

LEVEL OF PROFICIENCY IN ARABIC AND ENGLISH, AND IDENTITY OF
EMIRATI STUDENTS IN UAE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

by

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Dedication

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Abstract

Recently, a new dimension of learning a second language has gained interest in the literature. The identity of learners has made its way as a concept that has become central in second language acquisition (SLA) and bilingual education research. More and more the notion that learners' identity is constructed and negotiated through language learning has become widely recognized. However, so far, few studies have focused on how learning a second language, particularly English impacts Arab learners' identity. Given the 'magic,' power and status associated with English as the global language, its impact may be deeper than that usually associated with foreign language learning. The purpose of this study is to explore how the level of proficiency in both Arabic and English shapes Emirati students' perception of their identity in the United Arab Emirates public schools. The study explores high school students' linguistic preferences and language practices to assess their impact on identity construction. Data collection methods include a students' survey, interviews with students, teachers and an administrator, and ethnographic observation. Results show that students' preferences are driven by their perceived proficiency in both languages. While students are aware of their poor proficiency in English, their relative fluency in Spoken Arabic leads them to believe that they are proficient in it. In fact, results indicate that students have poor proficiency in both Arabic and English which has created an identity dilemma as they are unable to identify completely with either of the two languages. However, data analysis reveals that English has to a certain extent impacted students' identity because they associate it with modernity and a brighter future, which they want for themselves, while Arabic is associated with respected traditions and values. Findings also show that although students are aware that English is flourishing at the expense of their mother tongue, they still want to learn it and appreciate its culture. Finally, results indicate that the educational policy towards both languages falls short of providing these students an effective bilingual program.

Search Terms: language proficiency, identity, Arabic language, English language, United Arab Emirates.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Overhearing young Arabs in the United Arab Emirates languaging with each other reveals how much they are fascinated with the English language. English has penetrated into all aspects of their lives. At home, they speak English with maids, and in the malls, they speak English with salespeople. At schools and universities, they need English for their academic studies. In addition to their linguistic practices, their Arabness is also colored by layers of exported western products. They eat at McDonalds and Burger King, watch American movies, and dress from 'bebe' and 'Zara.'

Many of my students were often telling me that they wanted to sound like native Americans and that they wanted to improve their English to better enjoy Western music. Furthermore, for them English seemed the only way to guarantee a good future, to please parents and to sound modern and eloquent among their friends. When they first told me that they liked the English language class more than the Arabic one, I thought that they were flattering me. Later on, I learned that they felt their Arabic classes were boring and purposeless and that Arabic was difficult and old fashioned. This perception was summarized by one of my students who stated that "no one knows what the use of studying it is." Arab students seem to have even lost interest or ability to learn Arabic in the Arabic class. Al Najami (2007) reports on Majid Fahd, Head of the Arabic unit at Dubai National School, saying in desperation: "I speak with my students in Arabic, but get a reply in English or they have to add English words to the conversation." Moreover, students seemed to struggle with standard Arabic more than with their second language. When we add to these perceptions the gap that exists between dialectal and Standard Arabic, we understand the limited proficiency in writing standard Arabic.

These young people, who are stumbling in Arabic, are living in the UAE context. As its name shows, the UAE identifies itself as an Arab country. It is a federation of seven Arab Emirates that united in 1971 and declared in its constitution that the Arabic language is the official language of the country. However, a closer glance at Dubai, one of these emirates, gives another impression. English is used everywhere; in the streets, billboards, malls where modernity and globalization are

tied to English. Although this linguistic landscape is not unique to the UAE, demographic globalization forces have exacerbated the UAE context.

Purpose of the Study

Being alarmed by this image, many voices have been raised to toll the bell of emergency that the Arabic language is suffering and needs to be saved (Al-Issa and Dahan, 2011; Al Najami, 2007; Badry, 2011; Howeidy, 2011; Ismail, 2008; Mejdell, 2008; Ronesi, 2011; Rouchdy, 2008, 2009, 2010; Pessoa & Rajakumar, 2011; Said, 2011; Trudi & Jendli, 2011; Zackaria, 2010). Many scholars and intellectuals are warning against the negative effect of global English on Arab identity and the Arabic language. In my research, I want to see to what extent global English has indeed affected the Arabic language and Arab identity and how language practices aggravate this impact. Are these voices exaggerating and inflating the problem? Is the Arabic language safe, strong and able to stand in its duel with English? To investigate these concerns, my research is aimed at answering the following questions:

1. To what extent does students' level of proficiency in Arabic and English affect their practices and preferences?
2. How do high school students perceive the prevailing use of English and its impact on their Arab identity?
3. Does the language policy of the educational system enable students to attain proficiency in both languages?

Significance of the Research

Many studies are nowadays interested in the relationship between language and identity across many disciplines. This type of inquiry is gaining ground in the Arab world with the adoption of English as a medium of instruction in most modern universities. The study aims to contribute to this research by examining the views of high school students who are affected by the decisions of the educational system. As Zackaria (2010) suggests, examining secondary school students' perspectives on language and education allows us to assess the relevance of contemporary language ideologies. "Youth have been at the center of recent development interests and agendas in the Arab world, but their views are seldom heard. Rather, policies and prescriptions in education and the research on which they are based tend to privilege...state-level discourses" (p.157). Moreover, this study comes at a time where the educational policy in the UAE is gradually reinforcing more English in

public schools by making it the language of instruction for math and science. Al Najami (2007) points out in an article in Gulf News that "many public schools in the UAE will gradually start teaching math and science in English as part of a comprehensive national project to revamp public education in the country." This policy has been implemented in Madares Al-Ghad (MAG) schools and is going to be generalized by the year 2020 to all public schools.

While there are several books and journals that discuss language and identity, there are relatively fewer studies that focus on this region. The aim of this study is to contribute to this field of research by examining students' perceptions in public schools that have not yet implemented English as a language of instruction in math and science to assess the impact of English on learners' identity while it is still taught as a subject. When a second language is taught as a subject, it is supposedly less likely to have a clear effect on students' identity unless the messages sent from society are favoring it and giving it more status and importance. Given the relative recency of this research trend, it is necessary to include newspaper articles, and blogs.

In order to examine the impact of English on Emirati students' identity, I conducted my research with three groups of participants from two public schools in Dubai, UAE; students, teachers and administrators. The first group consisted of two hundred twenty female eleventh and twelfth graders. The second group consisted of eight English and Arabic teachers who teach grade eleven and twelve in the same schools. The third group consisted of one administrator of one of the schools surveyed.

Data were obtained using different data collection methods. A survey of all eleventh and twelfth graders in the two schools (see Appendix A) was used. Survey questions were designed to elicit the perception of the participants related to the research questions. The questionnaire included five open-ended questions in order to give the surveyed students the chance to elaborate on their beliefs regarding their concerns about the Arabic language, its future and changes they wish they could make regarding the policy of teaching Arabic and English. Students were allowed to respond in either Arabic or English because I didn't want the language to be a barrier in their communication. Six students were also interviewed to get further insight into expressed opinions and preferences and the rationale behind their choices. I also interviewed eight English and Arabic teachers to obtain their views on their students' linguistic preferences and the factors that may explain these attitudes.

Data obtained from questionnaires were analyzed quantitatively to determine frequencies and percentages for each response by calculating means for each question. Quantitative data are supported by qualitative data from open-ended questions and the interviews with the teachers, students and the administrator.

Overview of the Chapters and the Appendices

Chapter one has presented the introduction, statement of the problem, significance of the study, research questions, and summarized the design of the study as well as participants of the study. A review of the literature is provided in chapter two. Chapter three provides a detailed description of the participants, the methodology, and the procedures used to conduct the survey and the interviews. Chapter four presents the results and data analysis of the study. Chapter five contains a summary of the findings, conclusion and implications, a discussion of the limitations of the study, and recommendations for further research.

There are five appendices. Appendix A is the Students' Survey. Appendix B is the Arabic teachers' Semi-structured Interview questions. Appendix C is the English teachers' Semi-Structured interview questions. Appendix D is the Administrators' Interview Questions. Appendix E is the Students' Interview Questions. Appendix F is the Questionnaire Results in tables.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature that addresses the issue of identity in second language learning. It also provides an overview of the cultural dimension of learning a second language. The review briefly touches on the development of Arab identity across history and traces its changing relationship with the Arabic language and Islam and reviews some prominent views regarding the Arabic language and Arab identity. In addition, it highlights the current situation of the Arabic language in the age of globalization. Finally, it sheds light on the UAE context and the concerns about the Arabic language and Arab identity among Emirati students.

Identity and Second Language Learning

The Importance of Exploring Second Language Learners' Identity

The concept of *identity* has recently gained a lot of attention in the fields of “Second Language Acquisition (SLA)” and bilingual education. Lin (2008) suggests that “[i]n recent years, the term, 'identity' has further acquired rising currency and capital in the research literature and discourses among communities of applied linguists, educators, and researchers” (p. 199). Second language learners' identity has proven to be an important ingredient that cannot be ignored when examining how they learn. Garcia (2009) considers identity to be the most important concept in bilingual education. She suggests that “educators must be aware of the different and complex links between language and identity” (p. 83) because they “are intrinsically connected, and through education language can be a powerful tool in shaping identity” (Pessoa and Rajakumar, 2011, p. 155). This strong link between language and identity has led ESL educators to suggest that “ESL pedagogy must then respond to the nexus of the ELL’s social identity as a student of language and his or her cultural identity as a member of one or more ethnolinguistic groups” (Nero, 2005, p. 201).

This relatively recent interest in the concept of ‘identity’ has been accompanied by substantial changes in classrooms in the era of globalization. Pennycook (2010) points out that “the location of classrooms within global transcultural flows...implies that they can no longer be considered as bounded sites, with students entering from fixed locations, with identities drawing on local

traditions, with curricula as static bodies of knowledge" (p. 81). Therefore, in such classrooms, teachers "must now expect to see more complex acts of identity in the ESL classroom" (Nero, 2005, p. 201).

