semi-structured interviews, and observation.

5.3.1 Challenges of EMI

All the participants have expressed their views on learning through EMI. They discussed the hours they put into learning English, and how they initially struggled. They also mentioned that they had to make a double effort: to learn the subject content and to learn the foreign language.

Table 5.5 Facing Many Challenges When Learning Through EMI.

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
19	I faced many challenges when learning through English as a medium of instruction.	21%	51%	11%	13%	4%

Seventy-two percent of the respondents to item 19 in the questionnaire have agreed that they face many challenges when learning through EMI. These challenges will be discussed in the coming sections.

5.3.1.1 'We struggle at the beginning'

Eight out of the eleven students explained how they struggle at the beginning of their university life, and that they contended with a range of issues arising from EMI. Tesneem talked about her initial engagement in her studies:

> *The university level is different; I did not know what to do in the first year. I did not know the terminology let alone the language. Therefore, I did not understand my subjects properly until my second and third year.*

Ali, from the focus groups, concurred with Tesneem's point on how they found it difficult to understand the language:

> *I scribbled all over my books, and underlined nearly every word; so that I would go back home, revise them and translate them, so they would stick in my mind.*

The analysis shows that students struggle at first because they need to learn the terminology. This sheer amount of knowledge in another language was overwhelming, so instead of forming the bases of their knowledge from their

first year, they had to struggle with the EMI policy. Mohammed, an interviewee, expressed this idea:

> *I am not used to learning physics and mathematics in English, as for the past school years I studied them in Arabic. Then, suddenly I had to learn these subjects in English; this caused me to struggle at the beginning.*

Nawaf, a computer engineering student, elaborated on this point:

> *When I first entered the university I had a non-Arab teacher who only spoke in English, from the foundation course I had to cope with English. I just began my studies, and everything was in English, the teacher didn't speak Arabic, so I could not even ask him the meaning of a word.*

From these statements, we can see that the students were dissatisfied with the sudden amount of English they needed to learn. Nawaf, was frustrated that he had not had an Arabic-speaking teacher who could answer his questions.

Students see that being exposed suddenly to this large amount of English is not a well-planned step, which consequently does not indulge them smoothly into university life. Rather, they find themselves working hard to overcome linguistic obstacles. Some students have tried to simplify their tertiary experience. Esteqlal, a health science student, made a formal recommendation to the college's administration:

> *When we started our subjects we could not cope with the amount of terminology we were receiving, we even were not confident in using English. Therefore, several other students and I recommended that the college to offer a course on medical terminology, even for those of us whom have passed the placement test. We saw this as a necessary step, because we had to retake some of the English subjects just to pass them, as we could not major in them without passing the English modules.*

Esteqlal's colleague, Ahmed, from the focus group also touched on this point:

They try to strengthen our English by exposing us to several intensive English modules, but they still are not enough, because there are many medical terms we do not see in these modules, such as red and white blood cells.

Students seem to believe that their English modules do not give a strong English foundation for their studies. More importantly, the placement test and the English modules they take do not advance them to the desired level of second-language competence.

From the analysis of this section, students seem to undergo a difficult phase at the beginning of their university/college life; consequently, this causes them to struggle to comply with this new language policy. This shift from learning English as a foreign language at school to using English as a medium of instruction has led students to request ESP courses that focus on their major. The participants remarks are supported by Hamid et al (2013), who examined ten EMI policies in different Asian countries, and they concluded that the implementation of those EMI policies are filled with challenges and difficulties.

On the one hand, students do not have the English proficiency to understand the lectures and textbooks used. On the other hand, they must pass the English modules in order to major in their scientific field. Thus, students find themselves under pressure to find a solution to overcome these obstacles, rather than using this time to focus on their majors.

5.3.1.2 'I have to give a double effort'

Students complained that they are working harder than other students because they have to learn both the subject content and the new language.

Table 5.6 Students' views on providing a double effort.

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
20	I need additional work and effort merely to learn the language itself.	32%	43%	8%	14%	3%

Analysing item 20 from the questionnaire revealed that 75% of the respondents report that they need to give a double effort to learn in English. This majority in the responses to item 20 shows that participants invest additional hours in learning English. The result of the questionnaire was investigated in the in-depth interviews. Mohammed complained:

> *Half of my student life is giving a double effort; I need to open the dictionary daily to find out the meaning of some words. Of course, this would not be the case if I were learning through Arabic.*

Consulting with other helping tools, such as electronic dictionaries, is a daily routine for some college and university students. Barrack, an interviewee, said that this double effort also interferes with his preparation for exams:

> *I always need to give extra, for my exams instead of studying for two hours I need to add another two or three hours just to find out the meanings of some of the words. I come to lectures to understand the content, unfortunately in many cases me and my friends miss a lot and then we need to go back home to revise what we took by first using the dictionary to find out the meanings.*

We see that students invest more effort in learning the second language, whilst other students from English-speaking countries in the same major just need to understand the content. Exams cause stress to students, and students endure immense pressure to prepare and pass them. Thus, besides the stress of preparing for and taking exams, some students learning through EMI add the stress of learning vocabulary. This ongoing process of learning the language during lectures, after lectures, and before exams, could become agonising. This was echoed in Khaled's comment in the focus group:

> *Yes, this double effort never leaves us; we give it during class, revision time, and even during exams to understand what is needed from the questions.*

In that focus group, Salem confirmed a comment that some teachers try to use more Arabic to facilitate their understanding:

> *It is true, most teachers are very understanding, but we still need*
> *to do more to gain the needed information.*

This 'double effort' becomes an ongoing process. Although some teachers are aware of their struggle and try to help as much as possible, students still need to give more time to understand some terminologies and the content of their subjects.

Huda, a medical student who has excelled in her studies, listed the steps she needed to take in order to improve her English language competence and to earn straight A's:

> *I am at the top of my class, but this was not a simple thing to do*
> *if we take into account the language barrier. When I went to*
> *medical school my English was not perfect, I had to be there in*
> *every class, ask my professors for more explanation during their*
> *office hours, ask them to give me extra homework. I even asked*
> *them to send me questions via email to answer them and then*
> *learn from their feedback. I took all these steps to see how*
> *confident and competent I was in English.*

Huda has taken several measures to compete with her classmates, and to keep the language barrier from slowing her progress. However, not all students have this kind of drive; others find the simplest means to merely pass and move on. According to some of the students, this extra time given to learning the language could be put to better use, as one of the participants in the open-ended questions stated:

> *The extra hours I give in learning the language I could invest it in*
> *more thorough reading, or exploring related issue to the topic we*
> *learned in today's lecture.*

As Huda shows, improving competence requires dedication and perseverance. Similar findings were highlighted in Troudi and Jendli's (2011) study, where students invested a double effort in improving their English.

This was a sensitive issue for most of the participants in this study. In addition, students talked about the long hours of lectures and labs in KU and PAAET, as engineering students have lectures and labs from 8am to 6pm each day, and medical students sometimes until 8pm. Therefore, although they have up to eight hours of lectures each day, they spend extra time learning the language either by consulting English dictionaries or by translating words and sentences.

5.3.1.3 'I have wasted hours in learning the language'

This section is similar to the previous one; however, this focuses on the hours students put into learning English rather than content. As we have seen in table 5.6, 75% of the respondents to the questionnaire reported that they need additional work and effort to learn the language. Surely, this extra work encroaches on their own time, and rather than investing it in other subject-learning activities, they are compelled to spend hours learning the terminology. Mohammed, in his interview, talked about spending extra hours learning the language on top of learning the content:

> *If I needed to revise or study for two hours in Arabic, I need another two hours when I study in English.*

Hassan reflected on this point in this interview:

> *I do not get everything from the first instance, in many cases I need to stop for five or ten minutes to find the meanings of some sentences and then put them together in order to understand the paragraph as a whole.*

Students seem to face the ongoing challenge of reading or rereading a paragraph to understand its meaning, and then to understand the new content. This process could lead students to miss some information. They could miss information accidentally by misunderstanding a sentence, or by misinterpreting a word. In addition, they might intentionally miss information by becoming frustrated and losing interest.

Hunouf, a biology student, mentioned these difficulties:

My major requires constant reading and studying, especially that
I need to learn all the detailed body parts in English from scratch.
I need to find the meaning of the terms, focus on them, and add
them to my definition booklet. For example, I know what red and
white blood cells are in Arabic, but in English I need to translate
them and then learn the definition in English.

Regardless of their major, students seem to be spending more time on translation, and they also need to do additional work. The students need to translate complex terms into Arabic and then read the definition in English. Saud also discussed the habit of continuous translation:

If you see my textbooks and open one of the pages, you would
see most of the words are underlined and translated on the
edges of each page. I could not go to the university or study
without my Atlas.

Atlas is a well-known English-Arabic electronic translator, and most of the participants conveyed to me that they could not manage without it. In addition, most participants talked about how they translate all over their books so it is easier for them to understand the paragraphs and the intended meanings of the words and sentences when they revise.

In one of my observations during a computer science lecture for second-year students, when the teacher was explaining the lesson using a projector, I could see two students using Google Translate to translate several words that were in the PowerPoint slides. These students did not ask the teacher for clarification. It was evident that this was natural for them. From this observation I saw that translation is used not only during study time, but also in class.

5.3.1.4 'Learning through EMI is affecting our careers'

Six of the students who participated in the interviews expressed concern regarding the effect of EMI on their careers. They said that because of problems in learning English, some students are forced to change to a major that requires only Arabic. Fatimah, a business administration student, talked

about how she was forced to give up her dream of becoming a doctor because of the language policy:

> *I was a medical student; I stayed for a whole year and then moved to another career in business administration. I was shocked that everything was in English; I could not cope with the amount of English I faced. I know that with practice, I would have reached the necessary level of English, but I did not have enough time. If I had studied in Arabic, then I would have learned the new information immediately without exhausting hours just in translation. When we go and study abroad, all the countries force you to study in their own language; everyone takes pride in their language.*

Fatimah's frustration with the language policy is evident. In Kuwait, like elsewhere, becoming a doctor is a prestigious achievement. Thus, her self-esteem could have been shaken by her inability to continue her studies. Furthermore, this was not due to intellectual incompetence, but to language barriers. Fatimah stated that in secondary school, she had an overall grade of 94%, making her one of the top students in Kuwait. She also said that she was embarrassed by having to settle for a less prestigious career.

In her interview, Huda, described the problems that one of her friends is having:

> *I have a friend who is struggling a lot in English; she barely passed the first level, which was simple, and now she keeps on postponing the second level because she knows it will be difficult. She needs to pass it in order to major in medicine; I really don't know what she will do. I have told her many times to take it, and I will help her.*

Some students, like Huda, will help their friends improve their English. Therefore, it is not only one student who is affected; his or her classmates are also affected. This shows how the problem faced by one student affects a wider pool of people.

Abdulrahman, from the focus group, remembered how EMI had affected his career. He had to change his major because of the language policy:

I was an engineering student; I stayed for two years at the College of Engineering and then was forced to shift to the College of Arts and major in history. There was just too much English.

Abdullah, a mathematics student, in the same focus group agreed:

That is true; my friend Saleh was one of the brightest people I have seen in Arabic, and a true master of it. Although he passed the English subjects, he struggled and barely finished his science subjects. I remember one of our professors in the Arabic Grammar module saw his ability in Arabic, when Saleh told him how he struggled with English, the professor told him that he should major in Arabic.

At KU and PAAET all students must take Arabic Grammar and Arabic Comprehension. Abdullah's professor saw the potential of Saleh's ability in Arabic after the latter expressed his struggle with English. The analysis shows that even when the struggle does not end in the termination of or change in students' careers, it still makes their experience difficult and reduces it to an issue of 'I just want to pass'. Thus, their experience shifts from a world of exploration and broadening intelligence to a matter of overcoming obstacles that sometimes end their careers.

So far, the research has explored how students discussed the challenges of learning through EMI, and its effect on their professional plans. However, the majority of the respondents (84%) agreed with item 17, that their experience with EMI had been positive.

Table 5.7 Learning Through EMI Has Been A Positive Experience.

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
17	Learning through English-medium education has been a positive experience.	42%	42%	6%	7%	3%

This discrepancy between the two findings could be because the respondents, despite their problems, acquired new knowledge and are broadening their horizons in English. Therefore, besides the challenges they mentioned, they are making progress working towards their goal, which will lead them to better jobs when they graduate.

5.3.2 Lectures

Lectures are an essential part of learning, as the students in this study mentioned. The issues they raised were concerned with the language used during class, their participation, teacher styles, and their comprehension of the lecture content.

5.3.2.1 'Arabic is used extensively in our lectures'

The EMI policy requires English to be the language of instruction; however, participants in this study disagreed with the policy. This was also evident in my observations. This is considered a flaw in LP, as it contradicts one of its main aims. In his interview, Barrack, said that teachers use Arabic in lectures:

> *In our lectures, teachers use Arabic as the main language with English limited only to terminology and describing some equipment.*

Barrack's statement was echoed by all the participants in this study, either in the interviews or the focus groups. However, in one of the focus groups, Ahmed, a student in the college of science, stated that there was a Kuwaiti teacher who lectured only in English:

> *There is one Kuwaiti teacher who uses English during lectures, but the students interact with her in Arabic, and she replies in English with some Arabic words here and there. She does not*

mind that students ask or reply in Arabic; maybe she has studied in English all her life.

From this analysis, we see that some students still prefer to use Arabic even when the teacher uses only English. Thus, regardless of the language that the teacher uses, students continue to use Arabic when they have an Arab teacher. Furthermore, although the LP is EMI, it is actually more like dual language instruction. Dhari discussed this point in his interview:

The textbooks we use and all our exams are in English, but the instruction during lectures and the dialogue that revolves around the content learned is done mainly in Arabic.

It seems that, in many cases, English is limited to the terminology, the textbooks students study from, and exams. This style of teaching, by mixing Arabic and English, was approved of and appreciated by the students in this study. As Nawaf said in his interview:

All of us prefer this way of teaching, and if our teachers used only English, you would see most of us failing to continue our degrees.

Mahdi also supported this point:

Our professor in the Petroleum Economy module asked us from the beginning, 'Do you prefer me to use mainly Arabic or English?' He said that he was obliged to take such a step, because when he used to use only English, the highest grade his students got was a B-.

This analysis indicates that even teachers who prefer to use English are forced to do otherwise, as this could lower the students' grades and affect their careers. Furthermore, students perceive this shift to Arabic more like a favour as well as a necessity, as Hassan stated in his interview:

Using Arabic takes a lot of the burden off our shoulders, and this is a huge favour from our teachers, that they acknowledge our struggle and try to help us in any way possible.

This finding that teachers acknowledge and try to assist students who struggle with English might not always be the case. Some teachers might not have the confidence and competence to use English exclusively, and they see that using Arabic makes their job easier. This is a contention worth investigating. From another point of view, some teachers who prefer using English might not find the supporting environment to do so, and this could also cause problems. Mohammed discussed this crucial point in his interview:

> *Sometimes, the environment is not encouraging, as some of our teachers do not find the needed support to deliver their lectures in English. It could also reach a point where students file complaints to the dean because the majority of the class is receiving low grades. Therefore, teachers who prefer using English according to the current EMI policy, are forced to use Arabic.*

Mahdi was the only student in this study who rejected the extensive use of Arabic in lectures:

> *Yes, I do want our teachers to continue using Arabic to make it easier, but they also need to incorporate more English so we can raise our competence in English by practising it more during the lecture.*

During the observations, all instructors used Arabic in most of the lectures; the only exception being the lecture given by an American professor. The observations support the participants' statements that lectures are mainly delivered in Arabic. The only English used during the observations was the use of PowerPoint slides, terminology, and some general sentences. Students mostly asked and answered questions in Arabic. For example, the researcher observed a chemistry lecture in which the students used English adjectives with terms, such as 'hot chemical' and 'thick component'.

From this analysis, we see that students generally approved of the use of Arabic in lectures (although the extent of the usage of Arabic might differ), as it eases the learning process and simplifies the content. Those teachers

who prefer to use English only face a dilemma: either they do not have the supporting environment to deliver instruction in English, or they see how this could affect students' scores. Another issue is that the teachers themselves might not have the competence to do use only English.

5.3.2.2 'Missing information during lectures'

Another point mentioned by the participants concerning the environment surrounding the lectures was their incomplete comprehension. All the participants, as well as those who considered themselves good at English, stated that they miss information, either when reading textbooks or while listening to the lectures. Nawaf said in his interview:

> *I try very hard to understand what it is said, but you cannot cope*
> *with the number of unknown words we receive; consequently, I*
> *do miss some information.*

Hassan, who took a year-long intensive English course at the American University of Kuwait, said in his interview:

> *I do occasionally miss words during every lecture, you also need*
> *to know that however much effort we put in to understanding the*
> *whole lecture, we still need to revise the lecture again to achieve*
> *the intended information.*

These pieces of missed information could prevent students from understanding the entire lecture; which in turn, could lead to lectures not being a vital source of information in some cases. This problem was reflected in Bader's comment in the focus group:

> *Many times during lectures, I do not understand a word or two,*
> *so I have to highlight them and then translate them after the*
> *lecture to understand what has been said.*

In eight of the ten observations, several students were observed underlining and writing words during the lecture. In order to ascertain why they did this, the researcher asked some of the students after the lectures, and they admitted that they did not understand the words and wrote them down so that

they could translate them later. Furthermore, students who were less proficient in English might have greater trouble with comprehension. As Huda said in her interview:

> *Some of my friends miss the whole lecture; even if the teacher uses Arabic during the lecture, it is very difficult to follow when you do not know the important words that have been said in English.*

Although many teachers use a dual language strategy, students in their first months at university still do not understand the important terms and words. Thus, some students do not make the most of their lectures, and sometimes, these lectures become more of an obstacle. This issue unfortunately is not taken into consideration by the university.

Some participants went even further than missing a word or two that they would later translate and understand. Some of the colleges, especially the medical colleges, need continuous understanding of the information given, as the content accumulates. Esteqlal commented in her interview:

> *Some teachers deliver at a fast pace, and they need someone who is fast and proficient in English, because if you miss one point, then that is it, because in our college of nursing, the information accumulates and one point leads to another. Therefore, we go to our professor's office and ask him/her to explain again some of the points.*

The analysis reveals that some Kuwaiti students are accustomed neither to listening to lectures in English, nor to listening to English for a long time. Moreover, this could lead to a problem of miscommunication whereby teachers might speak quickly, thinking that students understand what is being said.

Furthermore, students might find it more difficult to understand the accent or inflection of a native English speaker. Therefore, as Esteqlal said, this could lead to students missing some information that will impede their comprehension of the entire lecture.

At KU and PAAET, students are assumed to be competent in English if they can pass the placement test. Furthermore, students who are new to the university might not have been exposed to English as a language of instruction; therefore, they might not fully comprehend what is being said in their lectures.

Learning in lectures depends on clear communication, and listening is an essential part of learning. Without listening, one cannot participate. Hartley and Bruckman (2002) state that one step to effective listening is to remove barriers that interfere with full attention. Undoubtedly, language is one of these barriers, and by not understanding what is being said, students will not participate in conversations and discussions, and will miss information.

This analysis is supported by Al-Jarallah and Al-Ansari's (1998) study in Saudi Arabia, which found that 45% of the students in their study comprehended only 25% to 75% of the lectures; 49% comprehended only 75% of the lectures, and that percentage decreased when Arabic was incorporated. Furthermore, similar findings were reflected in Al-Bakri's study in Oman, as the participants commented that "they encountered great difficulties in comprehending their lectures" (2013, p. 64).

5.3.2.3 Class Participation: 'I need to prepare first'

Students discussed class participation in lectures. Some of the participants talked about how it can be difficult to participate in lectures when they are not completely understood. This difficulty deters them from asking for clarification, raising questions, or engaging in the lecture. In her interview, Tesneem said:

> *I am good at understanding English, as well as reading and writing, but I still have complications in speaking and engaging in general discussions, especially in class presentations.*

This uncertainty and lack of self-confidence could discourage students from participating (Kim, 2011), as Hassan stated in his interview:

> *Some students are shy and others are afraid to participate, they do not want to make any mistakes, or sound funny when talking in English.*

Out of the 11 interviewed, 9 students have expressed reticence and discomfort when using new words, or even asking what they meant during lectures. They felt left behind or appearing as incapable of succeeding. As Fatimah remarked in her interview:

> *We cannot ask about everything, it is embarrassing and uncomfortable because sometimes we come across many words, and we cannot always ask what they mean.*

Some students do not participate or ask questions because they question their English competence. A similar result was found in Abdel-Jawad's and Abu-Radwan's (2011) study of Omani students, who refrained from participating in classroom discussion because of their poor command of English. Such students might feel inferior to their classmates if they mispronounce a word or do not know how to speak English fluently. This latter issue is apparent in Esteglal's statement:

> *I learn English easily, but I still cannot speak in a clear way. I find it difficult when I want to talk with the person in front of me, the words are in my head but I still cannot convey them easily.*

This quote is interesting, because it shows how students who are adept at reading and writing, might still have problems speaking confidently in class. Consequently, this could lead students' grades to suffer, as Hunouf said:

> *At the beginning, I used to tell my friends to ask my questions so I do not seem incapable. But until when am I going to do this? I needed to make use of my language learning, and more importantly show the teacher that I am a hard working student who is trying very hard to excel. So, I prepared my sentence properly before I asked.*

Even active students might be affected because they lack confidence in their speaking ability. This could discourage their active participation, and their ability to demonstrate knowledge of the subject matter. Thus, such lecture atmosphere could be discouraging to students.

Although some of the students in this study subsequently overcame these obstacles, they have faced such problems in their first years. Classroom participation is a vital element in learning (Crombie et al., 2003), and studies have shown that active participants in class learn better (Billings & Halstead, 2009; Petress, 2006). Class participation is intended to bring students into the educational process, and thus, become better critical thinkers and engage in higher-level thinking (Rocca, 2010).

In all ten-class observations that I conducted for this study, the majority of students did not participate in class. It is difficult to know for certain if the students were shy, embarrassed or afraid to ask questions. However, from the findings of the interviews, what I observed is likely to be related to English, and that some of the students who did not participate in the classroom discussion were uncomfortable using and/or understanding English.

5.3.2.4 Torn Between Different Teacher Attitudes: 'It depends on the teacher'

Another matter that students raised reflected a negative impression of their careers. Seven participants did not think that there was any consistent evaluation of English in the lectures. The analysis shows those students' grades varied by instructor. Mohammed said in his interview:

> *It depends on your luck, and it all depends on the teachers you come across. Sometimes we tell teachers that we are not used to learning through English, they simply reply: now you have to get used to it. Others, however, reach out to us and try to simplify what we study and incorporate Arabic, then gradually ease us to learning through English.*

Students expect different teachers to grade differently, and this could lead them to prefer a teacher who does not consider minor errors in English. Thus, students resort to a 'categorical system', whereby they choose their teachers according to who is the most helpful, not necessarily the most knowledgeable of the subject matter. Furthermore, participants in this study revealed that their grades depend on their teachers' style in correcting and monitoring exams. This was reflected in Salem's contribution to the focus group:

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> *When we ask some teachers about the meaning of a certain question, because we did not understand all the English words, they help us and describe what is meant by the question. However, other teachers just give you the exam paper and leave you alone.*

This could give the students the impression that they are not treated equally, and that their grades would have been higher if they had had a teacher who had a reputation for helping his/her students by using Arabic. These different ways of teaching during lectures could affect the students' tertiary experience. This was expressed in Mahdi's interview:

> *I remember that in one of the engineering lectures a classmate asked the teacher to help us with the level of English, so the teacher tried to mock him with a very high tone: 'do you think this a year one primary class?' My classmate was so embarrassed that he never asked again.*

We see that some teachers denigrate students whose English is not as good as they think it should be. This could also affect their self-esteem and discourage them from participating in their other subjects.

Students have shown that this shift in teacher attitudes is not conducive to a sense of fairness. Therefore, students are left wondering whether or not English is considered within the grading system. Thus, students might begin to evaluate their teachers based on who does not judge their fluency in English. As Mohammed said in the interview, he was 'lucky' not to have been taught by a teacher who was fixated on English. Therefore, in some cases teachers are solely chosen according to their helpfulness.

5.3.2.5 'We prefer teachers who use Arabic'

Students were asked whether or not they would prefer teachers who incorporated Arabic in the classroom in conjunction with EMI language policy. All students said that teachers who use Arabic made learning simpler and more enjoyable. Barrack echoed this point in his interview:

Yes I do prefer a teacher who uses Arabic. I would like to learn the technical terms in English so I can understand my work when I get a job, but I want the teacher to explain and demonstrate in Arabic.

Hassan shared this point in his interview:

We need the books and the technical terms to be in English but during class, it is better to use Arabic so we can acquire the information and understand it properly.

The analysis of these statements shows that students take care not just to master the technical terms, but also to understand them thoroughly. By incorporating Arabic, students feel more comfortable, either by not needing to revise again or the need to translate everything. This shows that students are looking for any means possible to raise the quality of their learning and teaching, and such a stance is supported by UNESCO: 'The research evidence today clearly shows that using the learners' mother tongue is crucial to effective learning' (2008, p. 6).

To show how important, from an academic perspective, it is to students to learn through Arabic, Esteqlal said:

When we are taught by Kuwaiti or Arab teachers all they need to do is to say the equivalent in Arabic and we get the meaning easily. However, when Anglophones teach us, although they try to help us, we still need them to repeat what they said or many of us need to translate the meanings later on.

This confirms that although Anglophone teachers try to simplify the subject matter, Kuwaiti students learn better from Arab teachers. Hunouf touched upon this issue:

As a biology student, many of my teachers are non-Arabs but when I go to a lecture with an Arab teacher and Arabic is incorporated it becomes much simpler.

Participants in this study stated that teachers who use mainly Arabic during their lectures become popular. Abdulrahman, from the focus group, said that:

In the college of science, there is a well-known teacher who is loved by students just because he teaches them mathematics in Arabic. He gives them all the mathematical equations in Arabic, and then gives them the equivalent in English. So he does the opposite.

Mahdi said in his interview that many students demand such teachers:

Teachers who are well known for using mainly Arabic are targeted by students during the module registration period. From the first two or three hours those teachers' modules are full, and there is no more availability to register.

Based on what they said in this section, students expect the incorporation of Arabic to improve their learning. Wilkinson's study (2005) supports such a statement, whereby his findings show that learning best takes place when instructional techniques such as code switching between L1 and L2 are adapted. Another study conducted in the UAE, showed how the majority stated that incorporating more Arabic will improve their learning, as well as their learning of English as a language (Solloway, 2017).

Furthermore, some teachers become popular with students merely for using Arabic extensively, not for their knowledge of the subject matter or teaching techniques. All participants in this study have stated clearly that they prefer Arabic to be used at least as much as English, if not more. Others have limited the use of English to technical terms and some important words in their field.

5.3.3 Grades

Students were chronically worried about their grades, and how grades were affected by EMI language policy. In this section, the analysis will explore three important areas that students discussed: the effect on their grades, understanding exams, just wanting to pass exams rather than aiming to score high grades.

5.3.3.1 Overall Scores: 'We lose several points because of simple English related issues'

Throughout this study, participants have talked about their grades. These issues began from how they miss information during lectures moving gradually to their final scores. Mohammed expressed the overarching reason in his interview:

> *Most of us are not used to writing and studying in English; we have just moved from several years of writing in Arabic, so it is difficult to express ourselves in English. The real struggle is when it comes to our exams and quizzes.*

Nine other students support Mohammed's statement. This transition from 'full Arabic' to 'full English' is not simple, considering the differences in mentality and orthography. Furthermore, Mariam did not want to place the full burden on teachers:

> *I know that we are learning in English and that teachers at least expect to read something that is clear and understandable. At the same time, we have just moved from writing a paragraph about my family, or myself in English to extensive high-level English, that native speakers themselves have problems with.*

Although some students did not completely blame teachers, they did not accept that students should be the only ones to suffer. Ahmed said:

> *I understand that our science teachers are not supposed to teach us how to write in English, but also we are not the only ones who are supposed to be dropped in a warzone and survive without any proper training or 'weaponry'.*

The analysis shows that students understand that according to the language policy they ought to produce a good and clear product. However, their understanding does not legitimatise what they endure. As Ahmed said, it is unrealistic to be expected to overcome obstacles without the resources to do so.