These realizations put a heavy burden on the language teacher. Teachers are seen as responsible for giving their students the chance to express their identities when they learn a new language because when students enter the ESL class, they are rounded people with a social identity. Then, it is the teachers' pedagogical practices that either encourage or discourage them to develop and express their own identities through the language they are learning (Ushoida, 2011). Ushoida suggests that teachers should encourage L2 learners to be themselves and to "speak as themselves and to express and engage their identities through the language they are learning" (p. 15). Hornberger (2010) also suggests that "if we are to welcome the cultures, communities and identities of our students in our classrooms, we must begin by understanding that they are socially constructed and ever-changing categories, rather than intrinsic and immutable ones" (p. 557). Language learning plays a major role in constructing the learners' identity and in shaping it. Hornberger (2010) suggests that learning is not only about the construction of academic knowledge but also about the construction of identities. Therefore, language pedagogy should address "language as form as well as language as constructor of, and constructed by, identities" (Nero, 2005, p. 202). Such views are shared by Norton (1997) who points out that language learning is a process of identity construction. When language learners speak, they don't only exchange information with their interlocutors, "they are also constantly organizing and reorganizing a sense of who they are and how they relate to the world. They are, in other words, engaged in identity construction" (p. 410).

Learners look for clues in their interactions that will help them to recognize who they could be close to and who they are likely to be more distant from (East, 2008). Their identity relates to their desire for recognition, affiliation, security and safety (Norton, 1997). Thus, language learning is not only about language but, as Baker suggests, it is about who we are, what we want to become, and what we are allowed to become (quoted in Pessoa and Rajakumar, 2011, p. 155). That is why their process of SLA cannot be understood in the sense of having communicative competence that draws the image of ideal interlocutors but in terms of power relationships, that may be coercive or collaborative, which affect their identity and their learning (Norton, 1997).

These power relations are addressed in the concept of 'investment' that Norton proposed. Norton (2010) suggests that when learners invest in the target language, they are aware that they will acquire a wider range of symbolic and material resources which increase the value of their cultural capital. Therefore, she suggests that these “unequal relations of power between language learners and target language speakers” make the term ‘motivation’ ideal and not realistic. She “developed the construct of ‘investment’ ... [which] signals the socially and historically constructed relationship of learners to the target language and their often ambivalent desire to learn and practice it” (p. 353). She suggests that while the construct of motivation is primarily psychological, ‘investment’ is a sociological construct that seeks to make a meaningful connection between learners’ desire and commitment to learn a language, and their changing identity. Norton adds that “the construct of investment conceives of the language learner as having a complex identity, changing across time and space, and reproduced in social interaction” (p. 354).

Teaching Language within or without its Cultural Context

Although language is viewed as the embodiment of the cultural and social values of the people who speak it, there has been a heated debate over whether to teach a second language devoid of its cultural context or that language and culture are inseparable. In other words, "to what extent are teachers of English teachers of culture?" as Norton (1997) wonders. When teaching English to L2 learners, Canagarajah (2006) points out that some scholars assume that learning and speaking English as lingua franca is culture-free and neutral. Some scholars assume that English is not tied to any culture since it is the world's property. They consider it as a language for communication rather than a language for identification. Thus, it is claimed that multilingual speakers will not develop a cultural affinity with the English language or attempt to represent their identities through it. Kayman defines global English as “a utopia of communication” where informational and symbolic messages in English flow without resistance across frontiers (quoted in Canagarajah, 2006, p. 201). However, Canagarajah (2006) suggests that learning any language, whatever the status of its speakers or purposes of usage, could raise issues of identification and representation in relative degrees. When it comes to learning English, which is the global language and the world's lingua franca, Canagarajah stresses that it does come loaded with imperialistic associations from its history which demands negotiation. Pessoa and Rajakumar (2011) point out that “the colonial era laid the foundations for

English to preside over other languages as a lingua franca” (p. 154). Canagarajah (2006) concludes that these scholars miss the point that English is deeply embedded in a set of social, cultural, political and economic relations.

Culture and language are intertwined because culture is embodied in and expressed through language. Perez, Flores, and Strecker (2003) suggest that “[o]ne’s identity as a member of a defined culture determines the world view perspective and the symbolic systems used to encode and interpret the world.” (p. 210). They add that “[c]ulture is the way of thinking or the way of life that is represented by the symbolic system shared by members of a group and is socially organized and constructed” (p. 210). Wardhaugh (2006) also suggests that language and culture are inextricably related that we cannot understand or appreciate the one without a knowledge of the other. This intrinsic relation between language and culture is clear when learning a second language. Chin and Wigglesworth (2007) consider that “being bilingual means being bicultural” (p. 247). They suggest that failing to be bicultural may result in having a sense of anomie, of not fitting in anywhere, while the ability to manage to be bicultural results in successful creation of blended cultures. Similarly, Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2003) suggest that “knowing two languages is inextricably linked to knowing two cultures... [Therefore] biliteracy becomes linked to bicultural literacy” (p. 50). Moreover, Pavlenko (2006) reports in her study of bilingual speakers that they “proclaim language and culture to be a unified package” (p. 12). They claim that a true command of a second language requires conformity with the culture of native speakers. These bilinguals assume that, as non-native speakers, they have to assume certain cultural perspectives that are different from their own when they speak the second language. They even revealed that “their thinking, behavior, and perception of the self and the world do change with the change in language” (p. 13). This study lends credence to the claim that “a language divorced from its culture is like a body without a soul” (Baker, 2003, p. 272). Therefore, it is natural for people to absorb cultural values through the language they learn (Heinz, 2001) because language and culture form “a tapestry that challenges any simplistic analyses of the relationship between language and culture” (Norton, 1997, p. 415).

Therefore, learning a new language requires, to a great extent, being familiarized with its culture and norms. Any attempt to detangle language from its culture may result in deformed and devoid language that doesn’t give its learners access to the real world of the language learned and the meanings it implies. On the

contrary, learning a language within its cultural context gives learners another cultural perspective which enriches their cultural repertoire and raises their cultural awareness.

The Conceptualizations of Identity

Identity as Conceptualized in Different Paradigms

The conceptualization of identity has gone through substantial changes as a result of a paradigm shift. In the essentialist paradigm, identity was viewed as an essentialist composite of social variables such as social class, gender and race. Each of these variables was considered a stable, non-changing value. Each individual was presumed to possess a set of characteristics that represented a stable identity. The social variables from which social identity is derived were also understood to be discrete points on a continuum (De Oliveira, 2002). With this rigid, never changing and non-negotiable viewpoint of identity, "there is an absence of flexibility and it is difficult to apply such a theory to social reality, especially when this concerns language and its various manifestations in identity and culture" (Said, 2011, p. 192).

In opposition to the essentialist view, the constructionist model views identity as fluid, non-static, negotiable, and re-negotiable, in a constant flux, and most importantly, not fixed. "It is through actions and speech that a person establishes his identity," not through his physical being or characteristics (Said, 2011, p. 192). Canagarajah (2006) suggests that in postmodern paradigm, we cannot think of identities in essentialist terms, as belonging exclusively to one language or culture. It is because we cannot consider languages and cultures as pure, and communities as homogeneous. Moreover, the idea of static and fixed identity, as in the essentialist paradigm, seems irrational because individuals or even lifeless objects change. Individual people change constantly in the course of their lives; physically, psychologically or socially. Similarly, "the concept of identity never signifies anything static, unchanging, or substantial, but rather always an element situated in the flow of time, ever changing, something involved in a process" (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl, and Liebhart, 2009, p. 11).

The Multi Facets of Identity

Identity is defined in terms of "how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (Norton, 1997, p. 410). Badry (2011) suggests that in multilingual settings, identity is increasingly defined as fluid, hybrid

and adaptable where individual agency and collective pressures affect one's self and social identification. Identity has multi facets that contribute to form the individual identity. These facets are expressed, according to Badry, through particular languages and cultures. In language learning, the learner is driven by the desire to achieve membership in communities of practice. Their wish to enter a particular social, academic or professional affiliation drives their choice to engage in a language. Thus, the investment in a language is driven by its perceived ability to provide membership in a desired community, leading to a desired identity. Therefore, identity and agency development should be supported by language instruction which facilitates students' access to the imagined communities students envision participating in (Ronesi, 2011). This envisioning is possible because “humans are capable of connecting with communities that lie beyond the local and immediate and that investment in such imagined communities strongly influences identity construction and engagement in learning” (Kanno and Norton, 2003, p. 247). Thus, students’ “identities ... must be understood not only in terms of investment in the ‘real’ world but also in terms of [their] investment in possible worlds” (Kanno and Norton, 2003, p. 248).

Individuals perform their identity through the languages they speak or wish to. Ben Rafael and Schmid (2007) suggest that “language is one of the most important factors of identity and identification: people speak like the people they want to be like, and use the way they talk to signal aspects of their own personalities” (p. 20). Similarly, Schmid (2002) argues that according to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller’s ‘acts of identity,’ individuals adopt patterns of linguistic behavior in order to resemble the group of people to which they wish to belong. The wish for affiliation sometimes involves a shift in dialect, register or linguistic system. This adaptation of linguistic behavior, Schmid suggests, may cause complex processes and problems for bilinguals when groups they might wish to identify with might speak different languages. However, these problems and identity fragmentation can be avoided “when individuals feel a sense of ownership of *their* languages and cultures” (Badry, 2011, p. 88).

Arab Identity and the Role of the Arabic Language in its Construction

The definition of Arab identity has witnessed changes from being solely based on language to being based on the factors that Arabs share, among which is the Arabic language. Barakat (1993) believes that Arab identity is based on what Arabs have in common; language, culture, sociopolitical experiences, economic interests and a

collective memory of their place and role in history. Barakat suggests that there is unanimous agreement among theoreticians of Arab nationalism on the great significance of language. From the nationalist viewpoint, identity is based solely on language. From this perspective, Barakat suggests that Arabic is “not only a mere instrument of communication or container of ideas and feelings; [but also]... the embodiment of a whole culture and the guarantor of linkages across time and space” (quoted in Badry, 2011, p. 86).

Barakat (1993) critically analyzes the concept of Arab identity away from idealizing it. He looks at it as a process that is going on rather than as something achieved. He criticizes a definition of Arab identity that is primarily rooted in language and considers that such relation tends to ignore several aspects of the present state of the Arabic language that is suffering from many problems such as the increasing gap between written and spoken Arabic, the different Arab dialects, the bilingualism in some countries, and the limited literacy of the Arab masses.

Arab Identity and its Ties to the Arabic Language in Modern History

The concept of Arab identity has been shaped by many forces that have deeply affected it in the Arabs' modern history. The linkage between Arabic nationalism and the Arabic language is traced back to the Napoleon's expedition in Egypt in 1798 when Napoleon meticulously made his first speech in Arabic to emphasize the difference between Turks and the Arabs (Suleiman, cited in Badry, 2011). With the collapse of the Ottoman Islamic Caliphate and the rise of nationalism, national Arab identity began to loosen its ties to Islam which was replaced by the Arabic language as the marker of Arab identity (Barakat, 1993). Suleiman (2006) asserts that Arabic language became “the bond of identity over religion, among those for whom the language is a common tongue” (p. 126). He argues that "Arabic had to be made to loosen its ties to Islam by allowing more inclusive bonds of association that would enable Christians to feel at home in the language, to use it as a marker of their identity” (p. 127).

However, the total dependence of Arab national identity on the Arabic language was questioned in the twentieth century, as Badry suggests, because of many factors that may be called upon to explain this shift. Arabic was weakened and shifted to the periphery of what it means to be an Arab because of the increasingly strengthened presence of global English, the rise of local linguistic identities within each Arab country and a weakening of Pan-Arabist sentiments. These weakened

nationalist feelings were accompanied by weakening the Arabic language. Badry suggests that "[m]odern Arabs no longer consider Modern Standard Arabic as their only language of literacy" (p. 86). Things have changed and dialects are accepted and the use of a foreign language with Arabic has become the standard.

This loss of intimacy between Arabs and the Arabic language is perceived by Khashan as loss of identity. Khashan (2000) argues that the Arabs are still in search of their identity. He points out that "[t]oday, the Arabs are at a loss. They suffer from a severe identity crisis" (p. 1). He concludes that Arabs are at loss because they suffer from intellectual stagnation, blurry vision, sanctuary in past glory, and "a severe political identity in crisis and a society at war with itself" (p. 128).

Despite the changes that occurred to the perception of Arab identity across modern history, Arabic language is still considered one important ingredient of it. Suleiman (2003) suggests that the Arabic language is but one marker of national identity among a set of markers. Similarly, Rouchdy (2010) suggests that the Arabic language is an expression of identity. Sinno (2011) warns that "our children's estrangement from Arabic... ultimately weakens their sense of belonging and identity" (p. 353). Standard Arabic, according to Rouchdy, acts as a unifying force among all Arabs in the Arab world and among ethnic groups in the Diaspora.

Although we perceive identity as fluid, a native language does continue to play an important role in defining people which is especially true in the Arab world (Al-Issa and Dahan, 2011). This importance of the language emerges, as Suleiman (2001) recognizes, from its being the medium for connecting the past to the present and the future. He further considers the defense of one's language a defense of the set of values it encapsulates and transmits from one generation to another. Similarly, Hagege points out that "to defend a culture is also to defend the language in which it is expressed" (quoted in Pennycook, 2010, p. 62).

Said (2011) emphasizes the bond between culture, language and identity and suggests that they are inseparable and considers that "losing language is losing culture and losing culture is losing one's identity" (p. 191). However, despite the importance of the Arabic language in defining Arab identity and culture, it is declining among the Arabs themselves, which is very ironic, because the Arabic language has been always viewed as "the primary art form of Arabic culture" (Morrow and Castleton, 2011, p. 316).

The Threats Facing Arab Identity

Identity under Globalization

Globalization, as a recent controversial phenomenon, is challenging nations' identities and cultures worldwide. Pennycook (2010) suggests that the changing dynamics of globalization, increased migration and digital media are shifting the commonly taken-for-granted stabilities of social constructs such as 'culture', 'identity', 'nation', and 'state.' This new phenomenon of globalization has replaced, in one way or another, the armed colonization. Canagarajah (2006) points out that after getting rid of colonization, post colonized communities were faced with another dilemma. He writes that "while they were busy with the project of decolonization, they suddenly found themselves addressing the demands of globalization" (p. 202). He points out that while these countries were trying to affirm the local language after the neglect it suffered during the imposition of English during the colonial period, globalization has reinserted the need for English for postmodern life.

Globalization and its impact on societies have generated a heated debate about whether globalization leads to homogeneity or heterogeneity (Badry, 2011). Defenders of homogeneity argue that globalization is leading to uniformity killing in its way local cultures, identities and local life. Globalization is viewed within this paradigm as a threat to linguistic and cultural diversity. Spearheaded by pop music, American films and fast-food chains, in which "McDoladization" involves the production for global market that seek affording global services for global customers (Phillipson and Skutnabb Kangas, 1996), Americanization and the homogenization of world culture promote the western culture and the English language at the expense of other cultures and languages. This leads eventually to assimilating the world into one melting global pot in which people from different cultures would lose their identity in the process (Zughoul, 2003). Therefore, as East (2008) points out, because of globalization, the world has come to "resemble America itself" (p. 159) in which there are no 'others'. He suggests that the dominance of English has resulted from the amount of information encoded into English which is rapidly increasing and the adoption of English as the preferred medium of global communication, "thereby making it more and more attractive as a language to learn" (p. 159). Pennycook (2003) describes English as "a language of global disparity and discommunication" (p. 6) because of its role "as a language that is linked to inequality, injustice, and the prevention of communication" (p. 5). As Brutt-Griffler (2005) describes it,

globalization results in “a world in a process of disintegration via integration” (p. 114). She adds that globalization “involves processes threatening cultural and linguistic vitality, perhaps even biodiversity in general” (p. 114). This state of affairs leads Pennycook (2010) to argue for the need to safeguard cultural and linguistic diversity through the support of other languages. Moreover, Janks (2010) points out that “education [also] needs to produce students who understand why linguistic diversity is a resource for creativity and cognition, who value all languages that they speak and who recognize the paucity of English only” (p. 48).

For the proponents of heterogeneity, “this homogenization is viewed favorably and almost triumphantly” (McKay, 2010, p. 94). They, as summarized by Badry, argue that local cultures are able to absorb the global into the local and appropriate it by blending the global into the local to result in 'glocalization'. They argue that the notion of cultural and linguistic purity is an idealized notion and doesn't represent the reality of hybrid and creolized cultural forms. Kraidy (2005) claims that "hybridity is one of the emblematic notions of our era. It captures the spirit of the times with its obligatory celebration of cultural differences and fusion" (p. 1). He adds that globalization has made the transformation of all cultures inevitable. Ennaji (2005) finds no excuses for shutting the doors in the face of globalization and suggests that “[t]he strength of a culture resides in its power to assimilate other cultures [and its strength is] measured by the degree of tolerance of and openness to other cultures” (p. 21).

Global English Pressures

Global English is the strongest facet of globalization. Its projection as the world language par excellence, which is symptomatic of globalization processes, (Phillipson and Skutnabb Kangas, 1996) has impacted and deeply affected all world languages by exerting its power as a language of international communication, media and technology. It has become a necessity to the extent that people, whether they like it or not, have to learn it. Kachru suggests that “knowing English is like possessing the fabled Aladdin's lamp, which permits one to open, as it were, the linguistic gates to international business, technology, science, and travel. In short, English provides linguistic power” (quoted in McKay, 2010, p. 96).

However, scholars throughout the world are raising a voice of alarm over the growing role of English, especially as it connects to global economic and political interests and links to Anglo-Americanization (Garcia, 2009). Phillipson (1998)

describes global English as the language that gobbles up other languages and eliminates local cultural practices and as a language that flourishes on the graveyard of other languages. English language has been perceived as one of the major facets of globalization because, as Al-Issa and Dahan suggest, "it stand[s] out as the sole lingua franca of our globalizing world" (p. 1). They suggest that this continued duality of global English and globalization has a negative impact on the national identity of the UAE. They claim that "the unchecked spread of global English, through globalization, has had some negative effects on languages in general, but specifically on Arabic in the United Arab Emirates" (p. 3). Al-Issa and Dahan are specifically concerned about the Arabic language in the UAE because they believe that due to the UAE's aspiration for gaining prestige in the Gulf, the wider Arab world, and the globe, it utilizes more English because it is the language that can propel it forward in terms of modernization and innovation which is unfortunately done at the expense of Arabic. This tendency is believed to lead eventually to removing Arabic from a place of prestige and power on the local scene, both educationally and socially.

There is imminent danger in deserting Arabic and using English instead. Chin and Wigglesworth (2007) suggest that when a community ceases to use its traditional language and no longer passes it on to its children, there is great danger of losing that language. They point out that first languages can be lost when they are not used. Large numbers of languages across the world have been lost as a result of contact between two or more languages. This contact leads to language loss when one language is dominant and is considered to be the prestige language. Cook (2003) suggests that "as a person gains the ability to use a second language, so he or she may to some extent lose the ability to use the first language. In circumstances where one language becomes less and less used, people do lose their command of it, whether as groups or as individuals" (p. 12). Moreover, De Bot and Hulsen (2002) suggest that "[n]either first languages nor second languages are immune to loss. With non-use they fade, and though they keep their place in our memory system, they become less accessible up to the point where the knowledge has sunk beyond reach and is for practical purposes lost" (p. 253). In his article, "Arabic language use on decline in its own land", Srinivasan (2005) reports Dr. Shrouf, the editor of Deutsche Welle, German TV/Radio and internet portal in Arabic language, saying after his visit to the UAE, "I do not find people, including those whose native language is Arabic, conversing in the language."

Facing the Threats

Islam as the Protector of Arabic: Does Islam Guarantee its Future?

Many Arab scholars and intellectuals believe that the sacred linkage between Islam and the Arabic language guarantees its future. They believe that Allah has honored Arabic by making it the language of His revelation. Therefore, "it is inevitable that God will preserve this language until the end of time" (Suleiman, 2001, p. 44). This sacred relationship is emphasized by Karmani and Pennycook (2005) who suggest that "there is a very special relationship between Islam and the Arabic of the Qur'an" (p. 158). Similarly, Mejdell (2008) reports a statement by the writer Mohammad Galal, interviewed in *Sawt al-Azhar*, who asserted that the Arabic language will remain strong because it is the language of the Qur'an, which protects its honor.

Al-Issa and Dahan have a different opinion. They refute the argument that Arabic "is untouchable by virtue of Islam" and suggest that there are millions of non-Arabic speaking people who are Muslims. They have never needed to learn the Arabic language to pray, because they memorize the verses needed for prayer. In Indonesia, which has the largest population of Muslims, people do not speak Arabic or find being fluent in Arabic a necessity in order to be Muslims. Therefore, the authors conclude, "the possibility of Arabic being endangered remains, despite its ties to Islam" (p. 10).