At the beginning of this chapter, we saw how students have problems with understanding and comprehension, to working twice as hard to overcome the obstacles they face, and still ending up with unsatisfactory grades. This chain of steps that students go through is why students think that they are being treated unfairly. Students believe if they were taught in Arabic that their grades would rise. Fatimah said in her interview:

> *Those who got an overall score of 70%, will surely receive a 90% if it was in Arabic.*

Eight other students shared Fatimah's view, as they lose points on simple grammatical mistakes that are not related to the content of the module. Hassan said in his interview:

> *When we receive our results either for exams or essays we have written, we see that we lost points because of grammatical mistakes like commas and misspelling some words. If the content is right then why am I losing points? Teachers should at least point them out so I can learn from the mistakes, but not be marked down for them.*

Hassan points out an issue that several students mentioned; since they are not native speakers of English and that perfect English is not relevant to the subject matter, then the mistakes should only be pointed out and not marked. Students here are not talking about very detailed grammatical mistakes, but about matters such as capitalisation, joining sentences, and writing as a whole. Thus, students see that since sometimes they are simple mistakes related to writing that they should just be pointed out. Khaled discussed this issue in the focus group:

> *A lot of students face problems in simple grammatical rules, and we are not competent in using them. So, I lost points sometimes because I have written 'they is' instead of 'they are'.*

The analysis also showed that the issue with losing points is not merely related to grammatical issues, as Huda said:

I lost several points because of my writing, I am very competent with the module but I could not join the sentences properly. So, what I wrote was not very clear, of course it is not clear if I am asked to write in a language that I barely use.

The simple level of language learned during school could be the reason why Huda and her classmates struggle with English. One needs high level of competence to think and produce in a different language. Thus, students understand the content but it is difficult for them to write about it.

Esteqlal took this issue a step further, and suggested that first- and second-year students be exempted from being graded on English at all:

It is unfair to be held accountable for every mistake we make in English. First- and second-year students' mistakes should not be marked, but rather from the third year on. Students should be exposed first to plenty of English in order to become competent. Because if students are marked for such mistakes in the beginning, then their GPA will be very low by the third year when they become familiar with English. Therefore, I think teachers should pinpoint the mistakes from the first two years, and every teacher should tell each student what his or her weaknesses are so that he or she can work on it.

Esteqlal proposed that teachers who teach first and second year students should only focus on correcting the errors and mistakes without marking them. Rather than asking not to be marked at all, she believes that the first two years should be devoted to correcting English mistakes, then from the third year students could be marked for such errors. Regardless of what the participants have proposed so far, it is evident that students feel a sense of unfairness. This is understandable when considering how they have been prepared from school, and that the majority of students are not competent in English.

The students do not want to be marked off for grammatical mistakes that are not related to their majors. Abdel-Jawad's and Abu-Radwan's (2011) study in Oman, and Troudi and Jendli's (2011) studies arrived at similar

results: students' grades were lower because they were learning through English, a language in which they were not proficient. Although some students overcame these complications later on, they had to accept lower grades in their first years.

5.3.3.2 Understanding Exams: 'Sometimes we answer in a different way'

At KU and PAAET exams account for more than 80% of the grade. Students in this study reported that sometimes they lose points merely for not understanding the question in English.

Table 5.8 Understanding Exams.

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
22	I have problems in understanding exam questions.	22%	30%	17%	26%	5%

The analysis of item 22 in the questionnaire shows that 52% of the participants had problems in understanding exam questions, whilst 31% disagreed. Nawaf, in his interview, explained how he solved problems during exams:

> *I do not face major difficulties in English, but sometimes in an exam you do not know what the exact meaning of a word is. Therefore, you answer in a different way, and consequently you lose points not based on your knowledge of the subject matter but rather on your misunderstanding of the question.*

This point was raised by several participants who thought that they were not being judged on their knowledge, and they could easily write a different answer because they were unable to comprehend the question. Barrack has also discussed this issue:

> *I just received my exam results yesterday and I lost one point because I did not understand the question properly, I thought I was supposed to write the direction so I put in a 'minus' because it was pointing down. However, that was not the question, so you*

can see that I did not lose the point because I did not know the answer, it was just because I misunderstood the question.

Barrack knew the answer, but did not know what he was supposed to do. Al-Bakri (2013) in her study in Oman found that students were upset from reading the exam question, because they could not understand it, and consequently answer incorrectly. According to the Oxford Dictionary an exam is 'a formal test of a person's knowledge or proficiency in a subject or skill'. However, exams do not always test knowledge; sometimes it is a matter of how well the student understands what is being asked. This problem is exacerbated when teachers do not allow questions to be asked during tests. A participant in the open-ended questions in the questionnaire said:

> *Some teachers just hand us the exam and leave us to it, you are not even allowed to ask about the meaning of a certain word or a simple clarification.*

To show that this is not a simple matter to students, Dhari said in his interview that even some of the help they get still is not enough:

> *Some of my teachers help us during the exam by trying to explain in general, but even this is not enough because there are 'key' words in every question, and I still might not get them.*

At the departmental level, students are not evaluated equally. Because if all the students in that department took the same exam, then some grades would be lower than others depending on which teacher was marking, and whether the teacher helped students with the exam questions. In both statements the participants used the word 'some', which shows that they know that other teachers help during exams, and that they could raise their scores if they had more help.

From a different perspective, students lose time just by trying to read and understand the question. As Barrack stressed in his interview:

> *It is not a matter of just losing points because you didn't understand a question, but rather we lose precious minutes by trying to understand the questions themselves. For example, if*

> *you have two hours to answer the questions, you would lose ten*
> *to twenty minutes just to read and comprehend what is needed.*

This could add mental pressure because students worry about spending too much time reading and rereading the questions instead of formulating the answer.

5.3.3.3 'I just want to pass'

With what has been analysed so far, from not understanding lectures to students' final grades, five students stated that they just want to pass the modules. Saad, in the focus group, said:

> *I reached a point where I do not care about my overall grades, I*
> *just want to pass and graduate.*

Not all students have the determination to earn the highest grade they can. However, the issue here is that students fail to reach their career goals not because of a lack of intellectual ability or willingness to work hard, but because they have not mastered English.

Hunouf also stated in her interview that many of her classmates just want to finish their modules and graduate:

> *Some of my friends face continuous problems during their study,*
> *therefore, they reach a point where they want to finish and move*
> *on with their lives.*

University life should be an experience to remember, where students widen their intellectual abilities and enjoy their newfound knowledge. However, some students see this as a hard time whereby many hours are consumed trying to learn a different language, either by translating during study times or missing information during lectures.

This stress with dealing with English could become unbearable to some students who just want to graduate. Such a stance could discourage students from exploring their fields further. This was evident in Rawan's focus group statement:

> *In some cases, I did not care what I have learnt, I just waited for the exam and then joined a study group with my friends or took private tutoring lessons to prepare for the exams.*

This is a serious issue that affects the university experience. As Rawan said, some students see college as a hurdle. Thus, students might consider going to the university because they have to, not because they want to. Not taking their education seriously interferes with students' learning. Dhari supported this statement in his interview:

> *This is the reality, most of the students just want to pass, and they do not care anymore for their grades.*

The lack of students' interest in their learning is a predictable outcome of EMI (Smith, 2004). Troudi (2009a) has also stated that 'the consequences can be very costly and detrimental to a whole generation of learners if a decision about the language of instruction is made without taking into consideration all variables: pedagogical, institutional, psychological, and social' (p. 8). From what students have conveyed in this study it does seem that there is a pedagogical cost in that students are not learning what they are being taught. Furthermore, from an institutional perspective, institutions are not encouraging academic growth. As Troudi stated, institutions ought to consider all these variables in order for students to make the best use of their time at university.

5.3.4 Textbooks

Since EMI is the implemented language policy, KU and PAAET have bought most of their textbooks from the US and UK. This section explains how students use their textbooks, how often, what problems they have encountered, and if there are any side notes that they use for their subjects.

5.3.4.1 Limited Use of Textbooks: 'We only use several pages'

Although students use books published in English-speaking countries, they do not read them in their entirety. Participants in this study stated that they read only part of the textbooks. Mohammed, an engineering student, stated in his interview:

There are many pages in every textbook I have that are not used, our teachers tell us which pages to focus on and which ones to throw out.

Hunouf also discussed this issue:

As a biology student, I have to buy several expensive books which cost 40 or 50 Kuwaiti Dinars, and in the end, we only use several pages. In most of my biology subjects, we only use the book to refer back to pictures, tables and diagraphs.

Although some students might be happy not having to read an entire science textbook, they wonder why they have to pay so much for textbooks when they are assigned only a few pages. This is an economic issue.

Such a finding was also confirmed by my observations. In three of the ten observations, the teachers used the books only to refer to pictures and diagrams. One of the teachers referred to the page number of the intended diagram, and asked students to revise it at home. This does show that some teachers spend little time explaining what is in the textbooks.

From a physical perspective, those science textbooks are heavy and carrying several textbooks at once can be uncomfortable. Mariam discussed this issue:

As a geology student with a second major in biology, you could understand how huge the books I carry. I have to carry three or four books a day. I remember during the summer course I was pregnant at that time, I had to carry heavy books just that I might use a picture or a diagram every day or so. I would not complain if I really had to use them, but carrying a book that has over 300 pages just to use several pages is truly unnecessary.

Some students feel frustrated having to carry around heavy textbooks that they do not need. KU and PAAET are large campuses and students need to walk long distances, often in hot weather. Students in the science colleges at KU and PAAET take an average of four to five courses, with books that are

expensive as well as heavy. Therefore, putting these factors together is something that universities need to address.

Books are provided to university students to present to them the information they need for their subjects, and by requesting them to buy books whereby they eventually will only use a few pages, could not promote the importance of textbooks in students. Furthermore, students might not cherish or value the importance of attaining a book. Fatimah mentioned this issue in her interview:

What is the value of books to us? We buy them for decoration, and they are more of an accessory rather than a necessity. I waste my money on textbooks where I only open a page or two to look at an equation during the whole course.

What Fatimah is suggesting is a serious problem, as students think that textbooks are burdens. Thus, the institutions, unintentionally of course, are reinforcing negative perceptions of textbooks, rather than promoting their value. A participant in the open-ended questions in the questionnaire complained that:

I spend my student allowance on books that I never use; I want to use my money on other useful things.

In Kuwait, all students attending KU and PAAET are given a monthly allowance of 200 Kuwaiti Dinars (approximately 500 pounds sterling). This is intended to encourage students to continue their higher education. Therefore, some students find themselves using this allowance on textbooks that they do not really use.

Participants in this study have also wondered why their teachers do not write their own textbooks. Nawaf commented in an interview:

Our teachers should write their own textbooks. They have studied at esteemed universities and most of them are very competent. They should write a textbook that suits us, rather than buying huge expensive books that we do not make use of.

This assumption that their teachers do not write textbooks, might lead students to assume that the university does not appreciate their intellect. Most students do not realise that under EMI policy books are brought from Anglophone countries to emulate their economic and developmental advancement. As Ali said in the focus group:

> *Did our teachers go abroad to the best universities just to come back and teach us these books? Shouldn't they have the ability to give us proper books that suit Kuwaiti students? They do this in the non-scientific colleges.*

Both Barrack and Ali believe that their teachers would develop textbooks that suit their language abilities and based exactly on their curriculum. Thus, they see these textbooks more simplified, and they would be more familiar with the terminology used, and consequently they would find it easier to understand the content.

The observations of this study show that students in the science colleges do carry large books that they, in many cases, did not need to consult during the lectures. In an observation of a biology lecture delivered by an American teacher, the textbooks were used. Perhaps the American teacher was familiar enough with the textbook to present the students with what they needed.

5.3.4.2 Understanding Textbooks

Besides the limited use of textbooks, students face comprehension difficulties. Since these textbooks are not written for students with limited competence in English, the students will not understand them as well as they should.

Table 5.9 Problems in Understanding Textbooks

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
21	I have problems understanding English textbooks	28%	29%	14%	23%	6%

From the analysis of item 21 in the questionnaire, 57 participants out of the 100 face difficulties in understanding English textbooks. Only 29% reported that they do not. Nonetheless, they might still have minor comprehension issues and generally understand what they are reading. The majority of the participants in the in-depth interviews also expressed agreement with item 21. Tesneem stated that this is a major concern with most of her classmates:

> *Although I am good at English, I do face some problems with understanding our textbooks, but many of my friends do not understand anything at all. Generally, we are okay with the level of English used in class by our teachers, but the textbooks are another different level.*

This sentiment is understandable because university textbooks are written in advanced English by native speakers for students who are native speakers of English. If the situation was reversed, the result would be the same. For example, the Arabic used by a non-Arab teacher with non-Arab students is surely simpler than that used by a native Arabic speaker. Barrack reiterated this point in his interview:

> *The level of English in our textbooks is very difficult for us, but thank god we only use it for tables and conversions. But surely if we used them a lot we will be in deep trouble.*

In Barack's view, it is a good sign not to use these textbooks because of their advanced academic English. However, this reinforces the idea that textbooks are difficult and costly. Salem speculated on the reason:

> *These books are done for students in the UK, US, Australia and Canada. But they must understand that we are Kuwaiti students.*

Students do understand that these textbooks are not intended for them; therefore, they prefer textbooks that accommodate their proficiency as language learners. Esteqlal explained in her interview how she used her textbooks:

> *From the first semester I was shocked by the number of words and sentences that I could not understand, so I took previous*

textbooks used by my classmates who have finished the subject. They had scribbled everywhere and translated most of the words, so I took them and added to them; it is easier this way.

Esteqlal's strategy raises an important question: what do other students, who do not have friends or acquaintances who have already taken the course do? This does not provide an even start between them, and consequently could lead to questioning how fair the evaluation system is. Some students spend long hours in translating textbooks that they do not understand, but those who do not need to translate, because their English is better, are at an advantage.

Dhari suggested why students have problems learning through English textbooks:

We [students] face many problems because of the textbooks we use. Firstly, we are shocked because of the vast content in the textbook. Secondly, the ideas in the textbooks and the way they are displayed are different from what we are used to. Thirdly, we do not have the necessary tools to work in an easy and smooth way with the language used. Frankly speaking, without the help of our teachers, we would face huge comprehension problems.

Dhari's second point was raised by Holliday (1994), who noted that the teaching methods on which these textbooks are based on are not applicable in other societies.

5.3.4.3 Lecturers' Notes: 'They are much easier'

When participants in this study talked about textbooks, they referred to teachers' notes as a complement. Participants claimed that their teachers had written their own notes and left a copy at the printing centre in each college. These notes are based on what the teachers want their students to study, so they are a mixture of cut and paste pictures from the assigned textbooks with some personal input from the teachers. Participants have reported that they found these notes simple and very useful. Esteqlal said in her interview:

> *Nearly all our teachers have made their own notes, which we can*
> *get from the college's copy center. This is because the textbooks*
> *we buy have a lot of extra information that we do not need.*

This finding was confirmed by the observations; as students in eight classrooms out of the ten conducted for this study carried their teachers' notes. Esteqlal's point was also reflected in Ahmed's focus group contribution, when I asked if the students found the notes more useful than the textbooks:

> *Of course they are very useful, why do I waste my time reading*
> *hundreds of pages while I can get them in 20 or 30 pages? The*
> *notes summarise all the information that I need for my subject.*

Teachers resort to writing their own notes for the students' sake so that they have a shorter version of the textbooks, and something that will make learning easier for the students.

The teachers' notes are available for free; students just need to pay 1 Kuwaiti Dinar (approximately 2 Pounds Sterling) to have them copied. As Huda said in her interview, this could dissuade students from buying the textbooks:

> *In my college [the college of medicine] all our teachers have their*
> *own notes, so we buy them. It is not only that I did not buy the*
> *textbooks; I did not even see them.*

From Huda's quote,, we can see that some students do not even buy the textbooks, as they acknowledge from the beginning that buying the textbooks is an unnecessary step. Students like Huda, do not buy them and 'waste' their money, as those in the previous sections of this chapter. So, some students buy the teachers' notes instead. Fatimah asked:

> *Why should I waste my money on buying the textbooks? Some*
> *of our teachers tell us not to buy the books, but rather buy their*
> *notes. Therefore, the college imports books that we do not buy.*

The analysis of the above quote shows that some teachers tell their students not to buy the textbook, and only get the notes. Fatimah also states that the

college imports books that only a few students buy, because neither students nor teachers believe that the textbooks are totally suitable for their subjects. Some participants in the interviews explained that the notes are written by their teachers, in their own words, except for some of the pictures and diagrams, which are adapted from the textbooks. When the participants were asked if they preferred the notes to the textbooks they answered that they did. As Mahdi said:

> *Having your teacher write the notes themselves, will assure you that the language is going to be easy to understand, as well as that you will only find what you need. Furthermore, these notes take a lot of stress away, because I do not need to look and search through hundreds of pages to find what I need. More importantly, sometimes I might not know what is needed of me when I revise for my exams; I might not be sure what is included.*

Mahdi also implied that students believe that revising with fewer pages will reduce the stress of studying.

5.3.5 Writing

One of the main problems that the participants mentioned was writing exams and assignments. According to the participants, writing difficulties lowered their grades. This section will first reflect on students' exam writing and then on writing assignments.

5.3.5.1 Writing During Exams: 'We are marked on everything'

Students in this study have stressed that writing is a major concern, and a serious problem when they are marked down for errors in English grammar. Fatimah said in her interview:

> *We get marked on everything; in my last midterm exam I lost several points because of some spelling mistakes. This is not an English module, I am supposed to be marked on my knowledge of the content, and we are not British or Americans.*

Mohammed added in his interview:

> *I have lost several points because I did not use capital letters. It is obvious that sometimes I might lose some points because of wrong answers, but I lose more because of simple English mistakes that we are not used to.*

This unhappiness with being graded on everything might be because they are not accustomed to writing in English. For example, Arabic, unlike English, does not have capital letters. Therefore, mistakes in capitalisation are understandable. Hunouf pointed out in her interview that taking points off for English mistakes is not mentioned in the module description:

> *It is not in the module description, I have seen the module description for all the modules that I have taken. We are not supposed to be marked for grammatical English mistakes.*

Hunouf insisted that students should have been graded only for their knowledge of the subject matter. What adds to the complexity of this issue is that the grades depend on the teachers' grading policy. As Hassan explained in his interview:

> *Eighty percent of my teachers did not mark the grammatical mistakes, they just use a red marker to state the errors and that is it. All they look for is that I have answered properly.*

Hassan could be one of the students who asked about those teachers who did not mark any grammatical mistakes in English, and therefore avoided this issue in his exams. This is not the case for all students, as not all of them have the opportunity to choose their preferred teachers. This discrepancy between Hassan's statement and those of his colleagues shows that students are not held to the same standard.

At KU and PAAET English is not included in any of the scientific modules course descriptions, therefore, marking these errors depends on the teachers' preferences. Some teachers consider that since KU and PAAET are applying an EMI policy, then students should not make such mistakes. However, other teachers believe that this is not important as long as what is

written in the exam is understandable and the student has clearly answered the question. Some of the resentment that the participants in this study have expressed could be that they knew that their friends taking courses from other teachers received better grades because they had not lost points for grammatical mistakes.

5.3.5.2 Writing Assignments and Essays

This is related to students' course work, which usually accumulates to 20%-40% of the total grade. Therefore, writing assignments and essays is an essential part to attaining a good grade. Students considered this issue from two perspectives. First, they talked about the difficulty of writing the assignment itself. Second, they talked about the marking scheme that some teachers follow. The latter issue also showed that some students were 'lucky' not to lose points for grammatical errors but others were held to a higher standard.

Table 5.10 Problems In Writing Assignments In English.

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
23	I have problems in writing reports/assignments in English.	27%	42%	10%	18%	3%

Sixty-nine percent of the respondents in the questionnaire agreed with item 23, that they face problems in writing reports and assignments in English. This large percentage reflects how difficult it is for the participants to write in English. The in-depth interviews for this study were useful in investigating this, because they elicited the measures that students take when they encounter problems with writing assignments and reports.

Seven participants, in their interviews, stated that they would seek assistance when writing their assignments, so they can secure better grades. Barrack said in his interview:

> *Many of us either go to student centres or find what we need in Arabic and then translate it to English. I cannot afford to lose grades because I am not competent in writing in English.*

Barrack's quote shows that students would prefer to spend a reasonable amount of money, in exchange of getting a report whereby they are sure is written properly from scratch, or at least hand it to some professional translator who would write and convey their ideas in well written English.

In Kuwait, proofreading is not an official term used at KU and PAAET, so they neither provide professional proofreaders nor do they inform students that this is an option. Consequently, students would tend to go to student centres. This is because students do feel a certain degree of unfairness, when they believe that their lack of proficiency in English prevents them from demonstrating their full academic potential. This sense of injustice was evident in Huda's interview:

> *In the past term I lost several points because of my writing, I am very competent with the module but I am not used to clearly thinking in English, and the flow of ideas do not come easily. Therefore, as a medical student sometimes I need to write a 10 page report about a certain disease or virus, but I am not able to thoroughly explain the ideas in my mind. At the end I present a modest report.*

Huda, like other participants in this study, stated that they would not produce a report that was as good as they would have liked because of their incompetence in English. Although they are well informed in the subject matter, they still are not satisfied with their work. This becomes a bigger issue when students need to write long reports, because long reports will have more errors.

Some teachers help their students during their lectures, and write the main ideas on the board, as well as revise with them what they need to include in their assignments. However, as Dhari showed in his interview, this help is still not assuring enough:

> *Some teachers discuss the report that we are supposed to write, and help us on the whiteboard by writing the main points and ideas. However, we still need to use our phones or the Internet, because we could not produce exactly what we want.*

Regardless of the extent that teachers would go through to help their students, students would still use the Internet or/and their phones to get extra help. From the three aforementioned quotes, the analysis shows that students prefer to get outside help, and sometimes pay for, rather than depending on themselves and losing points because of their incompetence in English or because of simple grammatical mistakes. These aids become a necessary part of each course, as participants in this study have shown. From her perspective, Fatimah said that Google has become the main source of information:

> *I use Google for all my reports; I never hand in a report without using Google. Although our teachers always tell us not to use any outside online help, we still use them. We get what we need from Google and paraphrase what we need and rearrange some of the paragraphs and hand them in.*

Students would use these online tools despite their teachers' warnings. These warnings are ignored perhaps because students acknowledge that it is not a consistent process, whereby all teachers either mark or do not mark English grammatical mistakes. Thus, students absorb the notion that, I will use these tools regardless of the assurances and warnings so that I make sure I do not lose any points on non-subject related mistakes.

What supports this analysis is that not all students have stated that their teachers count every grammatical mistake. Some claim that many of their teachers do the opposite. As Hassan showed above in section 5.3.5.1 that most of his teachers overlook such mistakes, and sometimes do not even point them out. Therefore, there is no one consistent method that all teachers follow.

Nawaf claimed that one of his teachers would correct everything, and the other would not:

> *Some of my teachers do not focus on all the mistakes; the important thing is that I convey the main idea. But the best*

teachers are those who just focus on the content, at the end this
is not our language.

In conclusion, this section was a sensitive issue to the participants in this study. Writing assignments and reports is an integral part of any higher education experience. Sometimes students encounter two obstacles. The first is that they cannot express themselves well in writing. The second is that some teachers pay attention to every detail in their written work but others do not.

From what students have said, writing assignments and reports is a source of stress and frustration. Students often seek outside help and consult online tools to raise their grades.

5.3.6 Coping Strategies

Students have devised solutions to deal with problems they face that can lower their grades or have a negative effect on their professional plans. Various steps were taken to produce a better outcome and to finish their learning experience in the best way possible, including graduating on schedule. This section will present these strategies: group work, private tutoring and English courses, translating, asking senior students, and looking for general Arabic subjects to raise their GPA.

5.3.6.1 Study Groups: 'We help each other'

Study groups were a recurring strategy mentioned by the participants. In these groups, students discuss ideas, revise their notes, and sometimes help each other in writing assignments. Mohammed elaborated this issue in his interview:

Study groups are very important to us, we gather to learn and
help each other; it saves us a lot of time. We do them
continuously because we have seen how effective they are.
Instead of going back home and sit for an hour or two and
flipping between the pages to revise what has been said in the
lecture and translating the words that I do not know, I can sit with

two or three friends and they can give me all that I need in 10
minutes.

To Mohammed, study groups save time and make learning easy. Furthermore, students find them effective in that they might correct what they have misunderstood. As Dhari said:

Because my English is not that good, I might misunderstand
what the teacher means, so by meeting with my friends and
revising together, I might get the correct information.

According to the students, there are several advantages in participating in study groups. Firstly, they save time by getting the information they need from a classmate who will clearly present the information in Arabic. Secondly, they learn to correct their misinterpretations or misunderstandings of what has been said in the lectures. Participants in this study explained how these study groups could solve the problems created by lack of proficiency in English.

Other participants have argued that these study groups can help them with writing their reports. Mariam discussed this point in her focus group:

I do not want to go to places where I get other people to write for
me in exchange for money, but at the same time I do not want to
lose my points, so I gather every now and then with my friends
so I can write the report based on the teacher's instructions.

This shows that many students do not want to plagiarise their reports. However, they also do not want to lose points because they do not know how to express themselves properly. As Mariam stated, these study groups help them to discuss their ideas and to see if they have reached a proper structure to work on. These study groups are not only to write reports and assignments, as Tesneem said:

As a business administration student, we work a lot on reports as
well as complex programs, so we are not confident with these
programs because we have never used them before, and more
importantly they are in English, and in our first couple of years
were are very hesitant.

The quote reveals that students form study groups also work on and try their programs, and because of their shyness and incompetence in English, they prefer to meet with friends and work together on them to familiarise themselves with these computer programs. Furthermore, to show how study groups have become an integral part of science major students' learning experience, Huda said:

In my college [college of medicine], as well as all other scientific colleges, study groups are something that we cannot work without. Even in subjects that are easy to understand, we still form study groups. These groups are very important to us because they make our studies easier. For example I could meet with my classmates, and one of us could say the word in Arabic and we all get it from the first instance, without the need to read a couple of sentences or a whole paragraph.

The other participants stated that study groups are an essential continuous process they could not go without. As Huda showed, they make their learning process easier, rather than reading a whole paragraph to understand the meaning of a technical term, they could get the meaning in Arabic in a simple word. She also showed that even in easy subjects they continue these study groups, maybe because they have seen how it shortens their revision time, and saves them time in comprehending the technical terms.

When the participants were asked where they meet for these focus groups, they have stated several meeting points, which Salem has put in one quote:

We either meet in labs, libraries, study rooms, Diwaniyas, and the important place of them all 'coffee groups'.

'Diwaniyas' is an area in a house (usually outside and with a separate entrance) where men gather, and the owner of the house meets with his friends and holds formal celebrations. Thus, students gather in such places to study together in a quiet atmosphere. In Kuwait, female students do not gather in such places, rather they hold their study groups in cafes or mostly

on campus. Furthermore, 'coffee groups' is a term that Kuwaitis have used to describe meetings in coffee shops for educational purposes. In Kuwait, students like to gather in Starbucks or Costa to study together. Sometimes a private tutor will join them.

Some students create study groups according to their needs. Esteqlal discussed this point in her interview:

> *In order to effectively overcome any language obstacles, we build our groups according to our needs. For example, I am not that good at grammar, but I am really good in building and connecting sentences. Therefore, I find a classmate who is good in grammar so we compensate for each other's weaknesses.*

Not all study groups are so structured, maybe because many of them are concerned with learning in general. Therefore, structured groups are created only when there is a specific purpose, such as writing a report or completing an assignment.

5.3.6.2 Private Tutoring and English Courses

The second coping strategy that the participants raised was private tutoring and English language courses. These two strategies are linked together because if students want to learn their subjects through Arabic they resort to private tutoring, and obviously if they want to learn through English they take English language courses. Regarding the private tutoring, students either hire a private tutor for face-to-face tutoring, or mainly for groups. Huda has discussed this issue:

> *We take private tuitions for more focus, we are learning in English and this is hard for us. When the private tutor teaches us in Arabic it is much simpler. What we are learning is simple because we took most of it during school, but because we are taught in English it becomes harder. We know all the terms in Arabic but when we begin to learn them in English they come across as new technical terms.*

Such a statement was shared by nine of the interview participants, whereby they find it easier to link the English words with their Arabic counterpart, rather than learning them again in English. According to students, private tutors are also effective in revising what students miss during lectures (as showed in section 5.3.2.2 above), and to prepare them for exams. As Esteqlal said in her interview:

> *I do not have a lot of time considering the stress we go through in my college. Furthermore, the time allotted for the lectures is not enough for us to learn the language and also learn the content, so private tutoring makes it faster to learn what is needed and then move on.*

Esteqlal's quote confirms that rather than struggling to learn by herself, hiring a specialist tutor who is knowledgeable in the content does make their learning process easier. However, private tutoring is an issue that is frowned upon by government officials, especially by the consecutive ministers of education. They perceive it as a 'dangerous disease' that must be stopped. The government as well as several educational institutions such as PAAET and KU for various reasons have fought private tutoring. The most important reasons is that private tutoring can cost up to 1.2 billion Kuwaiti Dinars a year (Al-Shatti & Sabti, 2012), which is equivalent to 3 billion Pounds Sterling. Although the study is not focused on tertiary level, it does show that private tuition consumes a large amount of a family's budget. According to a study conducted by Kuwait University (2011), it was found that 62% of students in the science colleges resort to private tuition, citing language barriers as one of the reasons.

From a different perspective, six of the participants discussed the issue of taking extra English language courses to raise their competence. These courses are usually taken during the summer or students interrupt one of their courses, because they do not have time to study their subjects and attend an English course. As Barrack explained:

> *I truly want to learn English, but it is impossible to take an English course whilst studying at the university. Even during*

> *summer time I do not want to stop my summer course to attend*
> *an English course, I want to finish quickly and graduate.*

As shown in Chapter 2, summer semesters are optional for students who want to graduate earlier. So students who are willing to take an English intensive course to improve their English will need to postpone their graduation and not enrol in the summer courses, and this is something Barrack does not want to do. However, some students take English language courses instead of enrolling in the summer semester. Mahdi has done this:

> *I did not enrol in the previous summer semester because I was*
> *not able to get my head around the amount of English I was*
> *exposed to. So I registered for a two month intensive English*
> *course which cost me around 1400 Kuwaiti Dinars.*

The analysis shows that some students are not prepared for advanced English, so they believe that rather than struggling for two or three years, it would be better to take an intensive English course. However, as Mahdi has stated, this solution comes at a cost. Others, like Dhari, go abroad:

> *When we graduate from school we are not well prepared, and*
> *when we enter the English courses at the university we are also*
> *not being properly prepared for what is coming. This is why I*
> *went abroad last summer to the UK to take an English course.*

Saud also went abroad to take a two-month English course in the UK:

> *After my first semester I had to go abroad to learn English much*
> *faster. I need to focus more on my studies rather than learning*
> *the words and some grammatical rules.*

Both participants enrolled in an English course abroad after realising that it would make their academic life easier. However, some students realise this before entering the first semester, as Ali expressed in his focus group:

> *When I got accepted at Kuwait University last September, I*
> *postponed my enrollment to the next semester and went to the*
> *UK for a four-month English course. I was told that it was difficult*

to continue without a good level of English. To be honest, I was
not that good in English, so I had to find a solution. Although I
paid more than 7000 pounds for my whole trip, it worked out well
as I had fewer problems than my other classmates.

The analysis above shows that some students are being told before being accepted at university that they need a good mastery of English to continue smoothly. However, having the ability to study abroad before engaging in university life is not economically feasible for all students.

5.3.6.3 Translating: 'I spend hours in translating'

Participants in this study have expressed the importance of translating during their tertiary experience. Although the time spent in translating differs from one student to another, they all practise it. The participants have explained that translation is effective, but time consuming. Barrack commented on this in his interview:

When I revise, I need to look up the word and translate it, this
does take time and effort.

The issue of translation is not always a process that happens after their lectures, as many students have electronic dictionaries that they carry with them all the time; they also tend to use them during their lectures, as Huda showed:

I never go around without my Atlas; I also use it during my
lectures. Although our teachers tell us to not use them because it
is better to learn in English, I always resort to translating because
it is easier.

For some students, translation is a continuous process during or after lectures. During my observations, I have noted that several students carried the Atlas electronic dictionary. This does not mean that the others do not use translation tools, because they might have Google Translate on their smartphones. I have also noticed in my observations that several students translate during lectures. Some students underline the words they do not

understand and translate them later. However, others translate as soon as they come across a word they do not understand.

Students also believe that they are wasting hours in merely translating, and that they could put these hours to better use. Mahdi said in his interview:

Sometimes I go back home and stay for hours translating the pages of the textbooks, because I could not work out the meanings of all the words. I would rather put this effort in revising the content itself.

Mahdi believes that putting effort in translation could be better spent on revising the content, which consequently would add to his mastery of the subject content. Such time spent on translating could increase when their exams come, as Mariam said:

During exam times, I sometimes put more than eight hours every two days when revising. I should only spend my time on revising, not translating, it is not my job as a student.

Mariam believes it is not her role to translate. As a student she believes that she should only put extra hours in revising the content. What complicates this issue to students is that they do not know if they have translated a word correctly. In English the meaning of a word can be affected by its position in a sentence. Mohammed said this in his interview:

Besides the hours I put in translating the words, I do not even know if I reached the intended meaning, so in many cases, it is a matter of luck.

Mohammed acknowledges that there are different meanings to some of the words, and he is afraid that he might mistranslate a word and thus miss the whole meaning. Mohammed has also stated that this process does have an element of luck in it, whereby it is left to mere chance if he gets the right meaning or not.

Translation was one of the main strategies mentioned by the participants; a similar situation was reflected in Al-Bakri's study (2013). Students have shown that translating does make their learning process

easier, but is time and effort intensive. The translation strategy adds to their stress when they prepare for their exams, and carrying an electronic dictionary has become indispensable to their university life.

5.3.6.4 Asking Senior Students: 'It is faster and more straightforward'

Some of the participants stated that they asked senior students for explanation or clarification. They perceived this is a more straightforward approach, whereby they get the information from a source that has already learned the content, and thus will provide them the information in Arabic and in simple terms. Esteqlal discussed this issue in her interview:

> *I never was sufficient with the lectures; I always ask those who have completed the course. Senior students know what we go through and have experienced what we are experiencing now, so we get what we need quickly and easily.*

We can see that students believe that this is a shorter way to acquire the needed information. Students also might think that translating could mislead them, and some described the translation process as a matter of 'luck'. Furthermore, they believe that senior students know what they are doing. Therefore, they get what they want in a 'short version', rather than translating or revising for hours.

Hunouf also said that besides obtaining information, they obtain previous exams and assignments so they learn what is and is not acceptable in English:

> *I do not want to go to the teacher again, as I might get the same explanation from the lecture. Senior students give us the information in simple terms, and they provide us with previous exams and assignments.*

The analysis shows that students get more than an explanation, it is more like a network in which they share assignments and exams from previous semesters. This provides them with ample examples of how to write and answer better in English. These samples from senior students also offer guidelines of what to do and not to do with certain professors, so that they can

avoid mistakes and attain higher scores. Furthermore, students consult senior students who are in similar colleges at other institutions. As Mohammed said in his interview:

> *I have several smart friends who are in the private universities, and they know the general concepts, so I get it easily.*

This implies that students extend their pool of senior members to other colleges and universities, and this shows the lengths that they would go to simplify their learning experience. The participants seem to believe that older students understand what they are going through and could as well provide the information in a better way.

Huda stated in her interview that some of the more accomplished older students have formed their own study groups to help others:

> *Some of the bright students in medicine have their own study groups, in which they teach us in Arabic and tell us what to focus on. Then, all we need to do is contrast what is said in Arabic to what we have learned in English during our lectures. This process saves us a lot of time.*

The students who form such study groups might be interested in contributing to their academic environment by helping out younger students. Moreover, the groups are conducted in Arabic. It is evident that students see this a simpler way than translating for hours and might or might not getting the meaning right.

All of the participants who discussed this issue used terms such as 'easier', 'simply' and 'saves time'. These students invest a great deal of effort and time into working with the language, and that they would do whatever was necessary.

5.3.7 Students' Recommendations: 'These will help us'

Some of the participants have suggested two ways to improve their learning experience. The first was that their colleges should pay for their language training abroad before beginning their studies. The second was that their

colleges should offer specialised English courses that are tailored to their majors.

5.3.7.1 Going Abroad: 'I will learn English much faster'

Three of the participants stated that their colleges should send them to take at least an entire course in an Anglophone country in order to learn English. According to the participants, their colleges should pay their tuition and room aboard because their courses in Kuwait are not sufficient. Nawaf said in his interview:

> *We are not learning English properly, either we memorise or find any other means to pass the English courses. In some other modules we translate or form study groups. Therefore, we should have the chance to go abroad to learn English. This would be a great solution to raise or competence in English.*

Nawaf believes that the best way to learn English is to go abroad, and that his college should send him. This recommendation could be because he has tried unsuccessfully to learn English. Nawaf is hoping to learn English for professional reasons and does not just want to pass. Although he has tried different strategies, which might have worked, the language learnt is temporary, and he wants to learn the language for its own sake. Hassan has stated that an English-speaking country is a better English learning environment:

> *Going abroad would put me in an environment that would encourage me to learn English. The level of English differs drastically when we move from secondary school to university, and we are never prepared well for this. So, why not allow us to go abroad for a course all expenses paid?*

Hassan, like Nawaf, is concerned that he cannot retain the English that he has learned, because he relies on memorisation. Therefore, the current language policy is not helping them to acquire a good command of English.

Although this recommendation sounds unreasonable, to some degree it is not totally unexpected. Students understand the importance of English to

their studies and their employment prospects. Therefore, there are students who believe that since English is the medium of instruction, then it is the college or university's role to ensure that their students learn it.

5.3.7.2 English Intensive Courses

Other students have proposed a less costly recommendation, whereby universities and colleges provide intensive General English courses. These courses are not totally general; however, they must be tailored to KU and PAAET students and focused on terminology and what they need for their reports. Participants stated that instead of allowing students to go to private English institutions, the college or university should offer the same courses and charge tuition. As Mahdi said in his interview:

> *Our colleges and universities should provide the same courses, not compulsory of course, and charge tuition. At least I choose when I want to enroll, and yet, I am studying on the same campus without needing to move around. Also, the university could make use of the tuition of these courses.*

Mahdi sees two advantages here. As a student, he benefits from taking intensive English courses in his college. In addition, the university could benefit from such resources to fund other activities. Mahdi also stated that it would be optional. Furthermore, Nawaf proposes another recommendation which he stated in his interview:

> *The problem with the current situation is not helpful, as English courses are only an hour or two either daily or three times a week. Therefore, it is better to end English 1 and English 2 and replace them with something that is more convenient and broader so I can learn to read and talk outside my specialty. More importantly, our teachers better know our abilities and they know what we need.*

Nawaf's comment above pertains to time constraints, as he believes that an hour or two a day or so is insufficient, considering that they have not studied English intensively before the university level. According to Nawaf, replacing

the present system with more intensive English courses and longer hours would help them to master English for their courses and for their future profession.

Nawaf's contribution amazes me, because he wants to change the entire module structure. For example, Mahdi stated that these are 'extra' elective courses, and there is a fee to pay. However, Nawaf wants to replace ESP courses (English 1 and English 2) with a more general curriculum.

Finally, Nawaf stated that their own teachers would offer these courses because they would know their students' abilities, Thus, the teachers would combine intensive general English courses with attention to the language they need for their studies.

5.4 Theme III: The Effect of EMI

The third theme of this chapter explores the effects of English as a medium of instruction on Arabic and the Arab identity. Students in this study discussed different effects of EMI that are related to sensitive issues. This section will be divided into four subsections: (1) the effect on identity, (2) the effect on Arabic, (3) pride in Arabic, and (4) linguistic human rights.

5.4.1 The Effect of EMI on Identity: 'We are changing'

This was one of the most contentious issues amongst the participants. The participants have clearly stated that EMI is not the sole variable that affects identity, but a contributing factor to it. The issues that the students have raised are cultural/intellectual and physical/social. The former category pertains to how EMI contributes to the spread of Western thoughts and traditions; the latter explores physical appearance and daily life. Although some participants have spoken in broad terms on how English is affecting thought, traditions and appearance, they acknowledged that EMI is contributing to the spread of English.

5.4.1.1 Western Thought and Speech: 'They have changed a lot'

The majority of the participants (78%) agreed that Western thoughts and ideas cannot be separated from the spread of English. Only 8% of the

participants in the questionnaire disagreed with this statement, and 14% were not sure.

Table 5.11 The Spread of Western Behaviours and Speech

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
10	It is impossible to separate Western thought and ideas from English.	35%	43%	14%	7%	1%

The participants in the focus groups and face-to-face interviews supported this majority and saw that EMI is contributing to the spread of Western thought and traditions. Tesneem stated in her interview that students' thoughts are changing:

> *We can see how students have changed since they engaged in university. Change is something logic when you enter university because you are engaging in a new world of academia, but I am talking about how they absorb Western thoughts.*

Tesneem has separated logical change due to the surrounding environment, from change that transmits different traditions. Therefore, she does seem to understand that not every change is related to EMI, and she only attributes to EMI the Western influences on students' thoughts. Furthermore, Esteqlal agreed with Tesneem and explained how EMI helped spread Western thought and traditions:

> *The spread of English means the spread of Western thoughts and ideologies. Because now we began to watch English programmes, read English books, even in our English courses we learn about Western theories and Western artists through our exercises. This leads us to absorbing their thoughts and traditions.*

EMI spreads Western thought by assigning pedagogical activities that contain Western influences. Doing these exercises accustoms students to these influences; eventually they become a norm. EMI, however, is not the sole

contributor to the spread of English. Hunouf made the same point in her interview:

> *Students' speech habits have changed; they use a lot of English when they talk to each other. Even unconsciously they use English terminology rather than Arabic, especially general words such as 'lab', 'midterm' exam, and 'final' exam.*

The result indicates that students unconsciously use English words because they are constantly exposed to English in their studies. Therefore, their speech habits have changed, as they begin to replace the Arabic words with English counterparts. The analysis of the above quote is attributed to EMI, as this is also evident in students' conversations with each other.

Hassan described how EMI contributes to these changes in thought, traditions and ways of speech:

> *When we learn through English and engage with it for several years, and in a daily routine, then it becomes part of us. English becomes something familiar to us. Thus, we do not judge if it is spreading a lot or not.*

By teaching students through EMI, and exposing them to English daily, they perceive it as a daily practice. This then leads them to accept the spread of English everywhere because it is part of the ordinary. Adopting a new habit would bring those engaging with the language closer to the Anglophone customs and thoughts. This idea was supported by Khaled:

> *Learning a language is something that everyone agrees on, but by allowing it to spread then it becomes a gateway to other cultures and traditions. Look at how our students speech changed, they even began to put tattoos, which is something prohibited socially and even religiously by Islam. But still they do it, why? Because they are opened to other societies through English, and there is more to come.*

The students are affected by the spread of English, which they already see as more important than Arabic because of their future jobs. Moreover, it is

reinforced by the media in Kuwait. This continuous exposure to other Western societies allows students to normalise Western thought and traditions socially and personally. As Khaled showed, even tattoos, which are socially and religiously taboo, are growing in popularity.

The participants seem cognizant of the effects of EMI, because it is pushing the importance of English to the top of the pyramid. Besides being familiar with movies and popular television programs, EMI, from an academic perspective, is reinforcing the importance of English through university studies. Participants contend that English is more of a gateway to other societies as soon as it becomes a daily routine. Because students are exposed daily to English, they can adopt Western attitudes, traditions, and way of speech. Similar findings were echoed in a study done in the UAE, as the majority of the participants (students, teachers and parents) agreed that due to the students' exposure to English they begin to adopt western behaviours and way of thinking (Belhiah & Al-Hussein, 2016).

5.4.1.2 Appearances and Daily Life: 'Our society is changing'

In this section, participants discuss how English, through different means, one of which is EMI, has changed Kuwait's appearance and daily life. The majority of the respondents of the questionnaire have agreed with item 9; 60% stated that the Kuwaiti/Arab culture and identity have been affected by the spread of English, and 14% disagreed.

Table 5.12 Kuwaiti/Arab Identity Affected By English

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
9	The Kuwaiti/Arab culture and identity are affected by the spread of English.	18%	42%	26%	13%	1%

This majority reflects how these participants perceive the changes in the Kuwait/Arab culture due to the prominence of English. The findings of the interviews were consistent with the results of the questionnaire. Fatimah confirms in her interview that the clothing appearance of Kuwaiti people has changed:

> *Learning a language brings you closer to societies of the language that it originates from. The way of life is transmitted to ours, look at our male students; many of them began to not wear the Dishdasha. Even when they talk, they say a word of English after two or three Arabic words.*

Dishdasha is the formal wear for men in Kuwait and the Gulf region. Fatimah is saying that even the young men at university have begun to wear jeans and t-shirts rather than the Dishdasha. Because students are engaging with English because of EMI, and because they watch American and English programs, they see these changes in clothing as natural. However, it could be argued that students at science colleges prefer this type of clothing because they are more practical than Dishdashas, especially during labs and field work. This change in clothing is also seen in females, as Tesneem stated:

> *Even girls' clothes have changed, look at what female students used to wear a few years back, and what they are wearing now. There is a huge difference. When we discuss this issue with them, they always reply by saying 'well, this is what is happening in America or England'.*

Nawaf has also raised the issue of restaurants:

> *Many things have changed because of English, even things related to restaurants. Although we have several posh Arabic restaurants, there are still a lot of restaurants that have a Western theme to it, especially burgers.*

Mohammed stated how some restaurants use only English menus:

> *Many of the restaurants that I go to have only English menus. I do not know some of the ingredients in Arabic, how am I supposed to know them in English? But especially students and young people like to show off that they can order in English.*

Nawaf argues that English has influenced the types of restaurants that young Kuwaitis prefer. For example, many young Kuwaitis have started successful

restaurant projects; they all have Western themes and English names, such as Chocolate Bar, Elevation Burger, and Dip & Dip. Furthermore, the signage on these restaurants is written in Arabic, but only Arabic letters with the same pronunciation in English. Thus, these restaurants, owned by Kuwaitis, do not translate the name into Arabic, but only use Arabic letters to express the name in English.

Such examples show how the spread of English has affected the daily lives of Kuwaitis, through restaurants, either by having English menus, or by giving Kuwaiti projects English names. In 2013 Kuwait's Ministry of Commerce in Kuwait has officially declared that all shops in Kuwait must have the name written in Arabic, produce the bill (receipt) in Arabic, and the menus must be in Arabic. This law was issued after several members of parliament pressured the government to prevent shops and restaurants from using only English.

Although these changes to the society have been largely affected by the phenomenon of the spread of English in general, students seem to raise it when we were discussing the issue of EMI, which is more concerned with the educational environment. Thus, the reason could be that they perceive EMI as a contributing factor to the spread of English amongst others, and that it reinforces the importance of English in their academic life, which ultimately affects their attitudes to it in their social life.

5.4.2 The Effect on Arabic

Many researchers have discussed the effect of EMI on other languages (Skutnabb-Kangas 2006). The participants mentioned three effects of EMI on Arabic: (1) limiting the use of Arabic, (2) not promoting Arabic as a language of technology, and (3) degrading the Arabic writing style.

5.4.2.1 Limiting the Use of Arabic: 'How did you do in calculus today?'

According to participants, the spread of English has limited the use of Arabic in several ways. From an academic perspective, participants showed how students speak English when discussing their classes with each other. Tesneem discussed this in her interview:

Now, when I talk to my classmates about our subjects, I get two words in Arabic and a word in English. I could not get a whole sentence without them including some English words.

The quote shows how Tesneem's classmates use English almost as much as Arabic when they discuss their courses. This does show how English has displaced Arabic as an academic language. Students are more accustomed to using English in their academic conversations, because their studies are conducted in English. Dhari agreed with Tesneem:

Because we are only learning in English, all of our discussions about our studies are done in English, because mentally we are familiar with it in English, and we use it daily.

Furthermore, Esteqlal argues in her interview that students unconsciously use English to talk about their studies even with family and friends:

Students are totally engaged with English, even when they talk to their parents they use English. For example, some of my friends' parents do not know English at all, but when they ask my friends about their subjects they say: how did you do in calculus today? The question is in Arabic, but 'calculus' is said in English. Because students only say it in this way, so the parents ask them in the same way.

The analysis shows how family and friends engage with the English terms because students repeat the names to them. This does show that because of the students' exposure to English, they speak about their subjects in English. Moreover, parents who do not know English begin to say 'calculus' in English, without knowing its Arabic equivalent.

Some participants do not consider the use of English in restaurants and in conversations about their studies, as a sign of sophistication. As shown in item 13, 50% of the participants do not consider Kuwaitis who speak English as sophisticated, 16% were not sure, and 34% agreed.

Table 5.13 Kuwaitis Who Speak Fluent English Are Well Educated.

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
13	Kuwaitis who speak English are considered more sophisticated/well educated.	22%	28%	16%	21%	13%

Half of the participants above do not perceive that talking in English as a sign of sophistication, perhaps because they consider it more of a practice because of the spread of English. Nawaf described a sophisticated person who speaks English:

> *When someone talks in a high level of English in his specialty,*
> *this is who is considered a sophisticated person. But someone*
> *who just speaks English in daily conversation, he/she is not*
> *considered as such.*

Some of the participants do not consider someone who speaks conversational English as sophisticated (this confirms the findings in item 13), but they do consider someone who speaks English fluently in his specialism that way. Participants might believe that someone to speak fluently in another language must have worked quite hard. Thus, learning your specialism in two different languages adds to knowledge.

Furthermore, although the participants in this section have expressed how English has limited the use of Arabic, the majority of respondents (63%) in item 11 disagreed that their knowledge in Arabic decreased because they are learning through EMI.

Table 5.14 Use and Knowledge Of Arabic Decreased Because Of EMI.

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
11	My use and knowledge of Arabic has decreased due to my education in English.	7%	14%	16%	42%	21%

There is a disagreement here; some state that the use of Arabic has been limited (in the above quotes), whilst others (in item 11) state that students' use

and knowledge of Arabic has not decreased. This discrepancy could be because that the participants' agreement with the former statement was due to connecting it with the limited use of Arabic at university. Whereas their rejection to item 11 is because they related it to their general use and knowledge of Arabic, as Arabic does still dominate their lives.

5.4.2.2 Writing Ability: 'Our Arabic writing has changed'

Some of the participants have discussed how writing through EMI has affected their writing ability in Arabic. This change in Arabic writing style has been attributed to EMI, and their study at the university through English. Barrack has said in his interview:

> *Even our writing style in Arabic is changing, and it is becoming worse. This is because we have not been writing in Arabic for a while, and we are mainly using English, which has a completely different writing style.*

Therefore, students become more familiar with English, and when they try to write in Arabic, the writing style is unsatisfactory. Hassan also discussed this issue in his interview:

> *I finished an advanced course in graphology, and from the writing style we could clearly see what the problem is. When I look at my classmates writing styles, I can see that they are writing Arabic with an English writing style mentality, or because he/she is completely used to writing in English. In Arabic, we have character formations, and they change the meaning a lot, so because students are not used to them, they write without these character formations.*

In Arabic, character formations could completely change the meaning of the words. For example, the three letters 'k', 't', and 'b' could make up the noun 'book', or the verb 'write' depending on the diacritics over or underneath the letters. Hassan says that because such formations do not exist in English, and that students are learning through English, these formations do not appear spontaneously when they write in Arabic.

Participants have shown that the effect of English on Arabic is not only concerned with which language they speak in or how English limits the use of Arabic, but it could also affect orthography. Since they differ drastically, by using English extensively, students' writing in Arabic worsened.

5.4.2.3 'It is a language of science and technology'

When discussing reasons for the spread of English, students talked about how Arabic is being used less in several disciplines, of which is the university study. Although the majority of participants in this study do see English as the language of science and modernity as shown in item 8, to them, it does not diminish Arabic as a language of science and technology. This does not show a discrepancy in the results, as in item 8 respondents answered according to the situation now, and that English is prevailing in such situations. On the other hand, in this section students discussed the 'ability' of Arabic in becoming the language of science and modernity. Mohammed said in his interview:

> *Arabic is and will always be a language of science, Arabic was the language of science from the birth of modern sciences, such as Ibn Sienna, Alkhwarzmi and many others. Even in Western universities they admit that those scientists helped shape the new world.*

Dhari agreed:

> *It is sad that some think nowadays Arabic is the language of our daily life, and they forget that we still at school learn everything in Arabic. Science subjects are also taught in Arabic in some countries, such as Syria and Iraq.*

Although participants see the importance of English in science, this does not preclude Arabic from consideration as a language of science. As Mohammed showed that Arab scientists were amongst the first scientists that changed the world, with Alkhwarzmi introducing algorithms and algebra. Dhari also elaborated on the idea, that in some Arab countries several science majors, such as medicine and engineering, are still taught in Arabic. He also stated

that until secondary school in Kuwait all the sciences are taught in Arabic, which means that the problem is not with language ability but rather with practice. Such a finding was also evident in a study conducted in the United Arab Emirates (Troudi & Jendli, 2011), were they found that students who did not see Arabic as a language of science, did so not because that academically Arabic is an inferior language, but rather with the way the students were taught Arabic at an earlier stage. Therefore, in both cases, this case and the case of UAE, the importance of Arabic is dependable on the practice implemented.

So it was clear from the participants' contributions that they consider Arabic a language of science and technology. However, they showed how English is replacing Arabic in teaching science at university. According to Saud:

> *English is used more because today, Americans and British scientists make most of the inventions and technological breakthroughs. Therefore, for us to understand what is going on, we need to read their papers in English.*

The results indicate that due to the technological advancements in the US and UK, it led to promoting English as the language of science and technology. Since such advancements are led by Anglophone scientists, the research articles are written and published in English, so this also affected the world of academia by promoting the importance of English. Hunouf also explained that the Internet has had a major role in elevating the status of English as the language of science and technology:

> *From the last fifteen to twenty years, the world of computers and Internet has reflected to the entire world the importance of English. It is through such advancements that English was considered as the most important language today.*

The Internet has reinforced the international importance of English, due to the vast amount of information in English that is available online. E-commerce companies and social media have also promoted the use of English.

5.4.3 Pride in Arabic: 'It is my language'

The discussion of why English has overtaken Arabic in some areas struck a nerve with some students. Huda said in her interview:

> *Our foreign teachers publish their work in English and not in Arabic, although they are in an Arab country, they do not even give any of their time to learn Arabic. We should take pride in our language and publish scientific articles in Arabic, in our own journals.*

Huda is stating that when foreign teachers come to Kuwait they do not need to learn Arabic, because they will teach the curricula in English, and the students will work with them in English according to the EMI language policy. Adding to this issue, according to Huda, is that even Kuwaiti and Arab teachers in the science colleges are publishing in English. Thus, they should take pride in their mother tongue and encourage the academic community to publish in Arabic. Huda is talking only about teachers in the science colleges. In his interview, Hassan related Arabic to Islam:

> *At the end, you are a Muslim and you have your own traditions and thoughts, English should be limited to certain contexts, and not more. But allowing it to spread further will mean that even our traditions would change.*

In Kuwait and other Muslim countries, Arabic, the language chosen by God, is connected to the Quran. Therefore, Hassan links the use of Arabic to pride in his Muslim identity. He also states that allowing English to spread will affect Muslim traditions. Thus, it is evident in the analysis that Hassan takes pride in Arabic because it is the language of Islam.