The Role of Attitude in Facing the Threats

Arabic language is central to Emirati Arabic and Islamic identity. Al-Issa (2012) points out that "for the Emirati identity to remain strong, Arabic proficiency must be maintained." In order to enhance the students' sense of Arab identity, we need to create in them a positive attitude towards their language. Ennaji (2005) believes that "a positive attitude toward a language would create a positive cultural identity, and this contributes to the maintenance and promotion of the language. On the other hand, a negative attitude would inhibit and crush identity, and eventually leads to language loss" (p. 25). Schmid (2007) suggests that groups who have negative or inadequate social identity do not tend to maintain their language and culture while the groups who have positive social identity maintain their language and culture. She suggests that factors such as prestige, demographic distribution and institutional support through education, media and linguistic clubs play an important role in shaping people's identity and fostering their attitude towards their language.

Creating the positive attitude towards Arabic can be done by modernizing the methods of teaching Arabic and presenting it in a modern way that attracts learners. Sinno (2011) suggests that "if we want Arabic to be as competitive as other languages, we need to provide our children with better Arabic resources as well as approach them with a more positive attitude"(p. 351). Creating a positive attitude in students starts with 'repackaging' Arabic because "with the proliferation of English and American pop culture, products, and media, Arabic may not even 'stand a chance' if we do not become proactive about repackaging it to our children in ways that make it more enjoyable and palatable" (p. 353). She suggests that Arabic textbooks should provide aesthetically pleasing imagery that arouses the children's interest in the language. She also suggests that the content of the Arabic textbooks should be in harmony with Arab's increasingly progressive societies. Rouchdy (2009) points out that "Arabic is not a dead language. It should be taught in such a way as to reflect culture as a whole with all its diversity. It certainly needs a talented teacher who can juggle gracefully the different varieties of the language." In a study conducted by Ronesi (2011) at the American University of Sharjah, the participants expressed their disappointment regarding "poor pedagogical practices, poorly trained and paid Arabic teachers, uninspiring texts, lack of presence of the internet, scarcity of research and resources published in Arabic" (p. 72).

Parents play a key role in fostering positive attitudes towards Arabic in their children. They do that through the way they bring up their children and the choices they take regarding their education. Cummins (2001) suggests that "parents should establish a strong home language policy and provide ample opportunities for children to expand the functions for which they use the mother tongue ... and the contexts in which they can use it" (p. 19). However, Fatima Al Merri, Chief Executive Officer of the Dubai Schools Agency of the Knowledge and Human Development Authority, laments how the family structure in the UAE has changed in such a way that it doesn't promote the mother tongue or nurture the preservation of national identity because "now we have children being raised by Indonesian and Filipino housemaids" (Ismail, 2008). Parents also prefer English to Arabic schools and feel proud when their children speak and learn English. Al-Issa and Dahan (2011) suggest that local parents and Arab parents are consistently observed speaking English to their children as they drop them off at their English medium schools which is another threat to Arabic in the UAE. However, Al-Issa (2012) wonders if parents have any other options or if they

were even consulted. He writes in the National newspaper that “the combination of the language policies of the country, the fact that English is the medium of instruction in higher education, and the fact that they see English as a pathway to success, all lead parents to seek the best for their children.”

Arab Intellectuals' Awareness of the Threats Facing their Language and Identity

Arab intellectuals and scholars are aware of the unequal duel between Arabic and English. Mejdell (2008) points out that "a growing awareness and frustration among intellectuals, [and] educators...can be observed in the last ten to fifteen years, relating to what are perceived as serious threats and challenges to the present and future status of the language" (p. 109). Arab intellectuals are concerned because English is replacing Arabic in many domains that should favor Arabic over English. Mejdell quotes Al-Sha'b newspaper complaining that “our beautiful language is being raped in commercials, on shop facades, in the streets, in school and universities” (p. 112).

This Arabic awareness of the dangers facing the Arabic language is demonstrated by the number of articles written about it. Rouchdy (2010) suggests that "recently there were many articles in Arab media related to the Arabic language. The single theme of these articles is "the future of Arabic: such as the preservation of Arabic in the face of globalization, the poor instruction of the language, the outdated books and methods, the dominance of English in business...and finally the threat to Arab national identity."

Howeidy (2011) is one of those concerned about the future of the Arabic language. In the article he wrote commenting on the distorted Arabic language of Egyptian lawyers in the trial of Hosni Mubarak, he considers that the lawyers' speech is a linguistic scandal that represents a humiliation and challenge to the Arab identity. He strongly declares that the current situation of the Arabic language makes us very pessimistic about its future in which, he expects, it will receive more deadly blows. Howeidy argues that the decline of the Arabic language is strongly related to the retrogression in the feelings of national identity and pride. He concludes by holding the schools and universities that compete to foster English the responsibility for bringing up Arab generation who is best described as illiterate in its own mother tongue. This illiteracy doesn't mean losing the ability to speak Arabic. “Certainly, people will continue to speak Arabic, but fluent classical or Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) will become a language of the past” (Al-Issa, 2012).

The awareness of Arab intellectuals of the dangers that threaten Arabic is manifested in the increasing number of symposia, conferences and debates all over the Arab world to discuss its present situation, future and what should be done. Rouchdy (2010) suggests that almost everywhere in the Arab world, "articles are written, meetings are held, committees are established, and Arabic language festivals are organized." She also points out that "the debate on the decline of the Arabic language in the Arab world never ceases to be discussed in the local media".

However, the awareness of the dangers that are threatening Arabic is not enough if no real procedures are taken to stop the decline of the Arabic language. Even though the Arabic language and the challenges that face it have been discussed in all kinds of media, national and international, "no proper measures seem to be undertaken to remedy the situation." Rouchdy concludes that all of these efforts are futile because "the real reasons for such decline are never seriously considered and acted upon by the authorities."

On the national scene in the UAE, the intellectuals' awareness of the dangers facing Arabic seems to be limited or have no impact on the greater society and policy makers. Many Emirati and Arab intellectuals in the UAE are calling for the reform of the current educational system. Farah (2011) reports Dr. Jamal Sanad Al Swaidi, director general of the ECSSR (Emirates Center for Strategic Studies and Research), saying that "among the concerns [we have is] how the UAE could reform its current educational programs." This confession of the need for reform leads Dr. Jamal to call for "a national strategy that ensures that Arabic and English are taught comprehensively [and considers it] essential as academic attainment and basic communication skills all depend on the effective teaching of language." However, the gap is still persisting between the realization that the educational system is not effective and the actual situation which is still waiting for translating words into action. Badry (2012) explains the reasons for this disconnect by arguing that policy makers seem to have a different agenda because they are under the pressure of globalization and the need to promote English, not Arabic. She suggests that "educational policies seem to be motivated more by pragmatic goals stemming from globalization pressures" (p. 2).

Necessary Factors for an Effective Bilingual Education

The Importance of the Mother Tongue in Learning a Second Language

Designing bilingual programs is very critical and its impact is huge. Lincoln (2003) suggests that "if education is the key to the future, then language is the vehicle to that future" (p. 163). Janks (2010) emphasizes that the education system is the key means for privileging a particular language or variety and legitimizing its dominance. Hence, a good bilingual program should aim to develop both languages equally well. Garcia (2009) suggests that bilingual education's goal should be "the use of two languages to educate generally, meaningfully, equitably, and for tolerance and appreciation of diversity" (p. 6). She warns that "in situations of unequal language power, bilingualism develops poorly, or not at all, and cognitive and social advantages are not at all forthcoming" (p. 106).

The acquisition of the second language should not be at the expense of the mother tongue because "a deprivation of the mother tongue/first language may prevent or seriously harm aspects of cognitive growth, and prevent one from profiting from even the initial years of basic education" (Skutnabb Kangas, 2004, p. 132). On the contrary, advanced L1 can have positive effect on acquiring L2 because "there is transfer of knowledge and learning processes across languages and development of L1 literacy entails concrete benefits for students' acquisition of subsequent languages" (Cummins, 2000, p. 180). Nero (2005) suggests that "students who are highly educated in the L1 are more likely to have a clearly defined L1 on which to build L2 CALP [cognitive academic language proficiency]" (p. 202). This conclusion could buttress the view that "the stronger the foundation and continuing development in L1, the greater the potential for enhanced learning for L2" (Hornberger, 2003, p. 19). Such views are also shared by Vygotsky who emphasizes the importance of the first language and considers that "success in learning a foreign language is contingent on a certain degree of maturity in the native language. The child can transfer to the new language the system of meanings he already possesses in his own" (quoted in Cummins, 2000, p. 191). This transfer is possible because of the existence of, as Cummins (2000) suggests, "the same central processing system that underlies the interdependence of L1 and L2 proficiencies" (p. 191). The CUP (common underlying proficiency) enables the transfer of strategies. However, this transfer of academic skills is not automatic. It will not happen unless students are given opportunities to read and write extensively in the L2 in addition to their L1 (Cummins, 2000).

Therefore, in order for students to develop proficiency in both languages, continued academic development of both languages should take place to achieve cognitive and linguistic benefits of learning both languages. Moreover, the language policy of the country determines the choices available to learners and their parents and impacts the identity of learners. Garcia (2009) claims that “the language choice available to [learners] and their parents, as well as the discursive practices that are encouraged and supported in school, have an important impact on [their] identity and their possibilities of developing agency or resisting” (p. 84).