Tesneem also took pride in Arabic and believed that English should be used only in specific contexts:

> *I love learning English, and it is good to acquire such a language, but my purpose of learning through English is to give me an advantage when I want to work in the private sector. However, I do not like it when people start using it outside the university or ordering in restaurants.*

Tesneem also believes it is important to learn English for university and work, but not in social life. Esteqlal concurred:

I am an Arab and Arabic is my language, I use English only for my studies. Some people take it a bit further in using it in social events and they try to force other people to speak back to them with some Arabic and some English. It is simple; since I live in an Arab society then I should speak in Arabic.

Esteqlal is reinstating what her colleagues have said, that other students should not be using English outside the campus. She is differentiating learning through EMI, which should be in a limited context, from using it for other purposes. The analysis shows how students believe that allowing English to spread out of the university context has enabled it to eclipse the Arabic language, and consequently threaten their Arab identity.

Other students argued that because Arab countries have focused on politics over power and did not pay as much attention to science, the Arabic language has lost some of its stature. As Barrack said in his interview:

When you look at the heart of the problem, you see that we are the ones who caused the importance of Arabic to decline. As Muslim and Arab societies, we have left the focus on scientific advancements and focused on who wants the power to lead the Arab countries. We fell back as societies, and Arabic fell back with us, but if we were leaders in science, as we used to be once, you would see more people wanting to learn Arabic.

Some participants blame Arab countries for the decline of Arabic as a language. Barrack is suggesting that because we fixated on political power, and starting wars over who will succeed in control, we forgot about focusing on science and technology. Thus, since we are far from this focus, Arabic has only been attached to war and continuous political tensions. Therefore, as Barrack shows, this has allowed English to be connected to technology, science, and scientific research, in oppose to Arabic.

5.4.4 Linguistic Human Rights

Although participants did not know the term 'linguistic human rights,' some of them discussed that students graduating from secondary school should have a choice to continue in Arabic. However, other participants did not discuss the issue of having a choice until I, the researcher, raised it. The main focus of this section is that they did agree that the government should provide school graduates a chance to continue in their mother tongue.

5.4.4.1 Choosing Between AMI and EMI: 'We need a choice'

Some of the participants stated that students should have the right to choose the language they prefer as the medium of instruction. When asked if the government should offer such a choice for secondary school graduates, they agreed. Mohammed raised this point in his interview:

> *The government should provide such an option, and it is up to the students' preference. By providing this choice, then this will take a lot of burden from many students.*

The analysis shows that by allowing students to choose between the two languages, then those students who have missed out on their careers because of English, could have another chance to pursue their preferred majors. Nawaf elaborated on this point:

> *I think this should be an obligatory step by the government, I know students who do not even like to attend an English module, so imagine what they feel when they study for several years in English.*

Nawaf is stating that this choice will take the burden from many students. As he showed that some students have a problem with learning other languages, so it would be harder for them to learn through a language they find difficult. Barrack stated that he would benefit from this:

> *I am one of the students who moved around a lot of colleges. First, I student engineering at PAAET, then I went to a private university, and now I am repeating engineering for the third time*

> *at KU. This was all because of English, so if there was a choice in Arabic, then I would surely take it.*

The analysis reveals that some students might not face issues of changing careers or moving from one college to another if they had the chance to learn through Arabic. Barrack has attended three colleges within the same discipline, because he had difficulty with English. Dhari added that offering a choice between AMI and EMI would ensure better outcomes:

> *This logical option will ensure better outcomes, because many students are weak in English, so their comprehension of the content is limited. However, if you provide them with a choice of studying through Arabic, then they might learn their content and their subjects better.*

The analysis shows that providing the students with a chance to learn in Arabic could raise the level of students' comprehension, and they might also attain higher grades, which consequently might open other opportunities such as gaining scholarships. Participants so far were talking about having two types of universities, one that teaches in Arabic and one that teaches in English. However, Esteqlal stated that the same university should offer both:

> *Our teachers are competent in Arabic and English, because during our lectures, they switch between both languages with ease. Therefore, they could teach the same subject in two different languages. Our universities should do this, it will benefit us.*

The finding above indicates that instead of building a new university that would teach through AMI, universities and colleges should teach all their subjects in both languages. Esteqlal believes that they would not have a problem doing this. Students will benefit from such a choice because they can use both mediums of instruction. So, for example, students could learn in English and take the difficult courses in Arabic. Fatimah also would like to see her university offer courses in both languages:

This would be the perfect scenario; it would be great if we had the choice of language in which we want to learn in. KU should provide all our subjects in both languages. I would choose Arabic, but this will also give the opportunity to continue in English for those who want it.

Fatimah considers that such a step will fulfil students' preferences in regards to mediums of instruction. Although she would choose Arabic, she still wants to provide English for those who want it.

5.5 Theme IV: Arabic as a Medium of Instruction (AMI)

This section is a continuation of what has been discussed in the previous section. The students in this study were divided on the merits of Arabic as a medium of instruction. This section will present both views.

5.5.1 Positive Views: 'It Is easier to Learn through my language'

The support for Arabic as a medium of instruction focused on Arabic as their mother tongue, and therefore facilitating their learning. These reasons centered mostly on comprehension of content. In the questionnaire students have answered a question related to their preference in wanting to learn their academic subjects in Arabic:

Table 5.15 Preferring to Learn Through AMI

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
24	I would prefer to learn my academic subjects in Arabic	32%	14%	20%	25%	9%

Item 24 reveals that 46% prefer to learn through Arabic, whilst 34% do not prefer such a policy. Furthermore, 20% were not sure of such a statement. In his interview, Dhari highlighted his reasons for supporting learning through AMI:

With Arabic it is straightforward, because I know everything. When learning through Arabic I would not need to translate, face

questions that I do not understand, and it will be direct because I
have done everything in my life with Arabic.

Dhari has cited the main reason that was presented by the participants who preferred to learn in Arabic, that Arabic is a more common and simpler language to them, and they are therefore fluent in it. In addition, the analysis of the quote shows that learning through Arabic would end some of the obstacles they currently face in EMI, such as translating and not understanding questions (based on language, and not content mastery).

Barrack stressed how learning another language is important, but learning in one's native language to earn a degree is essential:

Learning a language such as English is something I consider
important and would take good care in doing so. However,
learning through my language is a more important step, because
it is related to my future and my career depends on it. Learning
through my language is quicker, simpler, and allows me to
comprehend very easily.

Barrack believes that although learning through EMI provides the opportunity to learn English, it is not as important as completing the degree faster, and that is by learning through Arabic. Barrack could imagine how his learning experience would change when learning through Arabic.

Bader also expressed his favorable attitude towards AMI:

We do understand now when we learn through EMI, but you
understand how things will change drastically if we were to learn
through AMI. Reading books and papers in a language that I
have used all my life is not like reading through another foreign
language.

Bader supported what has been said about the easiness of Arabic, since they are native speakers. He is also contrasting when he reads books in English with reading them in Arabic. He states that his comprehension of the current EMI books is limited, and thus, learning through Arabic will surely increase

comprehension. Furthermore, Huda acknowledged how their course grades would change:

> *Learning through Arabic is not a matter of comprehending the content, and not needing to resort to translation and other methods. Rather, we should look at the outcome, because surely our scores and GPAs will be higher.*

Huda sees the issue from an accumulative point of view, since learning through Arabic will make learning easier and lead to better grades.

Participants in this section discussed Arabic as the only medium of instruction, and not what some students have proposed, where they are taught the terminology and the most important aspects of their curriculum in English and Arabic is incorporated during their lectures. They have also expressed their views in learning through AMI, and stated how such a policy would help them during revision, learning, and acquiring higher GPAs.

According to Ali, students who want a job in the oil or private sector and need to learn English can do so after graduation:

> *Those students could go to any private English school and take a three, six or a whole year course to learn what they want. Because regardless of what job you're pursuing, you would never need to reach the high sophisticated level of English that we see in our books. All you need in most jobs is how to talk simply, and write a report, but most of the work is in Arabic.*

For example, in the oil sector, English is needed to communicate with other non-Arab workers, or to write incident reports. However, all other communications are in Arabic.

In contrast to what has been said in this section, whereby the majority of the respondents agreed with item 24, the majority (59%) in item 18 agreed that their college or university should continue to teach them through English.

Table 5.16 The University Needs to Continue the EMI Policy.

Item	Statement	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
18	The college/university needs to continue teaching the academic subjects in English.	27%	32%	21%	9%	11%

I believe that there is no contradiction between the two findings, because although students state that learning through Arabic has many positive attributes, English has many academic benefits. Thus, whilst some want to learn through Arabic for convenience, others want English for its professional advantages.

5.5.2 Negative Views: 'It would not help us in our careers'

Some of the participants in this study expressed their negative views towards AMI, and they related their negative views to future careers. These participants did not present their negative views from an opposite perspective from those above, whereby they see learning through English is easier than learning through Arabic. Rather, their views were related to their career goals. Tesneem stated such a view in her interview:

> *I would not prefer to learn through Arabic because this would cause problems in the future. As a business administration student, when I graduate, I will be working with specialised programs, and they are all in English, so I would need to translate during my job. Therefore, I prefer to go through this trouble of translating and overcoming any language obstacle as a student, because when I graduate, I just want to do my job.*

Tesneem was aware that learning through AMI is only a temporary solution, because working in banks will require her to work with specialised programs that are available only in English. Thus, even if she avoids translating from English to Arabic now, she will need to do the same later on when she is working. Therefore, Tesneem believes that since she will be facing the issue of translation one way or another, she prefers to do that as a student,

meaning that she will be able to devote her time only to doing her job when she graduates.

Tesneem commented that she would need a good command of English to pass the language test that is a prerequisite for working in banks in Kuwait. Similarly, Ahmed agreed that AMI will improve their learning experience, and lead to higher grades, but this will cause problems when they graduate:

> *It is true that if I learn through Arabic, it will be improve my learning experience now, but this will cause problems when I go the private sector. As a chemistry graduate who will work in the oil sector, it [Arabic] will not allow me to do anything. How would I communicate with my non-Arab classmates, write reports, and use the tools in the laboratory?*

Ahmed viewed AMI from a different perspective. He acknowledged that AMI provides many benefits, but going through several years of trying to work with English as a student will later on provide him with what he needs to facilitate his career. Such differences in perspectives between Ahmed and his classmates are understandable. Ahmed hopes to work in the private sector, and unlike his classmates, he wants to learn English while still a student. Mahdi also opined that learning solely through Arabic would interfere with students' careers:

> *I do not agree with learning only through AMI; just take the simple matter of communicating with other non-Arab workers. I have worked part-time in the oil sector, and I encountered many nationalities from Asia to America. As an engineer, how would I communicate with them and discuss what is needed.*

Hassan also objected to the idea of learning through AMI only, even for those who hope to enter the public sector:

> *Even those who are currently sure they want to go into the public sector, they should learn through EMI, because no one is certain about the future. What would they do if they later on decided to continue their studies or find a better job in the private sector? This will then be more difficult for them.*

Hassan's belie is that, for all the possible scenarios, learning through AMI is of no benefit. To Hassan, nothing is permanent, and students who later change their career plans will only have more problems. Thus, he stated that learning through EMI will give them a skill that they can use whenever they need it.

5.6 Conclusion

The findings have raised different issues regarding the current EMI policy in Kuwait, and it has shown how the data derived from the four data collection methods have been employed to answer the research questions. The following are the conclusions related to each research question:

Research Question 1: What are KU and PAAET students' attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction (EMI)?

The findings show that the majority of the participants are in favour of EMI, and they prefer to continue studying in English. Such a preference was based on the advantages English provides for their future prospects, as they feel they would benefit from EMI on different academic and career levels. The main reasons for stressing the importance of English are related to their future jobs, as most of the participants are studying science majors, whereby they will consequently look for a job in the oil sector or other private sectors, were speaking English is an essential skill. However, they question the amount of English they encounter, and stated that more Arabic needs to be implemented.

Furthermore, other participants demonstrated negative views towards EMI, as they believe it does not serve their career prospectus, but only adds an extra linguistic and educational burden. Such students already have plans to pursue their careers in the public sector, where only Arabic is needed. For this reason, they do not see the benefits of EMI, and instead, they perceive the whole EMI policy as an obstacle.

Research Question 2: What are the challenges students face when studying through EMI? How do students cope with these challenges?

Although the majority of students prefer learning through English, they do

encounter several challenges, such as comprehension of lectures, losing grades because of linguistic boundaries, understanding the assigned textbooks, and writing during their assignments and/or exams. Participants have shown how some of these obstacles hinder their overall outcome, whether that is affecting the whole learning/teaching quality, misunderstanding lectures, needing to make double effort, or even affecting their grades. Therefore, students have tried to find different coping strategies to overcome these challenges; these range from translations and study groups to hiring private teachers.

Furthermore, participants suggested several measurements, which they believed would help their learning journey. They suggested that they go abroad, mainly to the UK or US, to improve their English in the shortest timeframe possible. From their viewpoint, this would allow them to go for a few months and on their return, they would be able to focus more on the content. Furthermore, they recommended that their colleges provide specialised English intensive courses. For the participants, these courses are more content-specific, and they adhere to the students' needs and requirements in their respective colleges. Also, these courses will be presented by their teachers, who are better informed of students' educational and linguistic needs.

Research Question 3: What are the possible effects of EMI on the Arab identity and on Arabic?

The participants expressed their fear of the possible effects EMI has on Arabic and the Arab identity. They believe that EMI contributes to the general phenomenon of the spread of English, which consequently affects the Arab identity. They stated that EMI helps to spread western thoughts and ideologies, and that it affects the society's general appearance and Kuwaiti's daily life. Participants acknowledged that EMI is not the sole contributor to such a phenomenon; however, they perceive it as a contributing factor.

The participants also discussed how the spread of English and implementing an EMI policy affects the status of Arabic. They believe it limits the use of Arabic amongst students, and students are becoming more familiar with the English terminologies, and in some cases, they do not know the

Arabic counterparts.

Furthermore, some participants expressed pride in learning through Arabic, as it is their mother tongue and reflects their identities. In their opinion, English should not take over Arabic, and teaching through Arabic will not only make their learning easier, but will also raise its status and reflect both its importance and its ability to be a language of science.

Research Question 4: Are there alternative approaches that could address or improve the current situation?

From the obstacles shown in this chapter, it is clear that the participants feel that more Arabic needs to be used during lectures, and their exams should also be conducted in Arabic. In their opinion, incorporating more Arabic simplifies some aspects in their learning journey.

Within the current circumstances and the EMI environment, students face the issue of both content and language loss (Mohammed, 2013; Kyeyune, 2010). For this reason, it seems that students would prefer a dual programme, were they would have the benefits of both languages: using Arabic would make their learning process easier, and English would provide them with the academic benefits they need for their future prospects.

Students also discussed the possibility of having an AMI policy. However, such a suggested policy gave rise to both positive and negative responses, somewhat similar to the discussion on EMI, with students accepting or rejecting the policy according to their future goals. The findings support using a mixture of both languages, and thus a dual programme seems to cater for students' needs from both languages.

The findings from this chapter inform the four research questions, as they demonstrate students' views towards the current EMI policy and explore their learning experience in depth. The findings show that students are in a love-hate relationship with the EMI policy, as they want to learn through English, but not in such extensive amounts. Students seem to understand the importance of English for their future prospects, but at the same time, they acknowledge how incorporating more Arabic has several other benefits.

Students seem to need sustained enriched forms of instruction that will provide them with the support from their mother tongue whilst they develop the second language (Thomas & Collier, 2003). Therefore, a dual programme seems to strike a balance between their needs from both languages: English supports them in achieving their career goals and acts as a gateway for professional and future development, whilst Arabic eases their learning experience and helps them accumulate better content-specific knowledge. Furthermore, a dual programme model seems more practical and feasible, as the amount of work needed is less than that needed when moving from an EMI to a complete AMI policy.

Chapter VI

Discussion of the research findings

6.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the key findings of the data collected for the current study, both from the qualitative and the quantitative strands. This chapter is divided into three sections in relation to the research questions. Section one (related to research question 1) discusses the main findings on students' perceptions of EMI, both positive and negative. The positive views are concerned with their future goals and aims, especially those related to employment, postgraduate studies, and further research while the main negative views expressed are based on their lack of any future use of English, particularly because some students will work in the public sector. The second section (related to research question 2) discusses their learning and teaching experiences through EMI, those issues related to their comprehension of lectures, the effect on their grades, and other educational challenges. The third section (related to research questions 3 and 4) deals with the effect of EMI on the Arabic language and on students' behaviours. It also discusses the participants' views of Arabic today, and how English – specifically, EMI - has affected it. In addition, it discusses students' views on AMI as a possible alternative solution.

Section One: Views on EMI

6.2 Academic Prosperity and Personal Gains

EMI, for many students, is considered a gateway to academic prosperity, future careers, and personal gains. These findings have been reflected in ample research both globally (Dearden, 2014) and in the Arabian Gulf region (Al-Bakri, 2013; Habbash & Troudi, 2015). Therefore, it is clear that students believe that learning through the medium of English will maximise their chances in securing better jobs and achieving their personal goals - either related to further studies, or to simply acquiring the English language. EMI would seem to be a valuable asset, as so many learners dream about

mastering the English language. Although people acknowledge the importance of their own language, they acknowledge that their own language will not provide them with the same advantages that English does. Many students believe that, regardless of their knowledge in their field and their competence in the subject matter, without mastering English, this will still not be sufficient to secure them a good job.

6.2.1 Employment

Employment is one of the main reasons students seek to learn through EMI. English has become so deeply intertwined with their careers that the two have almost become inseparable. Students are willing to endure (as we will see in Section Two) any possible problems, complexities, and challenges as long as they learn English. In today's world, and with the spread of globalisation, mastering English is one of the main criteria in any job application, and students need to "orient themselves towards an international market" (Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011, p.19).

Companies, private sectors, and some government institutions will be more than willing to reject an applicant if they have a poor knowledge of English, regardless of their other capabilities and competences. In Kuwait, many of the well paid jobs, especially in the oil sector, depend entirely on English, so applicants need to pass an English test as a first step.

Furthermore, the relationship between English and employment in Kuwait extends beyond merely securing the job. For example, in the banking sector, all Kuwaiti banks fund their employees' continuing English studies, as they send them to specialised courses at Kuwait's Institute of Banking Studies (IBS).

IBS is one of the many examples that demonstrate that the different sectors in Kuwait are willing to invest more money in raising their employees' level of English. We can observe how current practices have imposed the importance of English in this field, and that it has increased the need to acquire it. Therefore, science college students, from the beginning of their academic careers, already understand the importance of English. Thus, as the findings in this study show, some participants see that learning Arabic alone is not sufficient for them to prosper in their future careers.

Learning English for employment seems to go beyond the notion of merely mastering a language for work-related and practical use. The employment issue seems to incorporate other psychological factors besides being efficient in using English. Some of the participants, particularly those in engineering, revealed that it also relates to their self-esteem and self-ego. For them, it is not possible to consider themselves engineers if they cannot communicate with their non-Arab workers, and they feel it is their responsibility to find a means of communication to convey what they want to those working with them, something which is possible only through English.

One might ask then why Arabic is not taught so extensively. It could be argued that this reflects how the work sectors and institutions in Arab countries lack sufficient effort in translating texts and promoting Arabic (Toudi, 2009a). Indeed, little effort is put into promoting Arabic (Al-Askari, 2009), and it seems that the Kuwaiti government - as well as other governments around the world - believe it is easier to promote EMI than to fund the continuous translation of ample data from different resources.

This lack of effort is also supported by some of the findings in this study, whereby students stated that the computers and machines they use are only in an English format. Even if the manuals that come with the machines are in several languages, Arabic is not always one of them.

Furthermore, arguably, according to the Kuwaiti government, not providing extensive Arabic language courses for expatriates is a matter of economic expenditure. Therefore, governments such as Kuwait could believe that instead of spending a lot of money on providing extensive Arabic courses for expatriates, who eventually will return to their own countries, it is better to spend that money on English courses whereby Kuwaitis acquire another language. Thus, it is a matter of investing in the long run. However, it is probable that rather than this being the only reason, it is one of several.

Employment has opened up a huge market, with over 12 million English teachers around the world (Robson, 2013), which consequently has led to an array of opportunities for many people to make a living by teaching English. Furthermore, relating English to employment has become a global phenomenon, which has led to changes in LPs, shifts in languages, and

millions spent on classrooms, teachers, textbooks, and so on (Phillipson, 2009a; Canagarajah, 1999b).

Local businesses in Kuwait have also contributed to the importance of English for employment, as it has become a necessity - a 'must have' attribute for anyone applying for employment.

However, despite what has been said so far, the actual practice in employment differs greatly from what has been claimed is the justification for using EMI in Kuwait, and from what has been shown in this study's findings. According to KU's official reports, conducted by the Vice President for Planning Office (2011-2014), the majority of science college graduates are employed in the public sector. From 2011 to 2014, only five per cent of all the graduates from the science colleges had a career in the private sector. Astonishingly, all graduates from the colleges of medicine, pharmaceutics, and dentistry went into the public sector, which meant that there was zero per cent employment for Kuwaiti doctors in the private sector. Furthermore, the only college that reached a 30 per cent employment rate in the private sector was the College of Business Administration. Even at the engineering college, only five per cent of graduates were employed in the private sector.

The graduates from the Arabic teaching colleges have a higher employment rate in the private sector than those of the science colleges. For example, the College of Arts graduates had nine per cent, and the College of Law graduates had 18 per cent.

The report also shows that, out of the 18,400 graduates from all the colleges from 2011 to 2014, only 10 per cent were employed in the private sector. This report contradicts what has been stated as a main reason for using EMI: employment. According to the current status of the EMI policy in Kuwait, it serves the needs of only 10 per cent of students, whereas 90 per cent do not need such a high proficiency in English, as they will eventually work in the public sector, which mainly requires Arabic. It is important to investigate, in future studies, the reasons for such a low percentage, because the findings of this study clearly demonstrate that one of the stated justifications for EMI is not viable.

The relation of English to employment has not only led Arab countries to implement EMI, but it has encompassed countries from around the world.

Dearden (2014) illustrates how government officials in many countries such as Hong Kong, Croatia, and several European non-English speaking countries, have encouraged the implementation of EMI at university level. Dearden also shows that those officials have cited employment as one of the main reasons for this. This could give an advantage to students from economically advantaged families who can afford to send their children to prestigious or English-only schools. However, in this case, others are marginalised and are not given equal chances to promote their intellectual abilities.

These issues of English functioning as a gatekeeper to social status and economic prosperity have been raised by many scholars (Tollefson, 2002, 2006; Phillipson, 1992, 2009a; Pennycook, 2001a). Indeed, scholars have observed that English has become the language of prestige and power in many countries (Pennycook, 1994, Skutnabb-Kangas, 2006). Furthermore, Pennycook (2001a) argues that with English being the gatekeeper to social prestige, it has "become one of the most powerful means of inclusion into or exclusion from further education, employment or social positions" (p. 81). From a theoretical and empirical stance, critical applied linguistics keeps a sceptical eye on the taken-for-granted notions of mainstream language teaching and EMI policies (Pennycook, 2006). The importance of critical work in LP helps in taking into account the economic, political, cultural, and social domains in which learning takes place (Pennycook, 1998). It is not enough to relate teaching English to the world in which it occurs without looking at issues of discrimination, inequality, and power. The current EMI policy in Kuwait could generate increased political and social controversy in that those who are lucky enough to do well in English during their studies, or who come from a strong English learning background, could get better careers.

Therefore, the social structures maintained by EMI policies need to be critically analysed and need to show how people are trapped in unequal relations of power (Pennycook, 1998). In line with issues such as "men are more powerful than women", today we include matters such as those who "attain English have better career prospects" (Patten, 2001). Thus, a significant factor in employment is the applicants' ability to perform in English, regardless of their CV or practical capabilities.

6.2.2 Postgraduate Studies

Students believe that learning through EMI will raise their competence in English, which ultimately prepares them for their future endeavours. As Troudi (2009a) argues, universities see that equipping their students with a good level of English is key to engaging in the world's competitive market. Findings in this research have shown that students who have plans to continue their postgraduate studies see that EMI provides them with the advantage of minimising their need to take additional English courses abroad.

Graduate students from KU and PAAET who receive a scholarship have the opportunity to have a whole year, all expenses paid, to learn English abroad. So, before embarking on their postgraduate studies they will have a chance to study at any chosen institution in the UK, US, Canada, or Australia to attain the necessary requirements for the IELTS or TOEFL.

There always seems to be a gap between every level of education - there is a big gap between school and university at the language level, as well as between undergraduate and postgraduate level. It seems that KU and PAAET are well aware that their EMI policy still does not lead to some of their intended outcomes, namely having a good command of English. Thus, they are willing to invest more money for students to continue their English-learning journey. It is evident that the current policy has a flaw in its practices, and this could also mean that students are not taking their English-medium education seriously. As stated in the previous chapter (and discussed in the coming sections), many students reach the point of just wanting to pass.

Furthermore, students have to start their postgraduate studies within one year of attaining their scholarship to study abroad in an English-speaking country, or their scholarship will be terminated. Therefore, because some students fail to reach the needed IELTS and TOEFL and a lot of money is wasted, in 2013 Kuwait University added a requirement for students applying for scholarships - they must receive an unconditional offer from a university abroad before completing the scholarship application. According to the new requirements they will not even be able to fill in an application without their unconditional offer.

KU is evidently trying to limit the waste of financial resources, because some of their scholars return empty-handed after a whole year, but this does

not really solve the issue. Students will instead begin to enrol in extensive English courses in Kuwait. This does raise an economic dilemma, as KU's and PAAET's EMI policy does fail to raise their command of English, and thus this unintentionally pushes them to pay more money elsewhere to achieve the required language level. One can imagine the stress, as well as the financial pressure, that students endure to continue their postgraduate studies.

In general, it seems that KU and PAAET seem to acknowledge their language policy's shortcomings, so they are willing to pay more money in sending students abroad to learn English. Although KU has ended such an opportunity, this was not for educational purposes but rather for economic reasons. Arguably, it seems that Kuwaiti students will need to continue their English endeavours for some time, as schools fall short in preparing them for university, and the university falls short in preparing them for their postgraduate journey.

Justifying EMI for postgraduate studies seems to put more emphasis on the economic gains of teaching English (Phillipson, 1992, 2009a). As Troudi (2009a) states: "behind pedagogical reasons for teaching the sciences in English there are obvious economic and marketing goals" (p. 8). KU and PAAET do not intentionally serve such purposes, but the current status of English - as well as the current practices - surely drives students to pay more money to acquire English. This consequently adds to the economic aspect of teaching the sciences in English. It further shows that the EMI policy was not well planned according to the country's economic and development needs. It is simply following international trends in language of instruction policy without the proper evaluation for it. A similar issue occurred in Hong Kong, when the president of the Chinese University of Hong Kong implemented an EMI policy. Li (2011) argued that although the intentions of the president of the university were good and he followed current language trends, he underestimated the dilemma his Chinese students and staff are facing. Li argued that although English has many benefits, it is a different matter whether Chinese students are linguistically capable of experiencing such a policy.

These economic gains are evident in the global context, as Wilkinson (2011) showed that there has been an increase of EMI courses at Dutch universities to attract more international students, as well as other European

countries such as France and Germany (Coleman, 2006). This was for the simple reason that international students will pay higher fees. Thus, the aim has shifted from educational to financial. In Hong Kong, there has also been a 30 per cent rise in EMI courses, contrasting a decline of Chinese courses (Kan, Lai, Kirkpatrick & Law, 2011). The increase in the amount of EMI courses can also be found in Denmark (Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011), Asia (Kim, 2011; Vu & Burns, 2014), and also in Africa (Kamwangamalu, 2013).