Although the above mentioned literature highlights the importance of the mother tongue in education, the multiglossic nature of Arabic adds to the complexities involved in teaching in Arabic language. Indeed Arabic diglossia makes the acquisition of MSA as a mother tongue difficult because it is a variety that is not acquired at home. Haeri (2000) suggests that “if we define ‘mother tongue’ as a language that is learned at home without instruction, there is no community of native speakers of classical Arabic” (p. 64). Moreover, Arabic language teaching is not effective in creating a generation proficient in Arabic in the UAE because it is not delivered to students in an appropriate way. Dr. Mohammad Hasab Al Nabi, head of the Education Department at Al Hosn University, was reported by Sherif (2012) in Gulf News, lamenting the approaches that Arabic teachers use in teaching Arabic which are based on "memorization that puts off the students' motivation in learning the language" and describes the methods used in teaching it as "unattractive methods [that] reduce the students' abilities in learning new lexis and create a resentful attitude towards the language" (Sherif, 2012). Swan (2012) also reports Howard Reed, the head of Dubai Women's College of the Higher Colleges of Technology, suggesting that "an overhaul of Arabic teaching methods is long overdue". He explains that "Arab children need to be inspired. Right now they think Arabic is boring and they don't enjoy it, like it is one of their punishments in life." This is expected in the light of the absence of professional development of teachers. Badry (2012) suggests that "activities focused on promoting and improving the teaching of Arabic are minimal if not inexistent" (p. 2). She concludes by warning that these "language-in-education practices may lead to altering the core of local identity of future generation whose Arabic literacy skills are dwindling" (p. 3).

Achieving Language Proficiency

Achieving language proficiency should be one of the goals of bilingual programs. However, the question we need to address here is what is proficiency? Cummins (2000) suggests that "the question of how we conceptualize language proficiency and how it is related to academic development is central to many volatile policy issues" (p. 57). He explains that we need to make a fundamental distinction between conversational and academic aspects of language proficiency which are BICS (basic interpersonal communication skills) and CALP (cognitive academic language proficiency). Baker (b2003) suggests that while surface fluency or BICS is context embedded, cognitively undemanding, CALP is the language that is cognitively and academically more advanced. The distinction between BICS and CALP is "aided by an image of an iceberg" (Baker, b2003, p. 170). While conversational fluency, such as comprehension and speaking skills, appears above the surface of the iceberg, the cognitive/academic proficiency lies deeper below the surface (Baker, b2003). Baker (b2003) suggests that Cummins' distinction between BICS and CALP explains why students tend to fail having achieved surface fluency while "their cognitive academic language proficiency is not developed enough to cope with the demands of the curriculum" (p. 172) because "simple communication skills...may hide a child's relative inadequacy in the language proficiency necessary to meet the cognitive and academic demands of the classroom" (p. 169). Baker (b2003) concludes that "the theory suggests that bilingual education will be successful when children have enough first or second language proficiency to work in the context reduced, cognitively demanding situation of the classroom" (p. 173). In order to realize that, Garcia (2009) emphasizes that the transition between context-embedded and reduced activities should be smooth but still there should be 'a point of rupture' when the scaffold is taken away so that learning can take place. Garcia (2009) suggests that "the task of the teacher is to progressively take away the structure provided by the context-embeddedness, while keeping the high cognitive demands of the lesson" (p. 330).

Achieving Biliteracy

Bilingual programs should aim to develop students' literacy in both languages. Hornberger defines biliteracy as "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing" (quoted in Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester, 2003, p. 35). Biliteracy, as Garcia (2009) proposes, is "much more

than the plain mastery of reading and writing in two languages" (p. 339). Hudleson goes further and considers that "literacy is language and language is literacy" (quoted in Garcia, 2009, p. 337). Literacy instills values, norms of behavior and codes of conduct, creates benign citizens, develops thinking and reasoning as well as enculturates and empowers, provides enjoyment and emotional development, raises critical awareness, fosters religious devotion, community development, and most importantly, is central to academic success across the curriculum (Baker, a2003).

It is important for students to develop literacy in their first language. Baker (b2003) emphasizes that literacy in the first language is a chance for the traditions and the culture to be assessed and reproduced. He warns that first language oracy without literacy can disempower the students while literacy in the first language "may encourage rootedness, self-esteem, the vision and world –view of one's heritage culture, self-identity and intellectual empathy" (p. 350). To develop literacy in the first language, Baker suggests that students should read their first language literature which may be both "for education and recreation, for instruction and for enjoyment" (Baker, b2003, p. 350). When literacy skills and strategies are developed in the first language, they appear to be transferred to the second language. Baker (b2003) suggests that generalizable skills in decoding and reading strategies such as scanning, skimming, tolerating for ambiguity, reading for meaning, and using background knowledge can be easily transferred from first to second language literacy.

Literacy has expanded to include digital literacy. Janks (2010) suggests that teachers need to see the importance of and the challenge for critical literacy in a digital world, where students enter new spaces and use their literacies to communicate with real audience in an entirely new landscape of local, global and virtual communities. However, she argues that digital literacy should not replace the existing literacy pathways; "rather they need to be established in addition to the old pathways" (p. 58).

Considering Macro Variables

Garcia (2009) proposes that policy makers need to consider the macro interdependent situational, operational and outcome factors when designing bilingual programs in light of considering the local context because each local context should adapt the type of bilingual program that fits its needs. She argues that "the advantages of one type over the other are always related to the lens through which one looks, and

the goals, aspirations, and wishes of parents and children, as well as the educational resources that are available" (p. 135).

Under situational factors, the status and the opportunities for language use need to be considered when designing a bilingual program. Garcia suggests that the bilingual program should consider whether "the language taught is used in classroom only so the burden of using it is left to the classroom or there are chances to use it outside the classroom" (p. 142) because "school use of a language is not enough" (Fishman, quoted in Garcia, p. 142, 2009). She emphasizes that "part of the school success of English in many non-English-speaking countries can be attributed to its being so widely available outside the classroom, via the media, advertising, and tourist contacts, that it benefits from automatic promotion" (p. 142). However, lack of prevalence in the wider society, as suggested by Garcia, can be compensated if the language has high-status. The major problem is when the language is not the language of prestige and is also not prevalent in the wider society. Garcia warns that "if the perceived status of a language is less prestigious ... it is less easy to introduce bilingual programs [because] the community's and students' attitude towards a language has much to do with the implementation and success of a bilingual education program"(p. 143).

One of the most important operational factors of a successful bilingual program is having good teachers. Teachers in bilingual programs, as Garcia suggests, teach not only language but also content because two languages are used as media of instruction. Therefore, one of the biggest challenges for bilingual programs is finding teachers who can teach the content and language well. That is why Garcia considers that "a major variable, difficult to meet... is finding sufficient qualified subject-matter teachers capable of teaching through another language" (p. 150). These teachers need, as Garcia suggests, "appropriate initial and in-service training" (p. 150) because lack of in service-training may account for the inadequacies in outcomes.

Teachers in bilingual programs need to be bilingual. Perez, Flores and Strecker (2003) point out that "[t]eachers' knowledge of and level of comfort with the vernacular of both languages, as well as knowledge of the standard and literacy forms of both languages, will contribute to learning success" (p. 212). Teachers need also to be tolerant of diversity. Cahnmann (2003) suggests that "teachers [should] examine their own teaching biases and change their role from that of 'language police' to

'linguist,' one who studies, tolerates, and appreciates variety while still teaching- but not enforcing- the language of power" (p. 187).

In order to have an effective bilingual program, the whole school should demonstrate balanced emphasis to both languages. Garcia (2009) emphasizes the role of the whole school "in fostering the use of the two languages on the premises" (p. 151) in that "all personnel should equally promote a positive approach to multilingualism in all times" (p. 152).

Bilingual programs, as Garcia suggests, should consider the expected outcomes in terms of linguistic proficiency and scholastic achievement. However, achieving bilingualism and biliteracy doesn't have one formula but it can be approached differently depending on the context and resources available.

Assessment in Bilingual Programs

Assessment is a very important piece in the chain of the educational system. Davidson and Mandalios (2009) suggest that "[a] program may have excellent curriculum and materials, but if its assessment component is not well designed and integrally aligned with both of these, then the entire program may ultimately fail to achieve its objectives" (p. 49). Garcia also highlights that "there cannot be meaningful pedagogy without valid assessment" (p. 322). Moreover, tests are powerful tools. Their power lies in their ability to determine the future of individuals. Therefore, tests, as suggested by Garcia (2009), "dominate curriculum, textbooks, and teaching" (p. 367).

Tests should have content validity in that "an overlap between the content and format of the test and the content and format of the curriculum must exist" (Coombe, 2009, p. 71). Content validity is assured when, as Coombe suggests, students know "what to expect from a test [which] will decrease the students' anxiety and hopefully allow their true language proficiency to shine through" (p. 77).

Because assessment affects the teaching and learning process, it needs to be fair and equitable to all students. Garcia (2009) suggests that "[t]eachers must learn to ... construct equitable and valid tests" (p. 322) because fair assessment has consequential validity, that is, positive consequences both for the teaching and learning process (Coombe, 2009). Garcia also highlights that "[a]uthentic, formative assessments are much better ways of obtaining valid, reliable information that then informs our teaching" (p. 378). She also emphasizes that formative assessment "helps shape pedagogical practices and curriculum" (p. 322).

The Educational System in the UAE under the Pressures of Globalization Arabic in the UAE

From a population estimated at 8 million in 2010, the UAE nationals make up less than 20% of the total population which "has resulted in the UAE nationals being a minority in their own country" (Badry, 2011, p. 90). If we exclude the Arabs who share with the nationals the Arabic language, about 66% speak other languages. Instead of communicating in the country's language, most of the people speak English, and not Arabic as the primary language of communication.

This demographic composition has encouraged most private schools to use English as the medium of instruction. For many, this policy is leading to Arabic losing its major role as the mother tongue and as the language of heritage because it is increasingly introduced as a minor subject relegated to the areas of social studies and religion (Al-Issa and Dahan, 2011; Howeidy, 2011; Mejdell, 2008; Trudi and Jendli, 2011). The problem is that even in public schools that are still shy to use English as a medium of instruction, there are strong messages to the students to excel in English because English has become the medium of instruction in most universities in the UAE both public and private. As Zakharia (2010), who studied language and education policies in Lebanon, points out, "changing the language of instruction at the college mean[s] that all schools who [feed] their students into the college would also need to change their language policies" (p. 159). And that is what creates the gap between the school and university and encourages students to improve their English more than Arabic.

Although universities and colleges in the UAE stopped using Arabic as a language of instruction, some voices in these universities and colleges are now calling for improving students' proficiency in Arabic. Swan (2012) reports two university directors who are urging for "curriculum changes to help students who are unable to read and write in formal classical Arabic." Swan reports that Dr. Leo Chavez, director of Dubai Men's College, saying that while the business community is emphasizing written Arabic, the students are not equipped to do that. Swan reports him saying, "Our students are not fluent in formal Arabic." Swan also reports Dr. Ken Wilson, head of Zayed University's Dubai campus who comments on Arabic instruction in schools saying, "It should be more of a priority at school level because if students are not equipped in their native language, they will find it a lot harder to learn another."