Dearden (2014) conducted a study on 55 countries from across the world on the implementation of EMI. She found that 90.9 per cent of the private universities and 78.2 per cent of public universities allowed EMI. She also reported that, for the universities' administrators, EMI is important for their financial survival.

With this increased amount of EMI courses worldwide, Kuwaiti students - as well as students around the world - will absorb the undeniable importance of English, and namely learning through EMI. Although countries have different reasons for implementing EMI, they all contribute to the perceived importance of English for postgraduate studies.

This means that EMI is a great tool in the marketisation of the higher education movement. EMI proponents will defend the need for EMI as an educational necessity in global and competitive economy. With this rationale, they prepare the ground for massive financial projects through establishing private universities and pushing for the sale of all elements related to EMI: language preparation, standardised testing, materials, teaching and so on (Canagarajah, 1999a; Pennycook, 2001a, Phillipson, 2009a). In the Arab world, Kuwait - as an example - is a mere consumer of the EMI scheme. It has to be seen to have the latest commodity and at the same time continues to be dependent on external forces, even in the education of its own people (Troudi, 2009a). Being dependent on such external forces does fall in line with notions of the dependency theory, which part of it is economic dependence of the periphery on the Centre with financial resources flowing in one direction (Matunhu, 2011). From this viewpoint, it is better to understand that periphery countries should not link modernisation with westernisation. Rather, they need to understand that they have their own unique structures and features. Thus, instead of viewing the implementation of EMI as a gateway to modernity,

development and following the footsteps of the powerful, they should look at their own economic status, language and local features as unique and that they could develop their own resources. As we will see in section 6.7 below, this dependency has led to several economic gains pouring towards the dominant states, namely the implementation of textbooks that are not properly used.

The dependency theory rejects the notion, made by the modernisation theory, that underdeveloped countries are simply primitive versions of developed countries (Matunhu, 2011). Rather, Arab nations in particular should view that they are capable of producing a language policy that serves the needs of their people, and produce well-educated graduates from local resources - such as devising their own textbooks, curriculums and teaching strategies.

6.2.3 Language of the World

Students seem to expand EMI to encompass other non-educational attributes, and bring it into the wider scope of today's world. They see EMI as a gateway to learning English in general, outside their career/study realms. To them it is surely an advantage to acquire English, as it is the language of the world, of modernity, power, and technological advancements. As Crystal (2012) argues, English is seen as a valuable tool, enabling people to achieve specific goals.

The findings of this study have shown that students believe EMI is never a 'waste of time', as one would benefit from learning through English in travel, online, and other aspects of their personal and social lives. For many of the participants, EMI provides them with at least some basis of English, which will evidently be of use later on in their lives.

From the Kuwaiti and the Arabian Gulf region institutions' perspectives, EMI will lead them to technological advancements and to follow the footsteps of the powerful (Wiley, 2006). Also, because of the Arab world's weakness today, and their economic and political disarray, learning English becomes a salvation for Arabs from the continuous chaotic tensions they live in. Ahmed (2000) and Suleiman (2011) reported a similar case, when women in Egypt during Abdul-Nasser's regime attached themselves to English and European

languages as a sense of associating their identities with liberating cultures. This is still the case for many Arab women with the use of English in the Middle East and French in North Africa. Furthermore, the use of English is also a way of showing resistance to local systems and customs.

Arab countries' institutions, as well as intellects, do not properly contribute to the importance of Arabic. Their efforts to promote Arabic seem to be limited, and the findings of this study support such a claim. For example, on the practical level and in the academic world, a data analysis programme such as Nvivo still does not support Arabic. In the technological realm, Arabic was not introduced to iPhones until their third generation. Today, Amazon and eBay still do not support Arabic. The efforts of translating books, novels, academic publications are still weak (Troudi, 2009a). Such criticisms were supported by the findings of this study. Thus, the shortcomings and efforts of Arab countries will ultimately insinuate the notion that English is the superior language, and will always be attached to scientific and technological advancements. Alaskari (2009) has argued that more support should be given to translating books and publications. Furthermore, there is a call amongst CALx researchers to include languages, other than English, in academic journals to reduce the dominance of English as the only language of academia, which hinders opportunities and equalities in learning (Shohamy, 2011; Lillis and Curry, 2010).

Considering English an important language to learn and using it as a medium for instruction should be considered completely differently. The advantages associated with English should not overpower or shadow the importance of other languages, because declaring a language as a medium of instruction excludes and overlooks other languages (Phillipson, 2008; Shohamy, 2005). As Skutnabb-Kangas (2014) states, a language is considered endangered if students are no longer learning it, or that it has a weak political status. Regardless of how logical and acceptable the justifications put forward by the proponents of English and EMI, one needs to keep a sceptical eye on the effects (Pennycook, 2006), and how costly it is both economically and socially (William & Cooke, 2000). It is important to counteract and find solutions to the implications of EMI policies on mother tongues, as the future scenario poses a threat on linguistic diversity

(Skutnabb-Kangas, 2014, 1998). Some scholars have argued that choosing a language based on the idea that 'it serves my interest best' promotes a neo-imperial language because it necessitates sacrificing one's own language (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010). For this reason, Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) maintains that linguistic human rights might be one way to preserve linguistic diversity.

For some, it could be that EMI in itself is seen as a way of overcoming the weakness we live in today, as Kuwaitis and as Arabs (Troudi, 2009a). Therefore, by implementing the educational aspects of the West, namely English, we can be considered to be alongside the powerful in education (Wiley, 2006).

This becomes a global network of dependence that the weak fall into, and EMI becomes an item amongst others - such as economy, technology, and consumerism (Phillipson, 1992). Thus, the pattern of implementing EMI, considering the teaching of English as non-negotiable because it is the language of the world, and building your whole educational system on it reinstates the dependence factor on Western countries. So, we become a nation that 'cuts and pastes' curricula from Western countries, imports their textbooks, and is constantly dependent on their help. This was evident in the Kuwaiti context, when the minister of Education Nuriyah Al-Sabeeh, stated in 2009 that we need to implement UK and US curricula in our schools. In this case, the dependence will not only be related to tertiary level, but also encompass primary and secondary levels. Such views promoting the importance of English will nurture the reliance of countries that implement EMI policies on English speaking countries in the West, particularly the UK and the US (Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 1994).

6.3 Negative Views

Students have raised some negative aspects of implementing EMI, and have stated that even with the positive side to it, there are still some unnecessary, useless attributes. Such negative stances were centred on the waste of time and effort, as well as the stress they will face in future employment.

6.3.1 Waste of Time and Over-Exaggerated

English as a medium of instruction is not always seen as a positive issue, as some perceive it as a waste of time, and that its importance is over-exaggerated. This over-exaggeration has been based on two arguments. First, that the whole idea of EMI is not useful, and consumes the students' time and effort in an area where they will consequently not need it. The reasoning here continues that it will not add any benefit for future careers, such as those who are planning to become teachers, where science subjects are taught in Arabic.

The second argument seems to stand in between total use and total abandonment of EMI. The findings of this study showed that students prefer to be taught through English in a limited manner, so that EMI is only implemented in certain subjects and classrooms. For instance, engineering students have argued that learning mathematics or physics through English is a waste of time, since they will not be applying their rules when they work in the oil sector - where their job is to merely supervise. In a similar study in Saudi Arabia, (Al-Kahtany, Faruk & Al-Zumor, 2016), it was found that students wanted to avoid English whenever possible, and to limit its use to terminology, whilst Arabic is used in the rest of their studies.

Such a stance to the 'over-exaggeration' of implementing EMI could hinder their progress, as it adds more frustration and pressure to students, because they already have the idea that this will not be useful for their careers. Thus, their performance could not cater for their full potential. At the same time, participants have expressed that, because of their competence in Arabic, their grades could be higher when Arabic is the medium of instruction.

It is important here to critically analyse the situation, as it is evident that the current EMI policy is not based on any needs analysis, rather that it is implemented according to a top-down approach with no resistance or input from academics (Shohamy, 2005). Adapting language policies in a hierarchical manner raises the issue of inequality, which ought to be a central concern (Benesech, 1996). The purpose of education is to serve the interests of students, and implementing ready-made policies and curricula does not fulfil these interests (Canagarajah, 1999a).

According to KU and PAAET (2014), the annual cost of a science

student is over 8,500 Kuwaiti diners (over 20,000 pounds sterling). Therefore, the total cost of a student who finishes in four years is approximately 80,000 pounds sterling. This cost includes all expenses, from teachers' and administrators' salaries to the cost of imported textbooks. With such a high expense there ought to be a high standard of learning experience, and it should fulfil students' expectations and provide them with a satisfactory learning environment. However, many students see the current language policy as not being a satisfactory learning experience. The current annual cost to the student is based on the overall expenses of implementing the current policy. It is therefore important to revaluate the investment of these high expenses for a policy that some students see as a waste of time, or that the total implementation of EMI is also not necessary.

Planning an educational system is not merely a copy and paste process. Rather, there are other essential factors that must be taken into consideration, such as needs analysis and conducting an evaluation of the current policy, rather than investing more money into something that would not be applicable or suitable from the beginning. Language of instruction is an important factor in ensuring the quality of education, as it is a "vehicle through which education is delivered" (Qorro, 2006, p.3).

The issue here seems to support previous arguments presented by CALx scholars such as Phillipson (1992; 2009a), Pennycook (2001a, 2004), and Canagarajah (1999a), that such EMI policies serve the financial interests of Anglophone countries. Importing thousands of books, and endorsing them by 60 per cent, so that this only serves the interests of five per cent of the total science major students is an issue that needs critical consideration. Shohamy (2011) has criticised the effectiveness of EMI policies, and has called for further research to be conducted on the costs of such policies. The focus of such research should be on how much content is achieved and how much language is gained by such policies.

6.3.2 Stress in Future Employment

In section 6.2.1 above I have discussed the relation of EMI to future employment, where English serves as a necessary attribute to secure future careers. However, this is not always the case, as some students have also

shown that English is not needed for their future jobs. In fact, it adds to the burden, as not all of the students will be using English, namely those planning to work in the public sector. Unfortunately, government officials and policy makers have continuously overlooked this issue.

EMI is costly to operate (Dearden, 2014). Therefore, it is important to investigate this policy further and have an in-depth look, since only a few are benefiting from it. Rather, it raises more complications. As shown in the findings, students will have more problems if they work in the public sector, namely the Ministry of Education. As Arabs, they will not be able to understand and teach the subject's curriculum. Learning through English means that they are not as competent in their Arabic-speaking counterparts, which is needed when teaching in the public sector. Therefore, as Arabs, they will first need to translate the word from Arabic to English in order to understand it. This is likely to have a critical effect on Arabic as well as on the Arab identity. Such issues need to be evaluated and scrutinised critically.

It is important to ask what it means when an Arab does not know the Arabic equivalent of the English words that he/she is studying. We should understand and critically evaluate the notion that an increasing number of Arab students are not proficient in their own language (Troudi, 2009a). These questions need to be researched and looked at in depth. This point goes beyond the idea that English is surpassing Arabic in importance - rather it has started to replace it. This replacement does not occur at minuscule levels, such as social greetings and farewells. However, it is becoming an important language that people understand in their intellectual and professional lives (Troudi, 2009a). It is important to note that there might come a time in Kuwait when policy makers see the necessity of teaching school subjects in English because their teachers are only capable of educating in that language. This step has started to happen in a neighbouring country which shares the same language and similar culture, the UAE. The Abu Dhabi Educational Council (ADEC) introduced its New School Model (NSM) in 2010 and until today covers KG stage up to stage 5, with the intention to expand in future years. This model has introduced teaching students through English as well as Arabic, and citing preparing students for university as one of the major reason for including English (ADEC, 2010). In Kuwait, there have been a few

statements made by several ministers of education regarding the implementation of US and UK curriculums at primary level, and teaching science and maths in English. This does support the ideas presented by the dependency theory discussed above in section 6.2.2.

Another issue here is the continuation of dealing with uncertainty in language, and having to revise a different language at every stage. Students learn in Arabic during school, then they shift to English during university, and finally they need to accommodate themselves with Arabic again during their careers. Besides the financial loss, students seem to continue to translate from one language to the other. If learning through English during their undergraduate studies will not be beneficial in their careers, then we need to raise questions about the purpose of EMI. More importantly, why should students endure many hardships to learn through a language that might not have positive outcomes. A similar example was reflected in the United Arab Emirates (Findlow, 2006), a participant of the study expressed his concern of not being able, as an Arab student studying through English, to teach in Arabic after graduation, as he "possessed neither the requisite content terminology … nor the instructional thought processes" (p. 28). Therefore, this student, as well as those in this study, will need to deal with translation even after graduation.

Section Two: Learning and teaching experience
6.4 Linguistic challenges

EMI has posed many linguistic challenges (Barnard, 2015; Al-Bakri, 2013; Shamim, 2011). These challenges might hinder the intellectual progression of students, as well as affecting their careers in general. In this section, we will look into the linguistic challenges presented by EMI, and look at the possible related wider issues that arise from such a policy.

6.4.1 Comprehension issues

Learning through a language other than your mother tongue imposes several disadvantages (Habbash & Troudi, 2015). One of these disadvantages is the issue of comprehensibility during lectures. It is obvious that a certain group of students could face issues around understanding lectures if they are taught

via a language that they are not familiar with. Therefore, using mother tongue instruction is an important component for ensuring the quality of education (UNESCO, 2003). The wrong choice of language medium education is one of the main causes for educational failure, and a direct cause of the world's "illiteracy" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2014). Teaching learners in a language other than their mother tongue is likely to prevent access to education and better learning experiences, because of the linguistic, pedagogical and psychological barriers it creates (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009).

The findings of this study have shown that students face many difficulties in understanding what is being said during lectures, including those who consider themselves good at English. Missing a single sentence could lead to a misunderstanding of what is to come, because lectures are built on compiling knowledge and bridging between pieces of information. Thus, by not understanding certain words, a large amount of the content of the lecture might be lost. In this case, which is recurrent, the lectures do not serve their purpose. Instead of becoming a vital source of knowledge, they have become a source of obscurity.

The issue of comprehending lectures has been reported in several pieces of research. From a worldwide context, in Korea, Kim (2011) found that 60 per cent of the beginner class and 24.5 per cent of the intermediate class understood less than 70 per cent of the lectures. Such a finding is astonishing, as the lecture only fulfils 30 per cent of its purpose. Therefore, students need to find the rest of the information contained in the lecture from other sources, which will surely add more effort. Qorro (2006) also found that secondary school students faced many difficulties in understanding English during classrooms, because of their low level of competence. Similar arguments have been also raised in Turkey (Nurlu, 2015; Selvi, 2011).

In the Arabian Gulf region, similar findings were also reported. Albakri (2013) found that Omani students had difficulties in understanding lectures. In UAE, Belhiah & Elhami (2014) also found that 66 per cent of the teachers involved in the study indicated that most of their students could understand lectures. Although it is a high percentage, it still shows that one third of the teachers indicated that most of their students do not understand these lectures. Students in the same study have justified their understanding of

lectures due to their good teaching of English during their schooling. Thus, it shows an issue of inequality - that those who have learned English prior to entering the university are 'lucky', whilst those who have learned in another language will face more difficultly in comprehending lectures.

In Saudi Arabia, Al-Jarallah & Al-Ansari (1998) found that only six per cent of medical students comprehended the whole lecture, whereas 45 per cent comprehended 25 per cent - 75 per cent of the lectures, and 49 per cent comprehended 75 per cent. This supports the critical standpoint in language policy, that implementing an EMI policy does not provide ideal conditions to acquire and learn new academic knowledge, which is the main objective of higher education (Shohamy, 2011). As Troudi and Jendli (2011) note, EMI in the Arab world needs to be engaged in self-criticism. Thus, without awareness of the role of bilingual and mother tongue education and proper theorisation, EMI will continue to alienate the stakeholders it claims to empower and serve. Thus, these positivistic models dominating educational policies will continue to exert more influence and power on the lives and careers of generations of students (ibid).

Interestingly, although there is nearly a fifteen-year gap between pieces of research conducted in the Arabian Gulf countries, they seem to have the same results regarding understanding lectures. Thus, nothing much has changed. This also supports the idea that the problem is not concerned with the type of teaching approaches, textbooks, and teaching staff, and rather it is to do with the policy itself. By repeating the same findings from researchers in different - but yet similar - contexts, this calls for the issue to be tackled from a different perspective, namely a critical one.

6.4.1.1 Psychological challenges

Not understanding lectures, particularly continuously, could impose psychological threats. According to UNESCO, learning through a foreign language will put students at risk of stress (2003). This issue of stress is a massive issue in many parts of the world, especially in ex-colonies, and as a result many children cannot do well in schools (Lartec, Belisario, Bendanillo, Binas-o, Bucang & Cammagay, 2014). However, there are other possible psychological issues that need to be considered here. Firstly, the continuous

misunderstanding of lectures could lead to frustration. Students might also question their intellectual abilities, which consequently leads to demotivation. These psychological effects might be experienced all at the same time, which could result in the termination of their studies and finding a less-satisfying career (see section 6.6.2 for more details).

Students tend to do better as long as they feel good about themselves (Canfield, 1990). In this case, students are not able to feel better because they are incapable of engaging, answering and raising questions, and interacting during lectures because of language barriers. The mental and psychological state of mind they are in could possibly lower their self-esteem (Bryam, 2004), which could hinder their overall achievement.

Similar findings have been echoed in other research conducted on EMI policy. Al-Bakri (2013), in her study in Oman, found that students felt uncomfortable speaking in English. Furthermore, students were hesitant to answer questions during lectures, discuss matters with their colleagues, and to ask for clarification.

6.4.2 Participation and talking to teachers

Student participation and engagement is an important factor in higher education (Rocca, 2010). Many students demand more interaction in the classroom, as it maximises the quality of their learning (Allred & Swenson, 2006). Participation here not only involves asking questions and responding to the teacher, but also, it encompasses communication skills, group skills, and contributing to discussions (Dancer & Kamvounias, 2005). Research in this area has found that a personal fear of feeling inadequate results in students refraining from participating (Rocca, 2010; Daly et. al, 1997). For example, Weaver and Qi (2005) reported that confidence is the most motivating factor for participation.

The findings of this study have reflected such issues, and have demonstrated that language barriers are prohibiting positive interaction, engagement, and participation in the classroom. Students have shown how they fear mispronouncing words, and their concern that they might seem incapable when answering in English. This could cause emotional stress, which consequently could lower their self-confidence (MacIntyre, 2002). It has

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been shown in several studies that the largest portion of anxiety experienced in participating in a class that uses another language results from the language itself (Atas, 2015). Indeed, the issue could go further than merely fearing mispronunciation. As the findings of this study show, some teachers might mock students for the way they speak in English.

From a different perspective, students' class participation is beneficial for the whole class, as it allows teachers to diagnose learning problems and to provide effective and cognitive support (Turner & Patrick, 2004). Therefore, if students do not participate actively in class, teachers will not be able to assess their needs and give them the means to increase their competence.

The current EMI policy implemented in Kuwait seems not to set straightforward pedagogical instructions regarding what is allowed or acceptable and what is not. Therefore, teachers respond differently to the same situation. As shown in the findings of this study, some teachers allow students to ask about words they do not understand, but others denigrate students who ask the same question. This leaves students in a state of uncertainty, whereby they might lose their motivation to ask in order to understand and participate. If students experience two different polarised responses to the same situation, this could stop them from asking for future clarifications to avoid encountering an extreme reaction that could affect their self-esteem. These different reactions from teachers could also enforce a sense of unfairness between students, as some have the 'privilege' of being answered and responded to, whereas others experience discouragement and demotivation by not being allowed to ask during lectures.

The findings of this study have also shown that the issue extends to involve embarrassment arising from talking to teachers. In the science colleges in Kuwait, there are several non-Arab teachers, and students might need to talk to them about a personal matter, or regarding an absence. However, because of their anxiety or doubt about using English, students might not approach their teachers about their personal or academic situations or obstacles that could hinder their learning experience. Thus, the issue of confidence regarding the use of English extends to issues outside the classroom. Consequently, this could result in poor educational outcomes, such as receiving low grades.

In other international contexts, Doiz, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2011) conducted their research in the University of the Basque Country in Spain. They found that one of the major issues caused by implementing EMI is that students refrained from participating because of their concerns regarding their level of English.

6.4.3 Writing: assignments and exams

In higher education, students need to adapt to new ways of organising, interpreting, and understanding knowledge to learn new subjects (Lea & Street, 1998). Writing is at the centre of learning and teaching in higher education (Curry & Lillis, 2003). Therefore, students may feel uneasy around understanding and interpreting knowledge because of their inability to comprehend the language itself. It is therefore at the beginning of their higher education career that students face a major dilemma: that of not being able to convey and express their knowledge adequately through writing.

Curry and Lillis (2003) state that writing is crucial in higher education because it fulfils a range of educational purposes, one of which is assessment. Through producing essays, laboratory reports, and written examinations, students will have the chance to demonstrate their mastery of the content. At this stage, teachers focus on the content and the form of writing, namely, the construction of the argument, the text structure, grammar, and punctuation. However, in Kuwait, it becomes difficult for students to produce a proper assessment if they are incapable of expressing themselves sufficiently in English; they do not have the proper vocabulary to construct an argument, and they face problems in producing a logical structure.

Regarding their exams, the findings of the study showed that students face certain problems in comprehending the questions. Thus, in some cases, they do not know what they need to do while in other instances, as shown by the findings, some students might mistakenly answer in a different way because they have misunderstood what is needed. This shows that in many cases, students are not marked on their understanding and intellect; instead, they could lose grades because they have not properly understood the questions due to language barriers. Ball and Lindsay (2011) found in their study that 88 per cent of the students found writing in English 'quite hard', and

they concluded that there is a sense of unfairness in summative assessment. Hence, although students study an identical content and pursue the same procedural and conceptual objectives, they "do not attain the same linguistic armoury as their NS counterparts" (p. 56).

A further issue is that the marking system is not standardised in KU and PAAET, so the score students attain depends on the teachers. As we have seen, some teachers help students by explaining in Arabic what is needed from the question. However, others do not allow students to raise questions in this manner.

Beyond being an assessment tool, writing also trains students as future professionals in their disciplines, as well as improving their communication skills (Curry & Hewings, 2003). It will be a daunting process for students to reach such high objectives if they cannot implement the basis of writing.

Assessment in EMI does not only concern Kuwait or other Arab countries; Dearden (2014) has shown how in different countries around the world, similar concerns are discussed. Participants in her study raised many questions, including what language exams should be in, and - more importantly - what should be assessed, that is, the language or the subject content. Using tests in English with non-native speakers of that language could result in invalid and unjust scores because of students' lack of language skills (Shohamy, 2011).

Therefore, assessment in EMI is not merely a Kuwaiti issue; rather, it has become a global phenomenon. Its effects have reached many students from different countries, backgrounds, and educational levels (Shohamy, 2005). It is for the aforementioned reasons that Khan (2009) and May (2001, 2004) argue that critical strategies should be implemented to examine the consequences of tests, monitor their power, minimise their detrimental force, and reveal their misuse.

6.5 Double effort

Learning through EMI means a significant increase in effort for students, as they need to cope with the content of the material as well as the language, and this results in a double set of challenges (UNESCO, 2007). Troudi (2009a), in an empirical study conducted in the UAE, found that science

students need to focus on both the subject matter and the linguistic symbols needed to process it. The results of the questionnaire in this study indicated that 75 per cent of the participants agreed that they need to work harder merely to learn the language. This was also echoed by the findings of the interviews, as students' comments revealed how they spend hours of study time only to learn the language. It is evident that students need more than just time to learn the subject matter, and this could sometimes be challenging. In addition, it becomes more difficult when they also need to adapt to and understand the language.

Adapting to and engaging in university life could be a psychological challenge (Dyson & Renk, 2006), whereby students need to cope with their new surroundings, as well as meeting the expectations of their parents and themselves (Blimling & Miltenberger, 1981). With this psychological and mental challenge, students studying through EMI will also face linguistic challenges that add to their burden, and result in them having to give double the amount of effort.

McNamara (2000) states that any type of adaptation in university life, even if it has positive components, could lead to stress. He argues further that students will find coping strategies to deal with the problems they face, and these strategies have been associated with negative outcomes, especially if they are long term. Such negative outcomes have been identified by participants in this study, namely, obtaining low grades (see section 6.6.1).

This double effort is both physically and mentally tiring, and students could put this extra effort into learning the subject matter. Consequently, this would result in higher grades and improved intellectual abilities. Findings from the study also show that even when teachers are supportive, this does not overshadow the fact that students need to put in additional hours.

This additional workload is not limited only to Arab countries or Kuwait in particular, but is a worldwide phenomenon. Tatzi (2011) found that one of the major challenges for Austrian engineering master's degree students at FH JOANNEUM University of Applied Sciences was dealing with the extra effort they had to put in. The Austrian students also commented that even more effort was needed before examinations. Similar findings were echoed in Evans and Morrison's (2011) longitudinal study of 28 students in Hong Kong's

Polytechnic University. They found that students face major problems in understanding technical words and comprehending lectures. The participants in their research stated that they overcame these obstacles by extra hard work and continuous study.

This double effort has led students to find all possible means to overcome any linguistic obstacles. Participants in this study highlighted three strategies they find useful to overcome this double effort: translating, private tuition, and group work.

6.5.1 Translating, private tuition and study groups

Due to the double effort needed by students in order to adapt to the linguistic complications they face, participants of this study identified several strategies they used to help them deal with these obstacles, and commented that these strategies had become integral to their university lives: translating, private tuition, and study groups.

As shown through the findings of this study, translation seems to have become a crucial part of Kuwaiti students' lives. Not only is translating time-consuming, but it could also become an intellectual threat. In English, the same word can have several meanings, depending on the context in which it is used. Therefore, students could translate the word with an incorrect meaning, and thus misunderstand the whole topic or paragraph they are reading. The students in this study also acknowledged this issue.

In Oman, Al-Bakri (2013) found that Omani college students rely on continuous translation of terms and, indeed of entire paragraphs to understand their meaning. In this regard, Hewson (1988) argues that "specialised terminology, which is not necessarily congruent between the two languages, poses considerable problems for the teacher and significant learning difficulties for students" (p. 318).

Private tuition is another strategy that students implement to overcome any linguistic difficulties. Private tuition provides students with any extra instruction they might need so that they can understand what they have missed or have misunderstood during their lectures. It is a more convenient way than translation, as it is quicker and more straightforward. Rather than translating for hours, and having to depend on their own understanding,

students rely on professionals who know what is needed in those subjects. However, private tuition is costly, and it consumes much of the student's income.

The findings of a study conducted by Kuwait University (2014) revealed that 62 per cent of the university's students resort to private tuition, which costs 25 Kuwaiti dinars (over £60) an hour for each student. This study also supports the claim that private tutoring is a spreading phenomenon amongst university students. Private tuition is prevalent amongst secondary schools in Kuwait (Alshatti & Sabti, 2012) and in the Gulf region for weak students who need to improve their language abilities. However, continuing this process to university level implies a major academic problem. Hence, when students cannot cope with the content, they cannot be expected to perform well even when they graduate. This has negative repercussions for the quality of people working in the local economy.

Another problem that could be elicited from the participants' contributions to this study is that they could become lazier in their studies. Participants referred to private tuition positively, with words such as "much simpler", 'link' knowledge together, and 'faster to learn what is needed'. Such terminology could indicate that students rely heavily on private tutors, and private tuition could begin from the first day of their degree. Therefore, from the students' point of view, instead of trying to understand and thus assuming responsibility for their learning, they could hire a private tutor from the beginning to save on time and effort. Such a point is worth investigating in future studies.

The final strategy students rely on is study groups. These groups have also become an increasingly important phenomenon among university students. According to the participants, study groups provide them with several advantages, such as saving time, correcting misinterpretations, and helping each other in their assignments, and the information is presented to them in Arabic.

Study groups amongst university students could provide several benefits. They affect students' cognitive capacity and could improve students' educational outcomes (Goethals, Winston & Zimmerman, 1999). However, students' over-reliance on them, and their view of study groups as a

convenient and easier way to learn their subjects could dramatically affect the importance of lectures. Thus, students continue to feel that their lectures do not serve their needs and that they are a continuous source of unclear and misunderstood information. This could also lead to them not taking the lectures seriously and to them feeling that they might as well refrain from participating. If students perceive their lectures as an obligatory attendance, they will miss out on the important benefits that these lectures provide.

When students focus on how to overcome linguistic obstacles, and the majority of their time outside their lectures is spent on translation, private tuition, and study groups, it could pose an educational threat. Students might not have the time to use the library for further exploration, or to gain in-depth knowledge on a certain topic. Therefore, students could abandon libraries because of time constraints. Unfortunately, this is the case in Kuwait; a study conducted by Alharbi and Middleton (2012) at three Kuwaiti universities (one public: Kuwait University, and two private: American University of Kuwait and Gulf University for Science and Technology) found that only a small minority of students use university libraries. Although the study did not state the reasons why students (especially Kuwait University students) had abandoned the libraries, it is worth considering such an issue in future studies.

As stated earlier in this chapter, building a certain policy requires careful attention to needs analysis as well as careful evaluation of possible negative outcomes. It seems that the government and the Kuwaiti institutions have not catered for possible negative outcomes. As shown within the findings of this study, students face several issues and obstacles, which might lead to severe consequences, such as losing grades or shifting careers (as we will see in the coming sections).

6.5.2 Absence of learning support

Implementing an EMI policy means applying an English curriculum to non-English speakers, and this logically should include learning support. Students, after all, are not native speakers of the language, and therefore they need some assistance when they encounter language problems. As stated earlier in this study, students learn all their subjects in Arabic during school, so when they move to tertiary level they have not been exposed to enough English. At

school they will have only been taught English through a single subject a day, which is general English, and mainly in the form of grammar exercises. Thus, when they move to the university they take a placement test, which tests them on general English and grammar. If they pass this test, they will move straight to their specialised subjects, which is mainly advanced English.

It is evident that the students' transitional phase from school to university does not entail any kind of language support, and rather that they move from English as a foreign language to English as a medium of instruction immediately with no intervention. This absence of learning support creates several issues for students, because the university has not prepared them for what is to come. As seen in the findings, one of the participants has passed the placement test, but she chose to return to the foundation course because of the level of English required from her.

Furthermore, the English courses that they take are general ESP courses, which do not facilitate their engagement with their studies. This 'shock' that students experience might lead them to a bumpy ride during their first year. For this reason, participants of this study have recommended a solution whereby their university provides them with intensive English courses, such as those provided by private institutions. Participants believe that this will be beneficial because they will be provided by teachers who know their abilities, and because the tuition for these courses could be used by the university to fund other activities.

Such recommendations show how students are willing to try every possible way to ease their university life. It also shows that they undergo a lot of pressure in dealing with the English language. The students' understanding of the importance of English, and their willingness to acquire it, does not overshadow the fact that they experience difficulties when dealing with it.

Such recommendations also show that there is some lack of preparation and evaluation by universities. Universities seem to overlook the fact that students are moving from one language to another in a matter of days. The placement test does not necessarily reflect their proficiency in English, because it only tests their grammar and general comprehension. A similar finding was reflected in a study conducted at the University of the Basque Country, where students who passed the placement test (the

Cambridge Advanced exam) encountered linguistic difficulties throughout their entire university life (Doiz, Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2011). Some scholars (Shohamy, 2005) have discussed the issue of the placement test further. They regarded it as a violation of democratic practices, whereby these tests become a major factor in determining students' entrance to universities and to their chosen careers, rather than their intellectual abilities.

Arguably, this absence of language support could be accountable for the obstacles that students endure. This could also be the reason why students need to translate a lot, get private tuition, and benefit from study groups. As students are not well prepared, and they are not provided with the necessary language support, they need to find their own ways to overcome the obstacles they face. This shows the shortcoming in planning by policymakers, and raises issues of competence in curriculum development. Richards (2001) states that there are several quality indicators that can ensure institutions meet their educational missions and learning goals. One of which is that institutions regularly review their programmes to identify any problems in order to progress towards their goals. Within this phase, institutions review and renew their curricula and bring about any improvements. It is argued that this phase is not, and has not been, present in the current EMI policy, as educational administrators have not reviewed the policy and made sure that it achieves what it is supposed to. Thus, recommending more language support is a simple step to remedy some of the policy's shortcomings in improving the students' English competence. As Troudi (2009a) notes, an educator's role is not only "to serve the curriculum but also to evaluate it, challenge it, play an active role and even redesign it" (p.13).

6.6 Educational challenges of the current policy

In section 6.4 I discussed the linguistic challenges that students face when learning through EMI, ranging from comprehension of lectures to economic issues. However, it is important to ask if there are any educational consequences, particularly related to their future careers and their overall achievement, such as their grades. This section will reflect on such issues that have been raised by the participants of this study. Some educational

issues that were found - such as losing grades, changing careers, teaching approaches, and students leaving the colleges - will be discussed.

6.6.1 Losing grades

Grades act as stimulators for students, and they have a profound impact on students' sense of achievement (Sadler, 2009). Grades are 'precious' to students because they determine their future progression, over issues such as being eligible to continue their postgraduate studies, or whether they deserve to be considered as an honour student. In Kuwait, as in the rest of the world, students' low grades are considered by many as a sign of incompetence, and lack of intelligence and ability in that specific field (Cornell, Krosnick & Chang, 2006). More importantly, attaining high grades is essential in applying for well-paid jobs.

Students in this study have stated how they lose grades because of English, and because of their incapability to express themselves and understand exam questions. They have stated that the main reason for this is due to their unfamiliarity with English, and not because of their intellectual ability. Students have shown their frustration when they discussed this issue, as they feel a sense of unfairness - because the mark they attain does not represent their understanding of the subject matter, but it is instead affected by some language mistakes that needed correcting.

Sadler (2009) argues that grades serve as a support to push students forward, as they will tend to work harder when they believe that they are progressing. However, when students perceive that their grades do not represent their proper achievement this could be demotivating. Therefore, this psychological response to grades would not lead to "intrinsic motivation" (Sadler, 2009, p. 811), whereby they learn simply for personal enjoyment.

From another perspective, students have clearly expressed that their grades depend on the teachers, as some overlook the mistakes whilst others mark them. Thus, students feel a sense of unfairness when they are graded, because they know that if another teacher marked their exams or assignments then they would attain higher scores.

According to Sadler (2009), such acts contradict the intrinsic value or merit of the grades, which necessitate that these marks should represent what

they are supposed to represent. He argues that to achieve students' fairness in grades then: "students deserve their grades to have comparable value across courses in the academic programme in which they enrol, and across the institution. Courses should not exhibit characteristically tough or lenient grading" (p. 809). Therefore, students need reassurance that they are marked in a systematic way, and that they are marked in the same manner by all the teachers concerned.

Participants have gone as far as recommending alterations to their marking schemes. They proposed that during their first two years they should not be marked for any linguistic mistakes in their writing, either in assignments or exams. Such a recommendation is understandable, as after students become familiar with English and are competent with 'the tricks of the trade', they would nearly be in their second or third year. By that time, they would have accumulated low grades that had affected their overall GPA, which would be difficult to fix at that point. From this recommendation, they feel that during their first years they should be exempt from being marked based on their linguistic abilities.

This phenomenon was reflected in other research in the Gulf region. Troudi and Jendli in UAE (2011), and Abdel-Jawad and Abu-Radwan in Qatar (2011) found similar issues in their studies. Students received low grades because they were learning through EMI. Furthermore, Al-Kahtany, Faruk & Al-Zumor (2016) found that students in Saudi Arabia attained low grades because English is being used as the language of instruction. This reinstates the study participants' views, and that this issue extends over borders and geographic boundaries. Dearden (2014) also reported some controversy in assessment, and the respondents of her study have stated how this is a problematic issue because of the lack of assessment criteria.

6.6.1.1 Students as consumers

It is important to note that such views and frustrations put forward by students could change their mentality towards their learning and higher education experience. Since they believe that they are mismarked and are being assessed on points that do not reflect their intellectual development, then they would look for any other possible ways to achieve higher grades. Students are

focused on achieving good grades so that they are able to compete and have a better job. Thus, because sometimes grades are lost for simple matters, according to them, then the importance of the grade becomes a priority. This priority will ultimately hamper their achievement of social and moral values during their higher education, and such an academic experience will not be holistic (Khan, 2014).

The educational culture in Kuwait is driven by performance, and in such a culture grades are an important variable of academic success (Romanowski, 2004). Besides the pressure of attaining high grades for employability, parent influence - as a social factor - also adds more pressure to Kuwaiti students. This immense pressure prioritises the importance of grades.

Students' obsession with higher academic grades is a global phenomenon (Khan, 2014; Story, Stasson, Mahoney & Hart, 2008), and is not only a concern of EMI. However, the effect of EMI adds more importance to this obsession and ignites it, as when students are already focused on high grades, and they feel they are losing marks for simple matters, they try harder to gain them. Romanowski (2004) found that students are willing to achieve higher grades at any expense. He also argued that this could lead to psychological concerns such as anxiety, worry and fear in students. This could refrain students from developing and learning creative and critical thinking skills. It is therefore important that teachers understand the impact of their grading on students (Romanowski, 2004), and that it does not lead them to become consumers who are only focused on grades, but rather to focus on their learning outcome as well.

From another perspective, as we have seen in the findings, other students can reach a point where they do not care anymore for what their grades are - they just want to pass and move on with their lives. Such attitudes by students threaten possible creativity (Beghetto, 2005). Instead of students trying to find their strong points and developing them, they just want to graduate and get a job, with no ambition or prospects.

Personal gains, family gains and societal gains could be lost with the frustrations and attitudes that students experience. When students strive for creativity, innovation and development of their professional practice, then they

personally - and society in general - would benefit from their intellectual and professional abilities to advance economic, political, and educational aspects of the country (Jackson, Oliver, Shaw & Wisdom, 2006).

Creativity promotes problem-solving abilities, innovative thinking, and the ability to generate ideas (Barrett & Donnelly, 2008). However, one of the barriers that hinders the development of creativity is time (Cohen & Ferrari, 2010; Galbraith & Jones, 2003). Participants in this study have shown how their time is eaten up by learning the language, translating, forming study groups and private tuition. Therefore, they reach a point where they want to graduate and strive for the minimum demands of passing their modules.

The European University Association (EUA) report, with its 32 participating higher education institutions in Europe, recommended that there are certain quality procedures that universities need to follow in order to foster creativity. One of these is to clearly state what is being measured, and to not promote the 'culture' where acquiring minimum grades is enough (EUA, 2007).

6.6.2 Shifting colleges and careers: social and financial elements

The educational consequences of learning through EMI could result in students moving to other colleges or terminating their careers. Some of the participants in this study have shown how they had to settle for a less prestigious career - some moved from engineering to history and from medicine to business administration. Besides loss of personal educational benefits for students, in that they miss out on their dreams, there are social and financial elements involved.

The social element is related to the possible embarrassment that students go through. For instance, in the case of Fatimah, who attained a 94 per cent overall score in school, which puts her in the top students' list when graduating from secondary school. Thus, there is a lot of expectation from her family and friends. When Fatimah does not fulfil these expectations, then this could be considered as a failure, and that she did not have the ability to become a doctor. This could have possible psychological effects, and breed resentment that would stay with her for a long time (Al-Bakri, 2013).

The participants in the study were not anomalies. According to a 2010 study conducted by Kuwait University's vice president for planning, the percentage of students leaving the science colleges to go to arts and humanities colleges within the past twenty years has reached 25 per cent. The study cites English as one of the major reasons why students leave the science colleges, a conclusion that was also reached by Al-Enezi's (2015) research, conducted in KU and PAAET.

Such official findings raise a red flag, as 25 per cent is a considerably high proportion, and states that it is a spreading phenomenon. However, there has been no research conducted as yet to find solutions. The only research conducted to date has been to present percentages and state reasons. However, there seems to be a lack of interest in changing the current situation and looking for practical fixes. Future studies in this area would benefit the learning process in Kuwait's higher education sector.

When students leave the science colleges, this could cause some fluctuation in the acceptance system. Colleges accept a certain number of students according to their capacity, and other students are not admitted because there is not enough space for them. The loss here is twofold, because those students who were accepted and then left the college did not succeed, and they also took the opportunity of others who could have succeeded, but were not admitted in the first place due to space availability.

When students leave the science colleges then they cause more financial loss. According to KU (2014) the cost of one student annually is 8,500 Kuwaiti Dinars (equivalent to 20,000 pounds sterling). Higher education in Kuwait is free, and is paid for by the government.

Students leaving colleges is not a sole concern of universities that implement an EMI policy, as it also happens across the world. However, when research and official reports state that there are a large percentage of students leaving the science colleges, and citing that a major reason is the language of instruction, and that it has been going on for years, then this becomes a serious issue that needs to be thoroughly investigated and analysed. This also means Kuwait is not producing enough scientists to work in the different sectors of the economy, and the country will continue to depend on expertise of expatriates.

Similar findings have also been echoed in other countries. In Saudi Arabia, a study found that students stated English as an obstacle in reaching their goals and careers. They have agreed that English was the reason why some students did not achieve their desired majors (Al-Kahtany, Faruk & Al-Zumor, 2016).

6.6.3 Uncovering educational issues: theoretical perspectives

The current language policy in Kuwait seems to follow the research of traditional theoretical approaches to language policy, as it is assumed it will increase economic and social opportunities (Tollefson, 2006) and will lead to economic and social development (Wiley, 2006). This stance has been criticised by critical language policy theories, which aim to unravel the political, social and economic inequalities caused by such language policies, and the possible negative educational outcomes (Ricento, 2006). As Tollefson (2006) states that such critical theories examine the inequalities that are usually hidden due to "ideological processes that make inequality seem to be the natural condition of human social systems" (p. 43). It is from this theoretical standpoint that the current EMI in Kuwait needs to be revisited and thoroughly investigated. Policymakers in Kuwait need to view the issue from another angle, and re-evaluate the outcomes of the EMI policy, both negative and positive.

6.7 The economic consequence of the current policy

So far, we have discussed issues relating to educational and linguistic challenges. However, there also seems to be economic consequences with implementing EMI. Although some financial issues have been discussed above, such as the annual cost of students, there are other economic consequences. The economic discussion that will be presented in this section will be related to textbooks and their uses, and other expenditures that students bear when they study abroad to learn English.

6.7.1 Limited use of textbooks and studying abroad

Using textbooks in EMI has caused a lot of controversy, mainly around issues related to the content of the imported textbooks (Canagarajah, 1999a).

Canagarajah as well as others (Pennycook, 2001a; Auerbach, 1995) have critiqued the implementation of 'ready-made' textbooks because of their ideological nature. However, in this section we will discuss a different - related - issue with textbooks, which is concerned with economics (Phillipson, 1992; 2009a).

Students have expressed their limited use of their EMI textbooks, as they sometimes only use a number of pages that contain diagrams, pictures and tables. More importantly, these textbooks are expensive as students pay approximately 40 Kuwaiti Dinars (equivalent to 100 pounds sterling) for a book that they rarely use. Students also find themselves spending their monthly allowance on textbooks that they barely interact with or use during lectures. What makes this issue more dramatic is that KU and PAAET have a 60 per cent endorsement on textbooks, which means that the university is also in financial loss.

What is interesting here is that the status of EMI in Kuwait seems to contribute to the economic aspects of the spread of English (Phillipson, 2009b, 2011; Ricento, 2000; Bamgbose, 2006, 2000). Neither KU nor PAAET have asked their students about their feedback on the imported textbooks, and if they have served their needs. KU and PAAET have officially said that they have not been asked to provide, nor written, any feedback to the books' publishers. This then points to the idea that the economic gain prevails, and the nature of education seems not to be at the top of the educational pyramid. The publishers seem to be fine with the idea of selling the textbooks, and KU and PAAET seem to be fine with implementing and buying the textbooks with no 'resistance' (Canagarajah, 1999a). It is therefore important for KU and PAAET to implement a critical approach to their EMI policies as it offers perspectives "that serve their challenges, aspirations, and interests more effectively" (Canagarajah, 1999a, p. 17).

Students have also complained about science textbooks being usually heavy due to the number of pages. So, to carry three, four, or five books that are over 200 or 300 pages could be difficult. What adds to this burden is that at the end only a limited number of pages will be used during the lecture. As seen in the findings, students could be negative about their textbooks. Instead

of perceiving them as carrying knowledge, they become 'burdens', and this surely could devalue the importance of textbooks.

From what has been discussed above, textbooks and their use seem to raise some controversies and important economic, psychological, and physical issues. Therefore, it is also important for future studies to delve deeply into the use of textbooks. More research in this area is important as it could find solutions to what has been raised so far.

Another economic issue with implementing EMI is that some students study English abroad before enrolling at KU or PAAET. Findings of this study, as well as findings in the literature, have reflected the extent to which students are willing to go in order to learn and achieve a good command of English. Some participants went abroad to the UK during their first summer in higher education - after a couple of semesters - whilst others went before enrolling in their first semester.

All participants have stated that the reason for going was to improve their English so as to be able to cope during their university studies. The tuition for studying English in the UK for two months ranges from 1,000 to 2,500 pounds sterling, depending on the type of course enrolled upon. This does not include the living, transport and other expenses. Therefore, some students tend to bear extra expenses in order to raise their competence in English.

When students, after studying a semester or two, stop their university study to go abroad for the sake of learning English, this shows the immense pressure some of them feel when learning through EMI. It is important that KU and PAAET address such issues, as students are not supposed to think of any linguistic problems, let alone that they bear extra financial burdens in order to cope with their university studies.

Policymakers need to understand the economic implications of language policy (Grin, 2006). As Grin (2006) states, such an economic theoretical perspective in the economics of language policies provides a distributive dimension. He states that moving to a presumably better language policy also entails losses and gains, and we must raise questions about who loses, who gains, and how much, as a result of implementation of a language policy. For instance, moving to an EMI policy means that native speakers do

not need to invest time and money to learn the language, whilst others struggle with English and spend more money on a foreign language (Grin, 2004).

Furthermore, such theoretical perspectives provide economic analysis of cost evaluation, as the costs of language policies are largely unknown (Grin, 2006). Such an analysis will help policymakers and university administrators in Kuwait to evaluate the cost of textbooks and their use, which will enable them to understand if what is spent on textbooks has achieved its intended goals, or that the expenditures on imported textbooks could be spent elsewhere.

6.8 Actually, it is a bilingual policy

Although the current official policy is an English medium of instruction, the current situation does not reflect that. In fact, what is actually going on during classes leans more towards a bilingual policy. Most teachers use Arabic during lectures, while others have their own notes (see section 6.8.2). The following two sections will discuss the issues of teachers using Arabic, and that teachers already have their own notes.

6.8.1 Teachers use Arabic

From the findings of the study, either from the interviews, focus groups, or even the observations, it is clear that teachers have also not implemented EMI completely. The current situation regarding the practical use of English shows that both teachers and students are 'resisting it' (Canagarajah, 1999a). An EMI policy necessitates that English is used as the language of instruction - therefore, according to the university, when Arabic is used, it is considered as a flaw in the policy. Participants of this study have shown that their teachers mainly use Arabic during their lectures, and more importantly that that is the participants' preference.

Although the participants in this study complained about the linguistic issues in several aspects, such as the textbooks and their examinations, it was the instruction aspect that they focused more on to be in Arabic. This could be because it is the main source of knowledge, so that if they can

understand the content, all other aspects - such as textbooks and exams - become a secondary matter.

As seen in the findings, even when the professor's style of teaching is to only use English, she did not appear to mind that students asked her questions in Arabic. Therefore, the idea of using Arabic is acceptable even to teachers who prefer using English as the medium of instruction. It can be concluded that, regardless of the teacher's own preference in the language of instruction, Arabic is allowed and not frowned upon.

Sometimes teachers in KU and PAAET are forced to not use English even if they preferred it. This is due to the teacher's understanding that when only English is used the students' grades could become lower. The teachers' role is to teach and make sure that they implement a teaching style that is effective and improves the students' learning process. Therefore, it is understandable why some teachers do not use English as the sole medium of instruction, even if they personally wish to. Jensen & Thøgersen (2011) also found in their study that some Danish teachers at the University of Copenhagen believed that if English is used as a medium of instruction then academic standards will fall.

It is evident from the analysis that the aim of lectures being delivered in English, according to the current EMI policy, has been abandoned for several reasons. The findings also reflect that EMI has not been entirely accepted, whereas students fear that total use of English could affect their grades. It seems that teachers have conducted some sort of informal needs analysis (Songhori, 2008), to respond to students' learning interests. Therefore, teachers within their classrooms have informally analysed the situation, and thus they incorporate Arabic during their lectures to maintain the students' interests in prevailing and continuing with their studies.

Another important issue here that needs to be thoroughly investigated in future studies is the issue of teachers' competence in English. Although the teachers could be shifting to Arabic because it is easier for their students, it is also possible that the teachers are using Arabic because they find it more comfortable themselves. In this case, it is arguable that teachers code-switch during lectures, as the findings show, because they use the terminology that they are comfortable with. Thus, they could be using English when they are

familiar with a certain word or terminology, and then move back to Arabic when they understand another word better in that language. Such a finding was found in Jensen & Thøgersen's (2011) study at the University of Copenhagen in Denmark, as not all teachers were well prepared to teach through the medium of English. Finally, science students at Stockholm University stated that 77 per cent of their lectures did not use any English (Bolton & Kuteeva, 2012).

Other studies have shown that the notion of switching between languages is an international phenomenon. Chang (2010) found that university professors in Taiwan switch from English to Mandarin to make the instruction easier for their students, or when they want to introduce a complex concept. In a study conducted in Iran, Ghorbani & Alavi (2014) found that some of the participants suggested limiting and controlling the use of English during their study. Similar findings were also echoed in Denmark, as the students at the University of Copenhagen stated that introducing teaching through Danish will allow them to learn better (Jensen & Thøgersen, 2011).

Canagarajah (1999a) also points out that although English is valued in policy at the University of Jaffna in Sri Lanka, in practice its use is limited in classrooms and on campus, as teachers increasingly use the vernacular. This does support the findings of this study, as Arabic is used during most of the lectures. Furthermore, Inbar-Lourie & Donista-Schmidt (2011) found that most Israeli students, when given the choice to take their course in English or Hebrew, preferred Hebrew. The participants have cited that they had "feeling of fear of incapability of studying in a foreign language" (ibid, p. 167), and those who chose English stated that they would enrol only because they wanted to learn the language. Such findings from the literature, and this study, show that students prefer their mother tongue to be incorporated, if not used more, as it eases several linguistic obstacles.

As shown above in this section, teachers in Kuwait and from around the world tend to shift back to their mother tongue, either for their own benefit or for the benefit of their students, and sometimes for both. Universities, specifically KU and PAAET, need to relate the theoretical aspect of any given policy to its practical aspect. There needs to be a correlation between theory and practice, as it is not enough to write the policy on paper without properly

evaluating its practical implication. Teachers, as well as students, tend to shift back to their mother tongues to find a better means to ease their learning/teaching process. There seems to be a resistance to some of the practical elements of EMI, which needs to be taken into consideration by administrators and policymakers (Canagarajah, 1999a).

6.8.2 Teachers' notes

Teachers' use of Arabic during lectures is only one of the steps that they have undertaken to improve the teaching/learning process. Many teachers have taken a step further in devising their own notes to replace the official course textbooks. Participants have shown that their teachers have written a short version of the course textbooks in a small note, similar to a hand-out, which consists of 20 to 30 pages with all the necessary content they need for their course. So, rather than buying an expensive book with over 100 pages that they might not use, it is much cheaper and more useful to buy the teacher's notes from the copy centre in their college. Furthermore, the language used in these notes is simpler than that which they see in the course's textbook, and more straightforward. Such strategies were also found in South African universities (van der Walt & Kidd, 2011) whereby teachers wrote their own notes and summarised English materials. Lecturers have cited students' difficulties in reading the English textbooks as a reason for why they summarised the textbooks and developed their own notes.

Canagarajah (1999a) also argues that importing ready-made textbooks with their testing kits and teachers' manuals limits the role of the teacher as an intellectual, who is able to develop and write his/her own textbook that is derived and based on the learning experiences that serve the need of a particular classroom experience. The participants of this study argued that such textbooks would be culturally and linguistically related, as they serve their needs and are written in a simple English language that they are familiar with. Although writing textbooks is not a simple matter in science, the textbooks could be written in collaboration with other Arab universities. Such collaborations will ensure that the textbooks devised are well developed.

Participants of this study have shown that within the few pages they use, they tend to scribble, write notes, and translate words and phrases in the

margins of the textbooks. Canagarajah (1999a) states that such strategies are usually unnoticed by teachers and researchers, but it is useful in understanding the students' motivation. He further states that because they are written secretively by students, on the assumptions that teachers will not look at them, then: "they can be considered to represent illuminating evidence of students' own attitudes to the textbook, the curriculum, and the course" (p. 88). Thus, when students fill the margins of the page with translations and comments then this could mean that they are struggling with the content of the textbook.

6.9 Why students still prefer EMI: concluding remarks

With what has been raised so far, from the negative impact on EMI on students' learning process, there is still a large tendency among them to learn through English. From the findings of this study, as well as others, students prefer to continue their education in EMI. The question here is: why do they prefer EMI if they face several difficulties that hinder their learning experience as well as their overall achievement? A simple explanation is that regardless of their views and hopes, this will not change the fact that English is wanted everywhere, and that it still is a major requirement for their future jobs.

To students, what they want is one thing, and the current reality is another. English is still a spreading phenomenon, and it is a requirement and a necessity for succeeding in future jobs. Many consider it the language of the world, technology and modernity. The difficulties that students face are considered by many as sacrifices to a greater goal, which is to master English in a way that eventually leads them to work at a preferred job.

In order to change the de facto practices, and try to improve the learning processes at KU and PAAET as well as other academic institutions around the world, more effort needs to be put forward. To change the current practices and policies requires governments, institutions and policymakers to work together and devise a better strategy. Therefore, the findings of this study are not sufficient to change the students' experiences and diminish the obstacles that students face. It is a first step in unravelling some of the linguistic obstacles that students deal with, as well as their negative effects on

their achievement and careers. The findings here shed light on and bring in another angle to the EMI policy implemented in Kuwait.

Although students did not clearly state a better solution for their situation, it is clear that they wanted a better learning experience. They made it clear that English needs to continue to play an important part in their learning experience, but more effective solutions need to be implemented. It is for this reason that a new module needs to be introduced (see chapter 7 for more details).

Section Three: the effects of EMI, and AMI as a solution
6.10 Unethical and illegal behaviour

Students learning through EMI have taken several measures to overcome any obstacles they face. Sometimes such measures lead to unethical and illegal behaviours (Bakhtiyari et al, 2014). It seems that some students are willing to go to extreme measures, with no regards for the repercussions, to make sure they pass their subjects. One of these measures is a serious illegal problem, as students pay money to student centres and online websites to get their assignments or reports done by others with a better command of the English language. The reason for such a step is that students are guaranteed that they do not lose any marks for not properly writing and conveying their ideas in English (McNaught & Kennedy, 2009).

Others take a less extreme step, where they write their own assignments in Arabic and have a professional translate them into English. Both these steps show the psychological effects that students go through and the educational pressure they are under. They believe that language is a critical criterion for marking rather than for their intellectual abilities and understanding of the content. Unfortunately, these issues are not scrutinised and considered by Kuwait's public institutions. They are serious issues that have psychological, educational and ethical effects on students and on the learning process in general.