The Bilingual Educational Practices in the UAE Schools

The UAE educational policy has been trying to prepare the students for the globalized world and its demands without paying much attention to its effects on the students' values and identity. Al Saayegh (2008) suggests in an article in Gulf News that "the UAE reviewed the school curricula to cope with the requirements of the job market, but failed to maintain local cultural and social values [which] resulted in bringing in new curricula that contributed to instilling new and strange social values in younger generation."

Moreover, the school curricula have failed to give the Arabic language the prestigious status it deserves as a mother tongue. Sherif reports Badry (2011) in Gulf News saying that Arabic is reserved for traditional studies such as Arabic literature and Islamic studies which has resulted in "downgrading Arabic in the eyes of our children who become apprehensive of using it and focus instead on the language that will help them integrate in the workplace or society." Limiting Arabic to such domains is dangerous because, as Baker (2003) suggests, "relegating a language to affective, integrative domains is too romantic a notion of the function and value of language in a new century" (p. 86).

Another problem is that achieving bilingualism and biliteracy are not clearly stated objectives by the Ministry of Education. Badry (2012) proposes that at all levels of the hierarchical structure of the educational system, the development of bilingual and bi-literate future citizens is not a clearly articulated objective. She points that this "lack of explicitly stated objectives advocating the development of bi-literacy in the perpetual educational reforms fail to adopt practices that value Arabic literacy and instill a sense of pride in Arabic as a modern language that can meet the challenges of globalization" (p. 3).

How can educational policy give Arabic and English equal importance and at the same time preserve and foster the students' national Arab identity? Al-Issa and Dahan (2011) propose that the remedy for the unequal status of Arabic and English in the UAE is to encourage bilingualism by improving the teaching of global English in the educational system but at the same time keeping it as a second language. It should not be used in a subtractive way in which Arabic is relegated to second class status in an Arab country. Therefore, "[w]hat is needed, in the teaching of a powerful language like English, is classroom pedagogy that reverses this [unequal status;] that gives mastery of English together with a critical view of its status" (Janks, 2010, p. 48).

Al-Issa (2012) concludes that “if we view language as a standard bearer of identity, then the gradual loss of Arabic in the UAE is a serious problem in need of immediate attention.” In spite of the general awareness in the UAE about the necessity to maintain Arabic and national identity (Al Najami, 2007; Al Saayegh, 2008; Ismail, 2008), “there has not been any tangible action at decision making or curricular levels to resurrect Arabic” (Trudi and Jendli, 2011, p. 37). Thus, the problem persists and is in need of a solution.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter presents the research method, study area, data collection methods, and data analysis.

Design of the Study

A preliminary review of the literature indicates that learners' identity affects and is affected by second language learning. It specifically reveals that global English is a powerful language that may threaten maintenance of national languages if they are not given equal importance in the educational system of any society. In order to investigate to what extent the expanding role of the English language has actually affected UAE Arab learners' identity and their perceptions of their language and culture, the data in this study come from two public secondary schools in Dubai. I have chosen Dubai because it is the Emirate where the impact of globalization is the greatest in the UAE. Therefore, it may have a clear effect on the student population in it. Out of all the four schools contacted, two schools allowed me to conduct a survey of their 11th and 12th graders, carry out an observation of the class ethnographic and conduct interviews with teachers and students. The two schools are representative of two different areas in Dubai. Amna bint Wahab school is located in Deira which is considered the old city of Dubai compared to Bur Dubai which is a newer area of modern Dubai where Al Raya school is located. UAE public schools are gender segregated. Both schools in my study cater to female students.

The Participants

The first group of participants in this study includes 11 and 12 grade UAE national female students attending the two schools. The decision to select a female sample rather than males is motivated by the fact that female students are the mothers of the future and their perception and attitudes towards their languages are highly valuable in that they can be informative about the values to be transmitted to future generations.

The 16 to 18 age bracket was selected because teenagers are said to be in a stage of transforming or searching for their identity. Abi-Nader (1990) suggests that “inner struggles for self-identity affect adolescents and make their experience of school different from that of younger children” (p. 41). Adolescence, as suggested by

Bowie (2010), is a developmental stage at which adolescents clearly mark themselves as members of social groups by their use of different linguistic features. As they change their social affiliations, which they do with some frequency, they change their linguistic behavior to reflect their new social identity. Bowie concludes that adolescents mark their own changes in identity through language. Therefore, I believe that it is very important to examine the way these adolescent students' linguistic choices and perceptions are affecting the construction of their future, adult identities. Buckner (2011) also suggests that this age group is the "most likely to be affected by the rise of global English as well as those most likely to be in the process of planning for future education and employment" (p. 223) because they are in their last years of school study. To triangulate the survey and to get greater insight into the students' attitudes and preferences, six students from the two schools were interviewed. These students were chosen from different levels of proficiency in the two languages.

Teachers and one administrator were also participants in the study. Arabic and English teachers' evaluation of their students' attitudes, perceptions and their causes was examined. Teachers are in constant interaction with the students and they are the best people who understand their needs and problems. Therefore, teachers would provide us with a different perspective. To address the third question in the study, I interviewed one administrator to assess her understanding of language policies and their implications.

Data Collection

I collected the data throughout the second and third terms of the academic year 2011-2012. I distributed the questionnaires in the schools myself. At the beginning, I thanked the teachers and the students for letting me in their classrooms. I then explained to the students that the survey was part of my research about the English and Arabic languages. I didn't reveal to them what my research was all about in order not to affect their thoughts and opinions. I conducted the teachers and students' interviews in February, March and April, 2012.

Design of the Instruments

Students' Questionnaire

Students' views, perceptions, and linguistic preferences were obtained by means of a questionnaire. The questionnaire has two parts; multiple choice questions

and open-ended questions (See Appendix A). The multiple choice question section has two subsections. In the first part, students read 17 statements and choose from among three options: a. Arabic language, b. English language, c. Both languages. The second subsection contains 22 Likert scale questions. The students were asked to read the statements and choose from among five responses: "Strongly Agree", "Agree", "Neutral", "Disagree", or "Strongly Disagree." In addition, the questionnaire contains five open-ended questions to allow participants to express their thoughts.

Semi-Structured Interviews

The questionnaire was triangulated with interviews with teachers and students. Four Arabic teachers (See Appendix B) and four English teachers' (See Appendix C) opinions regarding the language they teach were examined. These semi-structured interviews are conducted to reveal teachers' viewpoints and interpretations of their students' linguistic behaviors and proficiency in the two languages (See Appendix B). Teachers' views of the curriculum, the methodology used, and emphasis given to the two languages are also elicited to inform me about their attitudes towards the languages in education policy and its implications on students' attitudes and linguistic preferences.

Semi-structured interviews conducted with six students in the two schools are aimed at adding further insight and clarification to students' responses from the questionnaire. The interview questions were formulated and designed in light of the questionnaire analysis (See Appendix F). Students were chosen from different proficiency levels in English and Arabic.

Semi-structured interview is also conducted with one administrator of one of the two surveyed schools (See Appendix D). The interview is important in order to better understand the educational policy and its philosophy, expectations and restrictions. It sheds light on how people in authority perceive the situation of Arabic and English as well as the legitimacy of their choices and decisions.

Ethnographic Study

To complement the surveys and interviews, observations were carried out to describe ethnographic verbal and nonverbal behaviors in class and school in general. The aim of observations of Arabic and English classes is to explore the type of interaction taking place in the classroom and the methods used in teaching the two languages. Five Arabic sessions and five English sessions were observed in the two schools. Moreover, an ethnographic observation of the schools' physical setting and

environment can also contribute to the understanding of the status of the two languages in the context of the schools. The nonverbal information gathered will deepen my understanding of the emphasis given to both languages and the meta-messages it sends to students.

Data Analysis

Data are analyzed both qualitatively and quantitatively. Data collected from the questionnaire are analyzed quantitatively to see the frequencies and percentages of each response in the multiple choice sections. Means were calculated for the responses and the results are presented in tables. Qualitative data, which were obtained from the open-ended questions of the students' questionnaires, teachers and students and the administrators' interviews are discussed and triangulated with the quantitative data to respond to the questions raised in this study.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis and Findings

Introduction

This chapter reports the results and analysis of the study in three major sections. The chapter starts with an introduction. The second section presents the demographics of the participants. The third section comprises the analysis and discussion of the findings of the study whose aim was to investigate the impact of global English on Arab students' identity in the UAE. The study is designed to answer the following three main questions:

1. To what extent does students' proficiency in Arabic and English affect their practices and preferences?
2. How do high school students perceive the prevailing use of English and its impact on their Arab identity?
3. Does the language policy of the educational system enable students to attain proficiency in both languages?

320 questionnaires were distributed for eleventh and twelfth graders in Amna Bint Wahab and Al Raya schools. 220 questionnaires were completed by Emirati students who are the target population of the present study. The other completed questionnaires by non-Emiratis were excluded from the analysis. The distribution by school was one hundred and three Emirati female students from Amna Bint Wahab school and one hundred and seventeen Emirati female students from Al Raya school. Their ages ranged from 16 to 19 years old. Students identified themselves as bilingual or multilingual. Students also reported speaking English, Hindi, Tagalog, Russian and Swahili which suggests that their mothers were not Emirati.

Of the 220 students who completed the questionnaire, 6 were interviewed. Three of the six interviewed students' mothers were not Arabs. Eight teachers and 1 administrator also participated in this study. All the participants are females. Arabic teachers who were interviewed were all Emirati. Two of the four interviewed English teachers were Emirati, one was Syrian, and one was Egyptian. Their experience ranged between 16 and 25 years. The administrator was Emirati. The administrator in Al Raya school has 8 years of experience in teaching English and 12 years in administration. The administrator of Amna Bint Wahab school was supposed to be

interviewed but she was always busy and overwhelmed with school work. Therefore, I wasn't able to obtain an interview with her. The eight teachers and six students interviewed are given pseudonyms. Arabic teachers' pseudonyms are Hadia, Hala, Huda, and Hissa. English teachers' pseudonyms are Tamara, Kamelia, Kawthar, and Hamda. Students' pseudonyms are Sheikha, Sara, Noor, Laila, Marwa and Farah.

Table 1: Background data about the participants

Students (n=220)	Teachers (n=8)	Administrator (n=1)
Al Raya school (n= 117)	Arabic teachers (n=4)	Al Raya school (n=1)
Grade 12 (n= 65)	English teachers (n=4)	
Grade 11 (n= 52)		
A B W school (n=103)		
Grade 12 (n= 48)		
Grade 11 (n= 55)		

The close-ended questions in the survey consisted of a 41 item questionnaire designed specifically for this study. They were in two sections, A and B. Five open-ended questions were in section C. The close and open-ended questions were designed to elicit responses to four major issues. First, students' perception of their proficiency in English and Arabic was addressed in questions 2, 5, 13, and 17 in section A. Second, the students' linguistic preferences in socializing, entertainment, and expressing feelings as well as in literacy were addressed in questions 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, and 16 in section A. Third, the relation between proficiency and change in identity was addressed in questions 3, 4, 10 in section A and statement 11 in section B. The students' perception of the impact of English on Arab identity and culture was the focus of statements 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 13 in section B and open-ended question 4. Fourth, students' attitude towards Arab identity and Arabic language was addressed in statements 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, and open-ended question 1. The survey also collected biographical information about the students' age, nationality, languages spoken, and the name of their school.

Results

Results are presented and discussed under the following sections: (a) the perceived and actual proficiency in the Arabic language, (b) the perceived and actual proficiency in the English language, (d) the relation between proficiency and change in identity, and (c) perceived impact of English on Arab identity and culture. Since there were no major differences between the two schools surveyed, the results of the two schools are put together. The questionnaire was analyzed using frequencies and percentages. All of the 220 students completed the close-ended statements. However, 181(out of 220) students answered the open ended questions in both schools and 152 of the 181participants chose to write their answers in Arabic with only 29 students writing their answers in English.

Proficiency in the Arabic language

The Perceived Proficiency in the Arabic Language

Findings suggest that students' linguistic preferences are driven by their proficiency in the two languages. Students perceive themselves as fluent and proficient in Arabic while they feel that they have poor proficiency in English. Results in table 2 show that nearly two thirds, 62.7% (138/220), of the students surveyed considered themselves more proficient in Arabic while only 18.6% (41/220) believed that they are more proficient in English and 18.6% (41/220) reported that they are proficient in both. This also indicates that only a small group of students (18.6%) considered themselves to be bilingual in the two languages which suggests that the educational system has not enabled the majority of students to achieve bilingualism in the Arabic and English languages.

Table 2: Students' Perception of their proficiency in Arabic as compared to English

Language	Which language you feel you are better at?	Which language is more difficult to learn?	Which language do you wish to be better in?	Which language do you receive or need to receive private tutoring in?
Arabic	62.7%	32.7%	8%	17.5%
English	18.6%	63.5%	81.8%	75.5%

Both	18.6%	3.6%	10%	6.9%
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Regarding difficulty, results in table 2 above show that nearly two thirds, 63.5% (138/220), of the surveyed students believed that English is more difficult compared to one third, 32.7% (71/220), who felt that Arabic is the language that is more difficult to learn and only 3.6% found both languages difficult. These responses indicate that even though students consider themselves better in Arabic, still one third believes that Arabic is more difficult than English. This may be attributed to the conception that students have that the Arabic language is a difficult language as one of their teachers suggests. Hadia, a teacher of grade 12 explains that "students have this idea that Arabic is a difficult language that cannot be learned or mastered well which is really a misconception. This misconception keeps them away from the language and demotivates them to learn it." In the survey, 44% (97/220) agreed or strongly agreed that learning standard Arabic is difficult because it is used only in the classroom. This suggests that almost half of the surveyed students experience difficulty with the Standard Arabic which indicates that students may be referring to colloquial Arabic when they point to their better proficiency in the Arabic language.

In their response to the question of which language they wish to be more fluent in, only 8% (18/220) of the surveyed students wished they were more fluent in Standard Arabic while the majority 81.8% wished they were more fluent in English and only 10% expressed their wish to be more fluent in both. This desire to have better proficiency in English might be the result of students' perception that their proficiency in Arabic is good or it might be a result of their recognition of the importance of English. Their stress on English fluency, rather than Arabic, correlates with their perceived need to excel more in English. This importance given to English over Arabic is also apparent in which language receives additional support outside school. Responses reveal that only 17.5% (38/220) receive or think they need to receive private tutoring in Arabic compared to 75.5% (164/220) in English and 6.9% (15/220) in both languages.

In response to the question of which class period they preferred, results in table 3 show that students' responses were equally divided. While 31.3% (69/220) preferred the Arabic language classes, 32.2% (71/220) preferred the English period

and 36.3% liked both periods. This shows that even though almost two thirds of the students (138/220) think that English is more difficult than Arabic, almost two thirds of the students either prefer English period only or both.

Table 3: Preferred Period

Preferred Period	What is your preferred period
Arabic period	31.3%
English period	32.2%
Both periods	36.3%

Students' self positive evaluation of their proficiency in Arabic correlates with their linguistic preferences. Results presented in table 4 show that Arabic is the preferred language for socializing, entertainment and expression of feelings. Almost 3/3 (74%) of the students reported using Arabic when conversing with their friends while 67% (147/220) reported using Arabic for expressing their feelings, and 43% (93/220) suggested that they prefer to listen to Arabic music.

Regarding literacy, findings suggest that students prefer Arabic over English in literacy. Reading in Arabic was preferred by 61% (134/220) compared to 12.7% who expressed preference for reading in English, and 26.3% for reading in both languages. When it comes to writing, these percentages change a little for English. While 51.3% (113/220) of the students surveyed preferred to write in Arabic, 25% preferred to write in English and 23.6% preferred writing in both languages. The students' preference for Arabic in reading more than in writing shows that students prefer Arabic when they lack mastery in that skill in English. Because reading in Arabic is easier due to its being their first language, students prefer to read in Arabic. However, nearly half of the students either prefer writing in English or in English and Arabic. The preference of nearly half of the students for English in writing raises questions about their perceived proficiency in Arabic particularly in literacy skills.

Table 4: Students' preferences for Arabic

Preferred domains for Arabic use	Percentages
Socializing	74%
Entertainment	42.6%
Expressing feelings	67%
Receptive literacy (reading)	61%
Productive literacy (writing)	51.3%
Doing research	74%

With regard to doing research, 74% (163/220) suggest that Arabic is easier for doing research. This preference seems to be relative to their lack of mastery of English and may refer more to spoken Arabic rather than to proficiency in MSA as revealed by their test scores and teacher interviews discussed below.

Moreover, results in table 5 show that almost half of the students believed that Arabic curriculum doesn't motivate them to learn Arabic. In their response to the close-ended question in which they were asked if they think Arabic curriculum needs to be modified and updated, 44% agreed or strongly agreed that it needs to be modified and updated and 41.3% agreed or strongly agreed that the topics of the Arabic curriculum are dry and boring. In the interview with the students, five students out of six expressed their boredom with the curriculum. Sheikha, a student in grade 11 stated,

Although the Arabic curriculum is easier than English, the same topics are repeated every year. They don't recognize that we are growing up. In the composition, every year in the final exams, we either have to write about Mother Day, National day, environment, internet, or picnics.

Sara, who is also a student in grade 11, said, "In Arabic, I don't think there is anything to understand. All we have to do is to memorize." In their response to the open-ended question in which the students were asked to suggest the changes they would like to make if they were the Minister of Education, some students wrote that they would change the Arabic curriculum. One student wrote, "I will try to change the Arabic book and make it more interesting and I will try to make activities that will make the students love to learn Arabic."

Table 5: Students' views of the Arabic Curriculum

Students' views of the curriculum	Arabic curriculum needs to be modified and updated	The topics are dry and boring
Agree and Strongly agree	44%	41.3%
Neutral	19%	21.8%
Disagree or Strongly disagree	38%	36.8%

Actual Proficiency in the Arabic Language

Students' positive self-assessments of their Arabic proficiency is contradicted by their Arabic teachers' assessment and their score records. Three of the four Arabic teachers interviewed in both schools lamented about students' poor proficiency in Standard Arabic for academic purpose and attributed students' lack of interest in Arabic to several factors related to the Arabic curriculum. They stated that the content of the Arabic classes is often "superficial", "devoid of any message," and "boring." They attributed these deficiencies to its "uninteresting topics and inadequate resources." And emphasized that students are unmotivated and "indifferent" towards Arabic. Hala, the Arabic teacher of grade 11, explained that "the girls have no motivation to read in Arabic especially in the secondary stage." Hala, explained students' stated preferences for Arabic by saying,

The curriculum makes the students feel good about themselves in Arabic because it is presented to them in formulas resembling mathematical equations. If they know the formula, they can get the correct answer. Their false sense of proficiency comes as a result of a simple syllabus which does not require much critical thinking or analytical skills. It is simplified to a great extent.

The teacher added that "students can get good grades very easily because the exams do not measure proficiency but memorization." She also observed that "beyond the curriculum, the same students stumble in reading, writing and even in speaking Standard Arabic. They ask their teacher to 'translate' the colloquial expressions into Standard Arabic." She concluded by saying that "the students' weakness in Arabic is at all levels of MSA. They are unable to speak it fluently, their articulation is not correct, and their grammar and syntax are flawed."

Another Arabic teacher emphasized the fact that the curriculum in the past was much better and richer than it is today. Hissa, a teacher of grade 11, proposed that interesting topics and poems are replaced in the new curriculum with stories of Joha, the comic character and topics that are not appealing to students but are best described as "silly stories." This suggests that in an attempt to make the curriculum culturally relevant, textbook writers have ignored relevance to current interests of youth. The teacher added that "students often express their boredom with such topics that do not relate by any means to their lives and interests. We find nothing to say because we know that they are right." The teacher concluded by proposing that the curriculum should discuss topics that have value to the students or topics that shed light on the beautiful novels and modern pieces of the Arabic literature. She said, "What makes students interested, for instance, in a story of an Irish soldier? Why not have stories from our own rich Arabic literature?"

The principal of Al Raya school agreed in the interview with the Arabic teachers that the topics of the previous curriculum were stronger and deeper. However, she pointed out that the current curriculum is not the major cause responsible for students' poor proficiency. She stated,

I don't find that the curriculum is bad. Knowledge depends on the student. The curriculum is just a tool and a starting point. Then, the student needs to go deeper, search and write reports. The student should have awareness because he is responsible to search for knowledge.