A general unified marking scheme could be a simple solution to rectifying this issue, as students understand what they are being marked for rather than having to deal with every teacher separately. It is because of this random nature of marking that has led students to commit such an act,

because of the psychological pressure that they might lose marks. It is not enough to merely implement a language policy without evaluating and weighing any potential psychological, educational, or intellectual issues (Troudi, 2009a).

6.11 Effects of EMI on Arabic and the Arab identity

The effects of English on other languages have been thoroughly researched and discussed (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1987, 2002, 2006). It is an issue that has seen extensive discussions and has been at the centre of much empirical research (Habbash & Troudi, 2015). One of the two major issues that are at the core of the effects of EMI is that of the native language and native identity. In this section, we will first discuss the attitudes towards Arabic, and the effects the spread of English has on the Arab identity.

6.11.1 Attitudes towards Arabic

Within research conducted on EMI policies and their effects on other languages, participants usually discuss the importance of their own language. Although this research, like other research conducted on the effects of EMI on Arabic, has concluded that the participants of the study agreed with the importance of Arabic to them on a personal level, usually this importance was related to religion and daily use. Therefore, it is important to investigate how the participants viewed Arabic as a language of science and modernity. More importantly, it is pertinent to have an in-depth look at how EMI has affected Arabic.

Arabic is one of many languages that have been negatively affected by the spread of English as a global language (Troudi, 2009a). Participants in several studies conducted in the Gulf region, as well as in other Arab countries, have shown that students' attitudes towards Arabic as the language of science and modernity has been negatively affected (Troudi & Jendli, 2011). In their view, the status of Arabic has dropped to become merely a language of daily use and of religious value (Findlow, 2006).

It has been found in this study, as well as in other studies conducted in the Gulf (Troudi & Jendli, 2011; Abdel-Jawad & Abu-Radwan, 2011), that students believe that Arabic is a language of science and can become an

international language. However, in other studies conducted in the Gulf region (Habbash & Troudi, 2015; Pessoa & Rajakumar, 2011), findings have shown that some students do not see Arabic in this way. Nonetheless, these findings do not contradict each other, and nor do they reflect a dichotomy. Rather, this reveals a lack of effort by Arab countries and institutions. Alaskari (2002) has argued that Arab countries need to promote the translation of English books into Arabic, rather than relying merely on the English versions. Although some argue that developing countries are not in a race to follow industrial and technological innovations, Troudi (2009a) eloquently dismisses this argument with the fact that Japan, Taiwan, and China are current examples that language is not the issue.

That said, it is clear that English has pushed Arabic back and shifted its status. However, it is also important to note that when students do not perceive Arabic as a language of technology and modernity, it is not because of its capability, but rather because of the lack of effort on the part of its users. As Troudi (2009a) shows, there are still universities that teach science subjects in Arabic today, and *Al-Arabi* magazine, as well as others, has published several articles about science, engineering, and medicine in Arabic.

It would be naïve not to acknowledge the importance of English (Troudi, 2009a; Phillipson, 2009a). It is also understandable why many institutions around the world implement an EMI policy, because English is seen as the language of the powerful and the language of the internet (Crystal, 2003; Pennycook, 2012). However, it would also be unwise not to evaluate its effects on other essential issues including identity and the use of other languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2009). As research studies conducted on academic achievement have shown, children learning in a dominant language medium fail to be highly competent in either the dominant language or in their own mother tongue (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2014)

Concerns over English affecting students' and teachers' attitudes towards Arabic and other languages have been raised in many studies (Li, 2009; Sharifian, 2009). Such an effect should be addressed and crucial remediation steps need to be taken. Both governments and educational institutions need to understand that while learning a language is beneficial, replacing one language with another is an entirely different matter. Language

is important because it carries the history and identity of a nation (Crystal, 2003). Therefore, it needs to be maintained and not replaced. Furthermore, Shohamy (2005) and Hornberger (2006) state that when a language is declared as the medium of instruction, it simultaneously devalues other languages.

It is for such reasons that CLP challenges mainstream language teaching approaches that emphasise the apolitical analysis of LPs rather than unravelling the political and social forces that are affecting it (Tollefson, 2006). Furthermore, a postmodern perspective on LP is concerned with the status of languages, with implications for the survival of other languages (Pennycook, 2006). Implementing such theories when planning the language policy could have reduced the harm to the status of Arabic and would not have led to its devaluation. It is therefore important that policymakers and educators revisit the current language policy, and keep a close eye on the foundations that form any EMI policy (Pennycook, 2006). These principles in language policy need to be conveyed practically to present critical solutions and to maintain mother tongues. The LP in Kuwait needs to consider other possible perspectives, namely, those of CLP and perhaps a poser view of education as well, to produce a strong positive policy and to minimise the possible threats and negative outcomes. Rather than taking the notions of the current EMI policy for granted, policymakers need to address the declining status of Arabic and find ways to rectify it. If policymakers in Kuwait do not believe teaching entirely in Arabic is sufficient, then the inclusion of Arabic alongside English in the current language policy would lead to better educational goals. As Skutnabb-Kangas (2014) argues, such goals can provide a fair chance to achieve better academic outcomes and positive attitudes towards people's identities (the issue of identity is discussed in the following section).

Based on such views, Troudi (2009a) proposes several solutions in order to restore the importance of Arabic. First, research should be conducted to evaluate the current status of Arabic, and to identify the challenges it faces in the era of the spread of English. Second, more support and training need to be made available to assist teachers to move from EMI to AMI. Third, ministries of education and educational institutions must strengthen the role of

the translation of academic and scientific books into Arabic. Fourthly, more awareness needs to be raised by educationalists, academics and linguists.

6.11.2 The effect on Arab identity

Because EMI is contributing to the global phenomenon of the spread of English, many students believe that it is affecting the Arab identity. As seen from the findings of this study, the majority of the participants agreed that it is impossible to separate Western thought and ideas from English. It is also evident that students, when they talk about EMI, always relate it to the global spread of English - which shows that they believe EMI is a part of a bigger picture. Several scholars have argued that the identities of language learners are not static, but rather, they are multiple and subject to change (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Block, 2007). They stated that with more interaction in their second language, they would be in a state to reconstruct and negotiate their identities (Norton, 2010).

Students are already exposed to English because of its spread in general, such as cinema and news channels, and because of its dominance in other aspects of their lives. Thus, although EMI is the main source of English for students, it does contribute to the fact that it is affecting several major aspects of their lives, namely, their educational experience and future careers. Participants also stated that because they are in continuous contact with English, it has gradually become a part of them, and something they are familiar with. Similarly, in a study conducted in Qatar (Pessoa & Rajakumar, 2011), students expressed their fear of how English, with the help of EMI, will affect their identities, especially among the younger generation.

It is therefore an issue of cultural identity, because studying in EMI is an ideologically loaded policy (Watfa, 2007; Phillipson, 1992; Pennycook, 2001a). Pennycook restates this issue: "Students around the world are not only obliged to reach a high level of competence in English to pursue their studies, but they are also dependent on forms of Western knowledge that are often of limited value and extreme inappropriacy to the local context" (1994, p. 42).

The current EMI policy is justified through a functionalist rationale, which stresses the choice of English based on its usefulness rather than its

association with political, colonial and cultural issues (Pennycook, 2001a). Furthermore, criticisms of functionalism are based on its failure to account for individual agency and social change, and it has also downplayed the role of individual action even if it was for a better outcome (Holmwood, 2005). It is for this reason that critical theories in language policy have re-addressed and called for questioning taken-for-granted notions about the nature of language itself (Ricento, 2006). This move from a more positivistic to a critical epistemological orientation led to scrutiny of the rationalisations made by mainstream language research that served the economic interests of major languages, such as English, and their effect on indigenous languages, identities, and cultures (Ricento, 2006, Phillipson, 2009a; Pennycook, 2000b).

Hornberger and Johnson (2007) claim that it is not possible to discuss issues of language without raising issues regarding identity. As discussed in detail in Chapter 3, abundant literature has discussed the continuous change in identity, and that this change has been documented in several researches. Thus, the issues of changing identities might not seem evident currently in some societies, but it is important for future generations. As confirmed by Pessoa and Rajakumar's (2011) study in Qatar, students acknowledged that their identities have not been profoundly affected, but they feared of such changes with future generations.

Participants of this study, and others (Pessoa & Rajakumar, 2011), stated that resisting the shift in identity depends on their parents and on how the participants had been raised. Such a statement raises a major concern that the possible resistance to shifting identities relies on the parent's acknowledgement of such possible issues of identity, and their awareness of the need to adhere to Arabic values. The reliance of a nation on mere personal contributions from parents does not provide solid and well thought out procedures to preserve and nurture the Arabic identity. Issues related to identity are complex (Suleiman, 2011); they need well-prepared and accumulated procedures at macro levels (i.e. governments and schools) as well as micro levels (i.e. families). Therefore, several experts on critical applied linguistics (see Skutnabb-Kangas, 2014) have called for the provision of alternatives in language medium instruction policies, stating that students and parents no longer have to accept a sole dominant language for their

education. Skutnabb-Kangas (2014) argues that indigenous people should have the right to build and control their educational institutions and systems, and to use their own language as the medium of instruction, in a manner suitable to their cultural methods of learning and teaching.

Children can learn both languages, their own and another dominant language, if the education policy is organised to make this happen. Patten (2001) maintains that the denial of equal recognition of languages by LPs will put those languages and the identity of their speakers at risk. Thus, language maintenance, which means the continued use of the home language in the face of a more dominant language (Zhang, 2004), is necessary. Through language maintenance, educating the Kuwaiti society through Arabic, or at least including Arabic alongside English in the LP, could establish identity preservation.

6.12 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the findings of this study in light of the literature review and broader issues pertaining to language policy. It has also invoked several theories in language policy that would provide a theoretical basis for policymakers in Kuwait.

This study has found that although students have expressed their willingness to continue their studies in English, it does not necessarily mean that it is logical to continue with EMI without pinpointing some issues. The approval of students' continuation in an EMI policy does not disregard the fact that they face critical financial, social, and educational issues. The EMI policy needs revaluation and revisiting by inviting in-depth critical scrutiny that will help to improve the outcomes, learning goals, and standards of the current policy, or even the decision to discard it and move to another effective policy.

From the educational and economic effects, as well as the social effects, discussed in this chapter, there is a call for critical perspectives to LPs to be implemented to evaluate the current EMI policy in Kuwait. These LP theories will provide an in-depth and personal scope to the omitted issues that EMI policies might cause. As Ricento (2006) rightly stated, "When we begin to think of language issues as *personal* rather than abstract and removed from daily concerns, we quickly see how we all have a stake in language policies,

since they have a direct bearing on our place in society and what we might (or might not) be able to achieve" (p. 21). There is a need to look critically at and evaluate LPs and to provide more sustainable, productive and effective LPs, and in so doing, theoretical critical perspectives are needed.

Chapter VII

Conclusions, implications and contributions

7.1 Introduction

This chapter summarises the findings of this study and offers some final conclusions and remarks. It also presents the implications arising from the study and sets out its pedagogical and theoretical contributions to knowledge. This chapter ends with suggestions for possible future research and a reflection on the researcher's PhD journey.

7.2 Summary of the research findings

The research was conducted at Kuwait's two public higher education institutions, KU and PAAET. The primary focus was to explore students' experiences when studying through EMI in higher education. Previous research conducted in Kuwait has focused majorly on improving the students' current language competence and implementing new language theories. Therefore, this research has attempted to look at the level of English in Kuwait from a different angle, by eliciting students' views on the current LP and presenting their experiences. The analysis of both the qualitative and quantitative data from the current study revealed several key findings:

- Research question 1: What are KU and PAAET students' perceptions towards English as a medium of instruction (EMI)?

The findings related to the students' views on EMI indicate that the majority regarded English as an important language that leads to academic and personal gains. Students believed that English was essential for their future careers because it is a necessity when applying for well-paid jobs. Others stated that if they acquire English while at university, then this will ease their path when continuing their postgraduate studies, while according to others, it is the language of the world, and its benefits extend to include uses in travelling and other daily uses.

From a negative point of view, some students believed that the EMI policy over-exaggerates the importance of English and that it is a waste of time. These students had already decided to work in the public sector, which does not require them to know any English. Therefore, enduring the linguistic obstacles attached to learning through EMI seems to be unnecessary. Others went further, as they showed how learning through English could lead to problems in future careers. For instance, Arabic is used throughout schools, and when they learn the terminology in English, they then need to translate the terms from Arabic into English in order to understand them.

- Research question 2: What are the challenges that students face when studying through EMI? How do students cope with these challenges?

Although the majority of students preferred to be taught in English, and wanted the university to continue implementing EMI, they all showed that this does not mean that they do not face several challenges. These issues mainly centred on linguistic challenges, ranging from understanding and comprehending lectures to writing assignments and exams. In order to overcome these challenges, students showed how they needed to put in double the effort. This means that they need more time for revision and translation, and sometimes they have to pay for private tuition.

These findings also show several educational challenges, including students losing grades because of their lack of proficiency in English. Thus, in some cases, because students lose grades continuously, they find themselves obliged to change careers and search for new study majors. This shift in careers leads to a social issue, whereby family and friends expect the student to continue their studies, and then, if he/she fails, this leads to social embarrassment. Furthermore, educational obstacles force some students to terminate their higher education studies.

Other key findings are related to economic issues, as students spend a lot of money on the textbooks of which they use only a limited number of pages. Thus, the money paid by the university and by the students for the text books is wasted.

The findings also show that students are willing to utilise any possible coping strategies to overcome any obstacles they face. These range from extensive translation to forming study groups, and paying extra for private tuition. Students seem to go to great lengths to improve their overall attainment scores and raise their grades.

- Research question 3: What are the possible effects EMI has on the Arab identity and on Arabic?

A final major key finding is students' attitudes towards Arabic. This topic has been discussed in other research (Troudi & Jendli, 2011; Abdel-Jawad & Abu-Radwan, 2011). Students expressed their beliefs on Arabic being a language of science and on it having the capability to be the language of modernity. However, they agreed that, currently, Arabic does not possess the status of a language of science or modernity due to the language being abandoned by Arabs. They agreed that with more official work from governments and institutions on translation (Al-Askari, 2001) and on promoting research in Arabic (Troudi, 2009a), then Arabic could become a language of science and modernity as it once was. They also discussed the possible negative and positive outcomes of learning through AMI.

The findings also show how participants related EMI to the global spread of English, and how this contributes to the effect on the Arabic identity. The participants expressed their belief that students' ways of talking and of dressing differ from the traditional ways.

- Research question 4: Are there alternative approaches that could address or improve the current situation?

What the findings demonstrate is that the current EMI policy has not been completely implemented. It seems that both teachers and students have found other ways to overcome several major obstacles. For instance, teachers tend to use, and allow students to use, Arabic during lectures because they understand that the exclusive use of English will give rise to many obstacles regarding comprehension. Most teachers resort to using their

own notes because the textbooks assigned for the courses are difficult for students to understand. Thus, the current policy seems to incorporate more Arabic during lectures and exams. The findings indicate that the teachers have implemented their own pedagogical practice and devised their own policy by incorporating Arabic, which is a shift to a more bilingual policy rather than an EMI policy. The incorporation of more Arabic was an alternative approach to improve the current situation, leading to a dual language programme.

In light of the findings presented in this study, many interviewees expressed quite negative views towards the current language policy, which probably could have been challenged by views from university teachers, staff, and policy makers. This possible limitation of the study proposes incorporating the views of other stakeholders in further studies, which could provide a holistic picture and present a different perspective of the topic.

7.3 Contribution to knowledge

The study makes both practical and theoretical contributions to the field of English language teaching, and EMI specifically. Firstly, informed by a social constructivist mode of enquiry, this study makes a major theoretical contribution, as it presents a new perspective from which to analyse and read the phenomenon of EMI and its implications on educational practices in the Kuwaiti context. As described in previous chapters, previous attempts devoted to studying the English language education in Kuwait have failed to identify the socio-cultural and socio-political repercussions of the implementation of EMI. Previous studies have not catered for the repeated set of problems with the continuous change in English education, and they have not aimed to understand the problem from its roots. The findings of this study also show a pattern of disjuncture between institutional and governmental LPs and learners' needs.

The findings show the complexity of English language education, the socio-political tensions it carries, and the extent to which such tensions have affected the educational practice within the Kuwaiti context. Although there have been some efforts around the world to scrutinise EMI, these efforts remain scarce in the Arab world, and the Gulf region in particular. Generally,

English language education in the Arab world has been limited and has been subject mainly to objective and neutral scientific modes of inquiry. Even researchers who have taken a critical standpoint have failed to scrutinise and address the local educational tensions caused by English language education, such as the extra burden on students, the damaging consequences, and the negative impacts on students' learning journeys. These previous studies, and official reports, have generated more knowledge on the continuous spread of English and on how it sometimes negatively affects students' progression, but the students' voice has not been heard and the arising issues have not been discussed thoroughly.

This study has called for the need to implement a more critical stance in discussing, evaluating, and investigating English language policies rather than apolitical forms of research in Kuwait and the Gulf region. However, there are still more issues to be studied, as Troudi and Jendli (2011, p.42) state:

> Without a critical approach to issues of education, the nomothetic and at times erroneous nature of the claim to scientific objectivity by educational policies such as EMI will continue to exert a lot of power and influence on the lives of generations of students.

It is hoped that this research, with the few other studies that have called for a critical approach in EMI, will trigger more interest amongst Kuwaiti and Gulf researchers to pursue a new form of inquiry.

Secondly, this study contributes to practical knowledge, as it draws on recommendations taken from the participants' responses. The participants suggested a number of recommendations and solutions that they believe would enhance their learning experience, and better adapt English in the Kuwaiti context. These recommendations are offered to policymakers as a starting point for new guidelines, directions, and possibilities for a better LP, which serves their needs and interests. The model discussed below was drawn from students' direct and indirect recommendations, it is believed that this model would improve the current practices and overcome many of the difficulties generated from the current EMI policy.

The second contribution to practical knowledge is at the methodological level. The sequential mixed methods design, combining both

qualitative and quantitative research in the form of interviews, questionnaires, focus groups, and observations, has not been extensively used in Kuwait, and this study establishes the basis for further research. Furthermore, it provides an alternative to interviews when dealing with people from a conservative society. For instance, some of the female participants were reluctant to be interviewed face-to-face with a male interviewer, due to traditional and cultural habits. Some women would not agree to engage in conversation with men who are not family members (Yamani, 2000). Furthermore, Kuwaiti students in general do not speak freely about their teachers in the presence of someone they are not familiar with. Therefore, from a practical point of view, this study suggests using telephone interviews as an alternative method to overcome such problems. It has been found that telephone interviews are effective in such situations, as students would be more enthusiastic and relaxed about speaking.

7.4 Implications of the study

The key findings of this research have implications for practice as well as policy, with respect to the EMI policy both inside and outside Kuwait. More consideration is needed because of the various problems with the current policy. The recommendations made by the study stem from the direct users of this study, KU and PAAET students. Furthermore, other recommendations are driven from the interpretations of the findings of this study as well as from the literature.

7.4.1 Implications for policymakers and planners

It was found in this study that students faced several educational and economic obstacles, which hinder their university experience and sometimes leads to severe consequences. Therefore, this section will present implications on two issues: (1) for educational practices, (2) and for the economic practices:

Implications for educational practices
- There does not seem to be any needs analysis conducted on the current language policy. It seems that both KU and PAAET have

implemented the policy in a 'cut and paste' procedure. Therefore, it is strongly recommended that policymakers and those in administration conduct a needs analysis to identify and rectify any possible educational issues that might rise from the EMI policy. It is important to set goals, specify the teaching methods and assessment procedures, select the materials based on the expectations and needs of the students.

- Comprehension of lectures seems to be a major issue, as students miss information during class. Instead of lectures acting as a major source of information, they have become a source of miscomprehension and disruption. Consequently, this could lead to lectures being boring and undesirable. It is recommended that more Arabic be incorporated to ease aspects of the lecture which students find more difficult. It is for this reason that a needs analysis must be conducted, to specifically identify the issues and find feasible solutions.

- Exams are a major source for evaluation and they bear most of the weight of the students' final grades. Students find difficulties in understanding exams, and they could sometimes understand the question in a different way than what is intended. Therefore, they are sometimes marked based on their language capabilities rather than their intellectual capabilities. It is therefore important to include an Arabic translation, as a minimum requirement, with each question. This would give students a better opportunity to answer the questions correctly.

- Assessment at KU and PAAET is based on students' examination scores and on their assignments. The findings have shown that there are no fixed marking criteria, as the same student with the same written work could attain a different score based on who will score his/her work. As shown in the analysis chapter, some teachers mark the grammatical errors, whilst others only point them out and only focus on the content. It is therefore recommended that teachers should score in a more systematic way, and that a fixed criterion for marking is devised. Furthermore, students should not be marked down on

grammatical errors since English is not their first language, especially during the first couple of years.

- Using imported English textbooks that are not written for Arab learners provides several complications, as Arab and Kuwaiti learners face problems in understanding the content. The textbooks used are not written to suit the level of the students and do not fulfil any needs they have, so are expected not be useful on the whole. KU and PAAET must encourage their teachers to write their own books, so to accommodate all the needs and necessities of the students. In the non-science colleges, which use Arabic as the medium of instruction, the teachers have written the course textbooks and these have been used for years. Currently, teachers at the science colleges have already taken a step towards such a recommendation, whereas they have written their own notes and pages and distribute them to students instead of relying solely on the officially assigned English textbooks.

- Students do not have proper support in English, and have to find their own way in overcoming linguistic difficulties. Usually the solutions they resort to bear an economic burden. KU and PAAET need to provide university administrators who will address their problems and provide them with materials that help in solving the problem. Instead of students seeking help from their colleagues, who might sometimes mislead them unintentionally, they could meet with university administrators and seek official help.

- Public universities in Kuwait should also provide extra English courses provided by their teachers. These courses could be outside university hours and have some tuition fees. In this case, students do not need to pay for private tuition or enrol in outside institutions which focus on general English. KU and PAAET could provide extra language courses that are based on their courses and contents, and focus mainly on the aspects that students need help in. Thus, students have extra hours in learning English and also get more exposure to their courses' content.

- Incorporating more Arabic into every level is strongly recommended, as this could rectify some of the obstacles students face. This study has

shown how learning mainly through English causes many serious problems. Although extensive research has been conducted in Kuwait to improve the students' level of English and several learning theories have been implemented, students still face the same problems in comprehension and understanding. This does indicate that more action needs to happen, and policymakers should revise the basis of this policy, which focuses on English being the only language used. Official reports published by KU and PAAET have shown that there is a high percentage of students leaving the science colleges, and the reports cited English as one of the major reasons.

- Although most students prefer to continue their studies in English, there are others who do not prefer such a policy. In such cases, adopting Arabic will provide them with an easier chance to graduate without enduring a lot of issues with English. These students have already decided to pursue their careers in the public sector, and forcing them to learn completely through English seems unjust.

Implications for economic practices

- Besides the educational issues with not using the officially assigned textbooks, there are economic consequences. Loss of money spent on textbooks by both the university and students could be rectified by encouraging teachers to write their own textbooks. Textbooks written by teachers serve the educational needs of Kuwaiti students and are more adaptable to their expectations. Therefore, students will make more use of their money when it is spent on a textbook that suits their needs, and a textbook that they will use more frequently.

- Students spend extra money on private tuition and extra English language lessons, and these are economic burdens on students and their families. It is for this reason that when Kuwaiti public institutions provide their own language courses these economic burdens will be lifted. Also, when more Arabic is incorporated students will need fewer private tuition hours. Furthermore, KU and PAAET could also

collaborate with private English institutions to deliver these courses, after they are designed and prepared by KU and PAAET teachers.

- Currently KU and PAAET are producing more workforce for the public sector than the private sector, which does not require English. Collaboration is needed between educational institutions and the Ministry of Social Affairs and Labour in Kuwait to identify the needs of the labour market, so the economic expenditure on education produces adequate results. The current policy is costly and it seems that it only serves the need of a minority who work in the private sector.

7.4.2 Implications for a dual programme and the role of higher education institutions: a new model

The findings of this research have a number of implications for promoting a dual language programme and the role the higher education institutions can play in promoting such a step and in helping maintain the status of Arabic. The current EMI policy seems to be failing in some aspects, and it is not fulfilling its objectives. Students continue to endure linguistic obstacles, and graduates mainly pursue careers in the public sector. Although the complete shift to an AMI policy is not feasible at the current time, shifting to a dual programme could be a feasible and practical objective. This study has shown that the complete reliance on English at university has added more pressure on public education to increase students' exposure to English. Therefore, textbooks, medium of instruction, and exams are all ways to expose students to more English. However, Skutnabb-Kangas (2005) argues that higher education institutions should increase students' knowledge in their mother tongue by resisting the shift to an EMI policy.

The findings of this research, as well as of other research conducted in the Gulf region (for example, Troudi & Jendli, 2011), show that students believe that Arabic is currently not a language of science because of the lack of scientific resources, technical terms, and efforts at translation. As Habbash (2011) suggests, this issue could be resolved by introducing students to Arabic books, magazines, and references, such as *Al-Arabi* magazine, which is published in Kuwait and covers aspects of science, economics, and culture. They should also be introduced to data banks, such as the Arabic Language

Academy in Egypt, the Saudi Terminology Bank, and the Centre for the co-ordination of Arabisation in Morocco. These references and databanks are invaluable assets to students in their respective specialties, as they contain thousands of technical terms.

Furthermore, if science students were exposed to these resources and to Arabic terminologies, they could begin to write their scientific assignments, dissertations, and theses in Arabic. In fact, there could also be a collaboration between universities and translation centres to select some of the students' published outstanding work and translate it to other major world languages. Such a step will disseminate local knowledge to the world and encourage other students and researchers to aim at such a goal (Habbash, 2011).

Within such a model, the dual programme, students are exposed to both languages simultaneously. The importance of a dual programme is that it raises the importance of languages other than English (Gomez, Freeman & Freeman, 2005). Students in this study have expressed their preference for continuing to learn through English, and at the same time, to have more Arabic incorporated at the level of lectures, textbooks, and exams. Therefore, this proposed model strikes a balance between the students' current needs, the necessity to learn English, and maintaining the Arabic language and preparing a basis for it to eventually regain its status as a language of science. Figure (7.1) outlines the model:

Lectures	Textbooks	Exams	Assignments
Lectures are delivered in both languages, with Arabic as the primary medium of instruction. This will be similar to the current situation in lectures in both KU and PAAET.	The officially assigned textbooks will be devised by teachers from the institutions, or with the collaboration of other Arab universities, as this will cater for students' linguistic abilities and intended target content.	Exams are written in both Arabic and English. As each question will have an Arabic written question, with an English counterpart. The answers could be written in both languages.	Assignments are written in English. Grammatical mistakes are pointed out only, with no deductions made for any grammatical errors.

The proposed model is a one-way dual programme where only one language group is taught in two languages (Collier & Thomas, 2004). The model immerses Arabic and English on four levels:

1- **Lectures:** Although this is the current situation in many lectures, the model needs, however, to recalibrate the use of Arabic and English during lectures and to give more importance to Arabic. English will be limited to the terminology and certain aspects regarding content, whilst Arabic will become the main medium of instruction. This will allow students to have a good command of the terminologies and their counterparts in both languages, as in the current EMI policy students are only taught the English terminology. Introducing more Arabic will also help lectures become more useful and informative since students are familiar with their mother tongue. In this model, non-Arab teachers will be exempted from using Arabic, and they will continue to use only English during their instruction.

2- **Textbooks:** It has been shown in the findings of this study how locally devised textbooks are useful to and are preferred by students. Locally devised textbooks would be more adaptable to students' needs, expectations, and level of English. The textbooks will be written in simple English by the institution's teachers, also this textbooks will only include what students need for their subjects. Thus, they will be more concise and straightforward. This step will also lower the cost of importing textbooks and not making much use of them.

3- **Exams:** Exam papers need to be distributed with questions being in both languages. This will allow greater flexibility in how students answer the questions, either in Arabic or in English. The decision of which language to use could be left to the respective departments. However, students need to have questions also written in Arabic, at least, so that they are marked on their understanding and not on their language abilities. Departments which have non-Arab teachers could require students to write in English, but students still need questions to be written in Arabic to make sure they do not misunderstand anything.

4- **Assignments:** Assignments, at the current time, need to be written in English because shifting to writing in Arabic needs more work, as companies and the private sector in general require English in order to accept students in jobs. Moving to writing in Arabic could be implemented at a later stage if the status of Arabic, in general, has changed. Thus, marks should not be deducted within this model meaning that students are judged fairly based on their intellectual abilities. If any institution believes in the importance of marking grammatical errors, then it should be done at a later stage, for instance, at the end of year two. This is important because it will at least allow students to become familiar with English, to have accumulated a number of English terms, and to be familiar with writing in English.

This model was developed according to the study's research findings, from what the participants said either directly or indirectly. Indirectly means that students suggested some recommendations, but without stating them in formal terms. For example, students talked extensively about the incorporation of more Arabic, but they did not suggest that it would be a formal dual programme whereby they would officially be taught in both languages simultaneously.

Dual language programmes have been implemented in the US (Gomez, Freeman & Freeman, 2005) for several other language speakers. The current EMI policy de-emphasises the learners' first language and promotes English as their only medium of instruction. Thus, a dual programme provides students with "enriched, sustained forms of instruction that allow them to receive support in their first language while learning a second language" (Thomas & Collier, 2003, p. 64).

The implementation of such a model could be challenging, as it necessitates many amendments of the current language policy. This model introduces new ideas for textbooks, teaching styles, and the medium of instruction. This model also needs extra work on developing new textbooks, which would not be a simple step. Thus, it could be argued that such a model will not be politically acceptable, since policymakers and university

administrators are convinced of the importance of EMI. This model will need policymakers to disregard much of their work in promoting and improving the EMI policy and to look into other ways that introduce more Arabic on different levels, either at the classroom level (medium of instruction, tests, and assignments) or at the college/university level (assigning new textbooks and/or developing new curriculums).

This model could be improved with some modifications. First, it is better to use both languages (English and Arabic) equally, rather than promoting more Arabic. Students have expressed their need for English, so promoting Arabic more than English will not help them develop better English skills, especially given that the level of English needed for the oil sector or other private sectors, is quite high.

Second, using Arabic to answer exam questions will also raise an assessment issue. There are non-Arab teachers in these public institutions, and it would not be possible for them to administer exams written in Arabic. Therefore, if some teachers request students to write in Arabic and others ask them to write in English, this might raise a sense of unfairness between students, as some might argue that those students answering in Arabic might have an advantage. It is therefore suggested that only one language be used during exams, preferably English.

7.4.3 Wider implications for English language education

This study provides implications resulting from the discussion of broader English language teaching/education issues. The findings of this study show that there are educational and psychological issues in EMI policies, thus confirming the findings from the literature:

- It is important to consider psychological issues in study regarding LP. It is not enough to state some of the difficulties that students face; rather, research needs to explore the issues in greater depth and reflect on what these complications mean. It is thus recommended that policymakers and educators evaluate and re-evaluate their LPs to uncover any hidden psychological effects they might have on students. Such costs might affect not only students during their higher level education, but might also affect their future careers. A well-developed

language policy should cater for students pedagogically, academically, and psychologically to create a healthy and safe learning environment.

- Educational issues need to be understood thoroughly, as they can cause negative outcomes on students' learning. As we have seen in the findings of this research, and from official university reports, educational obstacles could lead to career termination. LPs need to address these issues and ensure they do not lead students to experience frustration, low self-esteem, and resentment. The main purpose of higher education is gaining knowledge (Shohamy, 2011), and students should aim for high achievements and success in investigating all learning possibilities.

- The student voice is essential, and it needs to be considered before implementing any language policy. This study has tried to examine the current LP using a bottom-up approach and to raise awareness of possible critical issues. Therefore, LPs should not be implemented based on a top-down approach without any needs analysis, but rather, there should be proper preparation in order to provide an encouraging and healthy learning and teaching environment. Educational institutions strive to prepare well-informed and well-prepared graduates to engage in the economic world, and this could be hindered if students are not given adequate opportunities to gain and build proper knowledge.

- There is a pressing need to raise awareness of critical issues amongst teachers in EMI policies. As Canagarajah (2005) maintains, critical pedagogy is a way of undertaking teaching and learning, which entails that teachers are aware of the global context they work in, and view learning settings as political and social processes that need to be constantly evaluated (Pennycook, 1994). The policy's implications on students and on Arabic, its effect on identity, and the educational and psychological effects should all be made clear. This awareness will allow teachers to be more considerate of students' learning progression, and this could result in students achieving better attainment scores and accumulative grades. Teachers need to evaluate students according to their understanding of the subject and

not of the language, and for this reason, it is important to convey to teachers such critical issues.

- It is important for policymakers and educators to evaluate the costs of EMI policies, and LPs in general, as they are usually expensive (Grin, 2006). They need to evaluate the cost of importing the large number of textbooks, and to assess accurately how much benefit is gained from them. More importantly, they need to see if there are other cost-effective solutions. LP planning and further research into medium of instruction, must look at these issues in more depth. Cutting and pasting language policies with no proper evaluation and preparation seems to profit only the publishers and the governments of those countries that speak the language (Phillipson, 2009).

7.5 Suggestions for future research

The findings of this research have suggested that more research is needed in a number of areas. For instance, this study has discussed several issues in broader terms, such as issues of significantly increases in effort, economic issues, and comprehension issues. It is suggested that further research investigate thoroughly every aspect separately. This will give deeper insight and provide detailed descriptions of the issues, which will consequently provide a sound basis to derive better conclusions.

Students are the only participants of this study, however. Future research could encompass and gather more information from other parties, such as teachers, parents, administrators, and decision makers to provide a wider range of viewpoints, which could be valuable in contrasting opinions and perceptions regarding the current EMI policy.

There needs to be a greater focus on the issue of lecture comprehensibility, as future research can give more insight into the percentage of lectures students understand. This study has shown that there are issues in comprehending lectures. Future studies could look at this issue thoroughly and in greater detail.

Further research is needed in private institutions, as they also implement an EMI policy, to see if they encounter the same problems. Moreover, it is suggested that further studies are needed to compare EMI

policies in public and private institutions to evaluate students' experiences and gain further insight from both policies.

Another area for further understanding and investigation relates to the gap between university-level education and pre-university education. This is in order to evaluate and compare the curricula to see if school education is adequately preparing students for the level of English needed at university.

This study has shown that some students would prefer an AMI policy. Therefore, it is suggested that further research is conducted to evaluate students' attitude towards shifting to an AMI policy, and to investigate this issue with more depth and with a wider pool of learners. Research is also needed to see what steps are required to shift to a different LP, and to investigate the views of parents, administrators, and policy makers.

The nature of the textbooks used and their implementations as a major source of knowledge needs to be researched thoroughly. The cost of textbooks is high for both institutions and students, especially if students use them rarely, as this study has shown. Thus, future research should propose better practical solutions. Furthermore, the idea of teachers devising their own textbooks is an area worth investigating.

The current EMI policy has devalued the status of Arabic, and as participants showed, they perceive English to be of more value to their future professions. It is important that well-informed steps are devised in order to maintain Arabic. Government officials, administrators, and staff of institutions should be interviewed to reflect on and report their views on such issues.

Further research could be conducted about English teachers' competence; as has been shown in other research (Ball & Lindsay, 2011), some teachers do not have a sound command of English and so need more professional development courses. This is likely to be the reason why some teachers refer to their own notes and refrain from using the assigned textbooks.

7.6 Reflection on my PhD journey

After earning my MA in Applied Linguistics from the University of Sheffield, I was encouraged to pursue my PhD at a prestigious university such as Exeter University. I came with the belief that I will build on the experience, skills and

knowledge that I had acquired to that time. During my first year as a PhD student, I had to enrol in an MSc in Educational Research programme. At first, it was a challenging experience since it was the first time that I experienced concepts of ontology, epistemology and paradigms in education. My first masters focused more on applied linguistics and English, thus what I experienced during the second masters was a completely new experience. However, the knowledge I gained from it was important, as it made me realise the relationship of such concepts to my PhD research. It provided me with new scopes in educational research, and provided me with knowledge that allowed me to understand, convey and conduct research in a sound practical way.

During my MSc I had several discussions with my supervisor Dr. Troudi about my PhD research proposal, during which I realised that there could be a new area to investigate in teaching English in Kuwait. Therefore, I took some time to read research studies and theories in critical applied linguistics, which opened new horizons and ample opportunities to discuss the issue of teaching English in Kuwait. After thorough readings, and with the approval of my supervisor, I shifted my research focus to more critical issues in language policy. This shift was driven from the idea of investigating the issue of teaching English from the core, and to understand if there is something missing at the micro-level, and also to give voice to stakeholders, particularly students. It was also an opportunity to research critical notions related to the implementation of EMI, and to reflect on the outcomes of such policy, both positive and negative.

During my PhD journey, I acquired a set of skills on different levels and in different domains. The four models I took at the MSc level allowed me to be more critical and to engage with research. I was also able to present at a conference and reflect on this experience. These different and positive experiences allowed me to practically, not only theoretically, experience these research perspectives. Furthermore, I engaged in several conferences, in the UK and outside, throughout the years, which allowed me to present and discuss my research with an experienced audience. This experience allowed me to gain different perspectives on my research, as the audience raised questions that sometimes proved to be informative.

This experience is truly unforgettable and I am blessed to endure such a positive endeavour in fulfilling one of my major goals in life, attaining a PhD. As humans, we become who we are as a result of what we experience in life, and I am sure that the different experiences I endured will positively shape me personally, as well as academically.

In light of what I have reflected on above, I believe that it is my responsibility to take with me to Kuwait the experiences and methods I have learned. I have the enthusiasm and the intention to continue my academic work and publish in the area of English language teaching and learning to improve the current context and to benefit the different stakeholders. Surely, this study is merely the beginning of an academic quest.

Appendix (1)
Questionnaire

Dear Participants,

I am currently working on my PhD at the University of Exeter, and I would be very grateful if you would take part in this questionnaire. It is part of a study I am doing on students' perceptions and views of English as a medium of Instruction (EMI). This study investigates Kuwaiti students' experiences when learning their subjects through English, and explores the possible challenges they face.

Please note that your answers are not shown or viewed by another person. Confidentiality is my priority, and I will make sure that no one but me looks at your answers.

Your participation is voluntary and you can choose not to take part. However, your decision to participate will not only help me in my research but also provide you, as students experiencing the situation, with important information. Your answers are valuable in providing a deeper insight into the de facto practices, and hopefully, reflect your voice in order to shadow any possible challenges you might encounter. If you choose to participate, you also have the right to withdraw at any time.

Thank you,
Abdullah Alazemi
Email: aa520@exeter.ac.uk

PART 1: About Yourself

1- Year of Study: 1st 2nd 3rd 4th other: ____

2- Gender: Male   Female

3. When did you start learning English?

Pre-School   Primary   Secondary

4. What type of school did you attend?

Government   Private-Arabic   Private-English

5. What language do you prefer to read books and magazines?

Only English   Only Arabic   Both Equally

Both but more English   Both but more Arabic

Please Note!

In the near future, I will be conducting further research (interviews) in regarding English as a medium of instruction, and may wish to get in touch with you. I thank you in advance for your cooperation and assure you that all data will be treated as confidential.

Name: _____

Email: _____

Phone: _____

PART 2: Your perceptions towards learning through English as a medium of instruction.

Please indicate your level of agreement/disagreement with the statements below by circling the appropriate box. 'strongly agree', 'agree', ' not sure', 'disagree', 'strongly disagree'

First Part: General Questions About English

Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
6. English is the international/global language.					
7. English is popular due to the military and economic powers of the countries where it is spoken as a first language (i.e. the US and UK).					
8. English is popular worldwide because it is the language of modernity and technology.					
9. The Kuwaiti/Arab culture and identity are affected by the spread of English.					
10. It is impossible to separate Western thought and ideas from English.					
11. My use and knowledge of Arabic has decreased due to my education in English.					
12. Nowadays, it is more important to learn English than Modern Standard Arabic *(fus'ha)*.					
13. Kuwaitis who speak fluent English are considered more educated.					

Second Part: Specific Questions Regarding The Use of English Your Major and Modules

Item	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
14. English is important for my studies.					
15. English is important because it helps secure better jobs.					
16. English-medium education provides many academic benefits.					
17. Learning through English-medium education has been a positive experience.					
18. The college/university needs to continue teaching the academic subjects in English.					
19. I faced many challenges when learning through English as a medium of instruction.					
20. I need additional work and effort merely to learn the language itself.					
21. I have problems in understanding English textbooks.					
22. I have problems in understanding exam questions.					
23. I face problems in writing reports and assignments in English.					
24. I would prefer to learn my academic subjects in Arabic.					

Part Three: Your elaborative responses

24. Where there any challenges you faced when learning through EMI?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____
_____.

25. Do you think it is important to learn your subjects through English? Why?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____.

26. Do you think the spread of English is affecting the Kuwaiti identity and the Arabic language? Please explain.

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____.

27. Is there any thing you would like to add about the issue?

_____
_____
_____
_____
_____.

Thank You

Appendix (2)

Interview Questions

General Information

1- What is your name?
2- Area of study?
3- Year of study?
4- When did you start learning English?
5- Which language do you use for: social interaction, internet, at the university?

English as a Medium of Instruction

6- What do you think about English-medium education?
7- Do you think there is a difference between the level of English taught at school and at required at university?
8- How would you describe your experience of studying through English?
9- Where there any challenges you faced when studying your degree through EMI? (prompts: difficulty in understanding, double effort)
10- If yes, how did or do you overcome them? (prompts: extra work, extra outside tuition, translation).
11- Do you need extra learning time to understand and exceed in your studies?
12- Are there any issues of comprehension of lectures? Do you miss a lot of information?
13- Are there any issues with writing your assignments in English? If yes, how? If no, why?
14- How do you feel about learning through English textbooks? (difficult, does not suite me personally and academically).

Critical Issues

15- What do you think about learning your specialisation in English? (prompts: academic prosperity, prestige, further education, finding a job)

16- Most students in Kuwait work at the public sector, which only uses Arabic, so how do you think learning their degree in English will help them?

17- Would you prefer to study your specialisation in Arabic? Why?

18- Do you think that the government should provide students with the choice of language education?

19- If you had this choice, which language would you use to study your specialisation? Why?

20- How neutral do you believe the spread of English? (prompts: learning its culture).

21- Are there any effects of English-medium education? (prompts: effects on Arabic, on Arab identity, etc.)

22- Do you think English has affected the Kuwaiti/Arab identity? (prompts: dress-wise, lifestyle, speech, actions, etc.)

Appendix (3)
Observation Form

Observation

Institution: **College:**

Lecture: **Date of Observation:**

Time:

	General Comments:
Students' use of Arabic:	
Students' use of English:	
Students' response to questions:	
Students' participation as a whole:	
Teachers' response and input:	
Student strategies (for example: using ICT, asking others for clarifications)	

Appendix (4)

Interview Sample

Abdullah: When did you start learning English formally?

Dhari: I began learning English from primary school, but I have not received a proper foundation.

Abdullah: How is that? Could you explain more please?

Dhari: There is no smooth transfer from the different school levels, nor between school and university. The past semester I had to learn English at a higher level. Therefore, I had to go abroad to take a summer language course.

Abdullah: Where did you go exactly?

Dhari: I went to England, and I stayed for 3 months.

Abdullah: Was that useful for you?

Dhari: Yes, it was a good boost, as I learned several important things and I was a little bit more comfortable in using English. But it was expensive; I had to pay several thousand Pounds Sterling just to go there.

Abdullah: So you went there just to raise you language competence for university purpose?

Dhari: Exactly, I need more English; there is no way I could succeed without it. I also need it when I graduate and become an engineer; it is the main language that I need to communicate with colleagues and other

workers. It doesn't look good when you don't know how to communicate with those you supervise. What would I do if I wanted to explain something to them? Bring a translator with me?

Abdullah: How important is English for your studies?

Dhari: When I want to research a topic in engineering to write my assignment, the majority of the resources are in English. I would love to find what I need in Arabic because it would be easier for me … we have bright and well-educated professors, however, even they produce their research in English.

Abdullah: How is it easier to learn in Arabic?

Dhari: We are very competent in Arabic, and learning in my mother tongue will surely raise my grades. What I am learning here is useless.

Abdullah: Useless!

Dhari: Yes useless, I do not need all this English, I only need some parts of it. If I need to raise my level of English, I can go to any English teaching institute and learn what I need. English now is the language of the world and a crucial quality for us.

Abdullah: Crucial quality? Could you elaborate please.

Dhari: Yes, now if you want a good job, especially in the oil sector, you need English. This is why we are learning through English because it is needed everywhere.

Abdullah: Do you think that the government should provide students with the choice of language education?

Dhari: Yes, I believe this is a great step that I would totally support.

Abdullah: So if you were given the choice to choose your language of instruction, what will it be? And why?

Dhari: Off course it will be Arabic. With Arabic it is straightforward, because I know everything. When learning through Arabic I wouldn't need to translate, face questions that I do not understand, and it will be direct because I have done everything in my life with Arabic.

Abdullah: So, do you think that providing students with the option of learning through Arabic is a good thing?

Dhari: Yes, this logical option will ensure better outcomes, because many students are weak in English, so their comprehension of the content is limited. However, if you provide them with a choice of studying through Arabic, then they might learn their content and their subjects better.

Abdullah: Let us move back a little, do you think the transition between school and university is good? I mean do you think that you are prepared well?

Dhari: There is a huge difference in the level of language we learned at school and that which we need now. When we graduate from school we are not well prepared, and when we enter the English courses at the university we are also not being properly prepared for what is to come. This is why I went abroad last summer to the UK to take an English course. It is difficult for us students graduating from public schools, as we only take one English subject ... even if we were doing 100% in that English subject, then all we are competent in is general English. However, at the university, everything is in English-scientific terminology, textbooks, and exams.

Abdullah: How do you feel about learning through English textbooks?

Dhari: The language level of the textbooks we use is very high, and over exaggerated. It is very difficult for us. They are textbooks that were not designed for us. They do not serve our level of English, they are designed either for Europe, America or Canada. We [students] face many problems because of the textbooks we use. Firstly, we are shocked because of the vast content in the textbook. Secondly, the ideas in the textbooks and the way they are displayed are different from what we are used to. Thirdly, we do not have the necessary tools to work in an easy and smooth way with the language used. Frankly speaking, without the help of our teachers, we would face huge comprehension problems.

Abdullah: Alright, now you have been learning through English for over 2 years, how would you describe your experience of studying through English?

Dhari: Up until now, my learning experience has been moderate, it is not seriously bad. This is because a lot of Arabic has been used during my lectures.

Abdullah: Where there any challenges you faced when studying your degree through EMI?

Dhari: I did and still do, face several challenges, ranging from expressing myself properly to writing with ease, so that I can reflect my knowledge properly.

Abdullah: Do you need extra learning time to understand and exceed in your studies?

Dhari: oh, this is something that has become part of my student life, I continuously translate texts and sentences, ask friends, and ask my teachers. It is an on going process that will not end until I graduate.

Abdullah: Are there any issues of comprehension of lectures? Do you miss a lot of information?

Dhari: That's true, I miss a lot of information because I could not understand everything that is being said. The textbooks we use and all our exams are in English, but the instruction during lectures and the dialogue that revolves around the content learned is done in Arabic. Because my English is not that good, I might misunderstand what the teacher means, so by meeting with my friends and revising together, I might get the correct information.

Abdullah: Are there any issues with writing your assignments or reports in English? If yes, how? If no, why?

Dhari: I do face some problems because English is not my first language. But I am lucky, because most of my teachers help us out.

Abdullah: How is that?

Dhari: For example, some teachers discuss the report that we are supposed to write, and help us on the whiteboard by writing the main points and ideas. However, we still need to use our phones or the Internet, because we could not produce exactly what we want.

Abdullah: How about your exams, do you do well in them? Or are there some issues that you face?

Dhari: Preparing for exams is time consuming and understanding some of the questions is somewhat challenging. Off course we prepare for it and we know most of the words in the questions, but sometimes you do not comprehend the whole question as a whole, and this causes problems. Some of my teachers help us during the exam by trying to explain in

general, but even this is not enough because there are 'key' words in every question, and I still might not get them.

Abdullah: Do you explain these issues to your teachers since you might lose grades for linguistic reasons?

Dhari: not all of us do that, many just want to pass and what to graduate, they do not care that much. This is the reality, most of the students just want to pass, and they do not care anymore for their grades.

Abdullah: Most students in Kuwait work at the public sector, which only uses Arabic, so how do you think learning their degree in English will help them?

Dhari: This is the point, if I was planning to work in the public then I would not make much use of English, it only adds more pressure for no reason. Students like me could make use of it because we need it for our jobs, but many others will not. This is why many students look for professors who use Arabic in their instruction.

Abdullah: Are there any effects of English-medium education? For example on Arabic.

Dhari: it has affected Arabic, people are beginning to see English as the language needed to be sophisticated. It is sad that some think nowadays Arabic is the language of our daily life, and they forget that we still at school learn everything in Arabic. Science subjects are also taught in Arabic in some countries, such as Syria and Iraq.

END OF EXCERPT

Appendix (6)
Certificate of Ethical Approval Form

UNIVERSITY OF EXETER

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: Abdullah Alazemi

Your student no: 620033465

Return address for this certificate: aa520@exeter.ac.uk

Degree/Programme of Study: PhD

Project Supervisor(s): Dr. Salah Troudi

Your email address: aa520@exeter.ac.uk

Tel: 07557471281

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:..date: 09/05/2014

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

Certificate of ethical research approval

TITLE OF YOUR PROJECT:

Teaching of Academic Subjects in English and the Challenges Kuwaiti Students Face

---

1. Brief description of your research project:

The research will explore the current policy of English as a medium of instruction policy (EMI) at tertiary level in Kuwait. It will look into the possible challenges they encounter when studying through English-medium education, and if any, how do they overcome these challenges. The research is exploratory in nature with an element of criticality; this element will be essential to raise awareness of several critical issues of identity, effect of EMI on Arabic, and educational rights.

The research questions and its objectives will explore and identify the advantages or disadvantages of EMI in Kuwait, to explore their experience learning through English-medium education, and if any, how do they overcome them. Since the research is exploratory in nature, the research will not at any stage, intentionally or unintentionally, direct the participants' answers.

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

All participants will be university and college students over 18 year olds. I will select them according to a purposive sampling. There are no special needs participants expected. The research will take place in Kuwait, in the two Kuwaiti public universities. All students from these two institutions will be involved in the focus groups, questionnaire, interviews, and observations.

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

3. 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.

All participants will be provided a consent form that they must agree upon, and they are all university students. No children will be involved.

4. anonymity and confidentiality

All participants will be assured of full confidentiality and anonymity, and all names will be disclosed. They will be assured that the researcher and the supervisors will only see the data, and the data will only be used for the purpose of this research. The participants will be assured that no information will be disclosed that will eventually identify them, neither in the thesis or any other output (i.e. seminars, conferences, articles or reports). Their answers will be locked up in a private storage place so to be untraceable, and all data saved on my personal computer will be password protected. All data will be anonymised by using pseudonyms.

5. 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:

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

Focus groups: They will notified about the nature and objective of the focus group, and they will have all their rights to withdraw themselves at any point and they will be assured that no names will be shown. The focus groups will be audio recorded.

Interviews: I will give details of the nature of the interviews to the participants beforehand; during the interview will refrain from making any reactions to their comments. Finally, they will also be given a draft of the transcription and analysis to check their quotations and how their views are represented. They will be chosen according to a criterion sample: that they complete the questionnaire and are willing to participate.

Questionnaire: students will not be given a choice to participate or not, and they will be given the right to view the total results after the analysis. They will analysed through SPSS and students are chosen in a convenience sampling technique, that any student willing to participate will be chosen.

Observations: students will be notified that they are observed, and their names/cultural background or any other descriptions will not be referred to. They will have their right not to participate. They will be recorded if possible and notes will be taken.

Focus groups, interviews, and observations will be analysed by an exploratory content analysis.

6. **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**

The recorded interviews will be saved in my personal computer with limited access to myself only. All recorded data and notes will be kept safe in a personal drawer and locked. All data will be password protected on Dropbox. All other lists of participants' names will be stored separated and the data will be encrypted.

7. **Special arrangements made for participants with special needs etc.**

None expected

8. **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):**
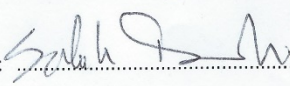
None expected

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: May 2014   until: May 2015

By (above mentioned supervisor's signature): .... date: 12/05/2014

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: .....D1. 13.1.4.29...............

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

Signed: ....P. L. D.......... .....**date:** ...16/5/14...........
Chair of the School's Ethics Committee

Appendix (7)
Consent Form

Title of Research Project: Teaching of Academic Subjects in English and the Challenges Kuwaiti Students Face.

<u>CONSENT FORM</u>

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.

> All information I give will be treated as confidential.

> The researcher will make every effort to preserve my anonymity.

................................……………….   …………………..........
(Signature of participant)
            (Date)

……………………
(Printed name of participant)

One copy of this form will be kept by the participant; a second copy will be kept by the researcher.

Contact phone number of researcher:…………………………………..

If you have any concerns about the project that you would like to discuss, please contact:

……….
OR
……….

Appendix (8)
Details of the Observations

Institution	Title of Lecture	Lecturer Nationality	Year of Study
KU	General Chemistry 2	American	Mixed
KU	Calculus 1	Kuwaiti	Mixed
KU	General Biology 1	Kuwaiti	1st and 2nd Year
KU	Fundamentals of Clinical Practice	Kuwaiti	Mostly 2nd and 3rd
KU	Material Chemistry	Kuwaiti	Mixed
PAAET	Industrial Safety	Kuwaiti	Mixed
PAAET	Petroleum Refining Systems	Kuwaiti	Mixed
PAAET	Engineering Analysis	Kuwaiti	Mixed
PAAET	Supply Chain Management	Kuwaiti	Mixed
PAAET	General Physics	Kuwaiti	Mixed

Appendix (9)
Detailed Information of the Participants

		Interviews		
#	Pseudonym	Major	Year of Study	Institution
1	Hassan	Mechanical Engineering	3rd	PAAET
2	Dhari	Chemical Engineering	2nd	PAAET
3	Mohammed	Chemical Engineering	3rd	PAAET
4	Mahdi	Electrical Engineering	1st	PAAET
5	Esteqlal	Nursing	4th	PAAET
6	Hunouf	Biology	3rd	KU
7	Fatima	Business Administration	2nd	KU
8	Huda	Medicine	4th	KU
9	Tesneem	Business Administration	3rd	KU
10	Nawaf	Computer Engineering	1st	KU
11	Barrack	Architectural Engineering	2nd	KU
		Focus Groups		
#	Pseudonym	Major	Year of Study	Institution
1	Ahmed	Chemistry	2rd	KU
2	Ali	Business Administration	3rd	KU
3	Mariam	Geology	2nd	KU
4	Salem	Chemistry	4th	KU
5	Saud	Mechanical Engineering	1st	KU
6	Bader	Pharmaceutics	2nd	PAAET
7	Abdullah	Mathematics	Graduate	KU
8	Abdulrahman	Electrical Engineering	Graduate	KU
9	Omran	Business Administration	Graduate	KU
10	Khaled	Mathematics	Graduate	PAAET
11	Rawan	Nursing	Graduate	PAAET
12	Saad	Industrial Engineering	Graduate	PAAET

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