The principal emphasized the role of teachers in making teaching Arabic successful and giving it back the value it deserves in the eyes of students. She said,

Arabic language teachers need more training. However, that training should not be done through short training courses but ongoing professional development that should be continuous and comprehensive. As the teacher has a bachelor degree in Arabic, he or she should have a teaching certificate that enables him or her to teach students how to do research, think critically and learn independently.

The principal also suggested that "parents at home have the biggest share of responsibility for encouraging their children to use Arabic at home." She concluded that because Emirati identity is a hybrid identity; students who are from non-Arabic origins have the Emirati passport but speak Persian or Balushi at home which weakens the Arabic language and limits its use to school settings.

Observation of Arabic classes provided further opportunity to gain a better understanding of the methodologies used in class, the content the Arabic curriculum,

and students' competencies. The subject of the Arabic classes observed varied between reading literary texts, poetry, and grammar. During these observation sessions, it was clear that students relied extensively on colloquial Arabic in their interaction with teachers while teachers used a mixture of Modern Standard and colloquial Arabic sprinkled with some English words such as 'Ok' and 'bonus'. In reading MSA texts students omitted suffixed inflections and many students stumbled in reading but were not corrected by their teachers. Their reading also revealed a strong phonological transfer from their dialect. Regarding the curriculum, it varied in its selection of poems and literary works from the well-chosen pieces of literature to poorly translated stories. One lesson was a beautiful poem from the modern Arabic literature by Abi Al Qasim Al shabbi. In another session, the lesson was reading a text and answering related questions. The literary text was a poorly translated story from the Irish literature. The beauty of the story of the Irish king, Cuchulain, was lost in the poor translation. The descriptions used in the story made no sense after being literally translated into Arabic. At the end of the session, asked by their teachers how they felt about the story, the students expressed their anger of such stories that they described as "stupid" and "silly." Throughout the lesson, students seemed to lack motivation or enthusiasm in both lessons. They were reluctant to raise their hands to answer. Some were putting their heads on the desks and did not rise unless called upon by the teacher. Both lessons depended on reading the lesson by the teacher, asking students to read and then answer the questions and highlighting the important recurrent questions in the final exams and nothing more.

Another important factor that misleads students into believing that they are doing well in Arabic is the assessment used. Hadia, the Arabic teacher of grade 12, blamed the assessment dictated by the Ministry for allowing students to get good grades without much effort. She suggested that "students can get a score of 60 out of 100 without even opening their book." The 60% score is awarded for presentations, doing research, and writing a report which are often not done by the students themselves but copied from the internet and presented in class. Only 40% of the grade is based on the actual assessment of students' written tests.

To get a clearer idea of the students' actual Arabic proficiency, I was able to obtain the scores for the 40%, allotted to the two written tests students have in the second semester. For the twenty eight students in the class observed, the highest grade was 38 and the lowest was 16 out of a possible 40 points. Eleven students scored

above thirty, 16 students got below 25 and one student got 27. According to the teacher, these scores are in fact a measure of memorization skills and do not really reveal the much lower level in Arabic literacy of these students.

Proficiency in the English Language

The Perceived Proficiency in the English Language

While students' self-evaluation of their proficiency in Arabic is positive, they perceive themselves as weak in English. Only 18.6% (41/220) believed that they are better in English than in Arabic. About 63.5% (138/220) thought that English is more difficult than Arabic. In the interviews, students mentioned many reasons for perceiving English as more difficult than Arabic. These include a judgment that the Arabic textbook is easier than the English one, that in Arabic, they are tested on what they memorize while in English, exams require general knowledge of English because the questions are not from the book. At the same time, 81.8% (180/220) wished they were more fluent in English and 75.5% (164/220) felt that they need private tuition to remedy this low proficiency because they think that English is important for their future (see table 6).

Table 6: Perceived proficiency in English language

Survey Questions	English
2. Which language is more difficult to learn?	63.5%
10. Which language do you feel you are better at?	18.6%
17. I wish I was more fluent in...	81.8%
13. Which language do you receive or need to?	75.5%

This perception of not being proficient in English makes students refrain from using it and explains why they rely on Arabic in their socializing, expressing their feelings or entertainment. Findings show that 14% use English for expressing their feelings. Only 1% of the respondents use English for socializing. However, 24.5% of surveyed students code-switch between Arabic and English in their socializing which may indicate that in spite of the students' low proficiency in English, they code-switch as a result of language contact in their context. About 25% prefer to listen to music in

English compared to 33% who prefer listening to both English and Arabic music. This shows that more than half of the surveyed students are exposed to English through music. In the interview with one of the students, Sara, she said, "I like to listen to English music. The songs talk about freedom, friendship and love in a direct way that we don't find in Arabic songs."

The students' poor proficiency in English can be inferred from their expressed low preference of English for literacy and research uses. Only 15% prefer reading in English and 25% prefer writing in English. English is considered easier for doing research for 14% and is preferred for reading for 12.7% of the surveyed students. Observing English classes showed that the majority of students have low reading skills in English.

The preferences for Arabic in socializing might be explained by the students' poor proficiency in English. In the interviews, three students out of the six interviewed considered themselves more proficient in Arabic. Asked if they would use more English if they were more proficient in it, all of them said that they would definitely use English. Farah, twelfth grader said, "Honestly speaking, if I was more proficient in English, automatically I will talk more in English. I like English more than Arabic. But still Arabic is important."

Table 7: Students' Preferences in English

English	Numbers in Percentages
Socializing	1%
Entertainment	25%
Feelings	14%
Literacy(reading)	12.7%
Literacy(writing)	25%
Doing research	14%

Students' perception of having poor proficiency in English is not based on their grades. Their records show that their grades in English are very high. In grade eleven, 24 out of 26 students got 95/100 and above while two students got 84.

Thirteen scored a perfect 100%. These grades are their ongoing assessment for the second semester in the four skills and the project that they do in groups. Students' perception of having poor proficiency in English in spite of having these inflated grades shows that the assessment doesn't have reliability or validity in their eyes. Such discrepancies suggest that students know that their grades are not valid. In the interview with Noor, a student in grade 12, who got 92 in the final exam said, "I know that I have poor proficiency in English because of the way I speak the language and express myself. I also don't have enough vocabulary to help me write well or read." In the interview with Marwa, a student in grade 11, she pointed out that "exams are thing and real life is something else. What we are tested in is very simple in comparison to what we have to do with the language outside the school." What these students suggest reveals that they don't base their perception of having poor proficiency on grades because they feel unable to use the language effectively in different domains and contexts.

Because students feel that they are not proficient in English, results in Table 8 below show that more than half of them didn't want to be taught math and science in English. About 52% (115/220) disagreed or strongly disagreed to teaching math and science in English while 26% (58/220) agreed or strongly agreed. Seventy one% (156/220) of the surveyed students agreed or strongly agreed that Arabic can be as effective in teaching math and science as English. This resistance for using English as the language of instruction in teaching math and science is against the vision of the educational system that is gradually implementing the use of English in teaching math and science in public schools.

Table 8: Students' views on using English in teaching math and science

Students' views about using English in teaching math and science	Math and science should be taught in English	Arabic can be as effective as English in teaching math and science
Agree or strongly agree	26%	71%
Neutral	22`%	12%
Disagree or s. disagree	52%	17%

Actual Proficiency in the English Language

Students' evaluation of their low proficiency in English is confirmed by their teachers. The English teachers interviewed expressed their concerns about their students' weak proficiency in English and blamed the whole educational practices that do not encourage or support language proficiency. English teachers explained that the poor proficiency of students in English is due to many reasons. Tamara, the English teacher of grades 11 and 12 stated, "How can we expect our students to be proficient in English when they only study it as a subject for five classes a week?" She explained that the curriculum doesn't enable students to be proficient in English. The teacher remarked that "the book is not helpful." She summarized the reasons for her perception by saying that "the themes and topics do not relate to students' life and experience. The vocabulary items are not the frequent words that students encounter and use in their daily life. Moreover, Students have to write about issues that do not relate to their interests as teenagers." She added with a sigh, "What can motivate students, for instance, to know about all kinds of wild animals and the differences between cats and dogs?" Kamelia, the English teacher of grade 12, shared Tamara views regarding the inability of the curriculum to help students achieve proficiency and pointed out that "those students who are proficient in English are not so because of school but because of their personal effort." She suggested that "they read in English, surf the internet and watch English channels."

Kawthar, the English teacher of grade 11, didn't have the same opinion about the curriculum. She suggested that,

The book is good but it requires higher skills that students don't have. Learning English does not happen overnight. It is a cumulative process. Students come to the secondary stage very weak because they have not been exposed enough to English to cope with the demands of reading and writing because they studied the old curriculum that was not as strong as the current one.

She also remarked that "students hate to write. They refuse to be taught writing. That is why I stopped teaching them this skill." She added that "there is no hope. Students can never be motivated to read or write. Most of the students come to school to socialize and not to learn. That is why it is very difficult to convince them of the importance of such skills." Another problem is the gap between the material covered and the final exams. Final exams, as Kawthar suggested, include two reading passages and essay writing that are only thematically related to the curriculum.

Kawthar proposed, "While we are required to design communicative activities in classroom that emphasize listening and speaking, tests are only measuring reading comprehension and writing." She further suggested that,

What we do as teachers is not teaching but training because in the final exam, the students are not tested in the material covered in class. For instance, they are demotivated to learn vocabulary items because they know they will not be tested in them. Their final exams are like the IELTS or the TOEFL. That is why students don't prepare for the exams.

Another English teacher of grade 11, Hamda, suggested that as teachers, they didn't receive enough training to know how to deal with the curriculum and its goals and objectives. That is why they find themselves unable to figure out what to do especially that the teachers' guide book doesn't elaborate on what they need to do with the textbooks. She suggested that "every teacher interprets the book and what she needs to do with it according to her experience and abilities." Regarding students' proficiency, she considered that students' poor proficiency in English is due to their poor proficiency in Arabic. She pointed out that she realized that students are unable to differentiate between parts of speech. When she asked the Arabic teacher, she told her that they don't differentiate between them in Arabic, either.

Students didn't seem to share teachers' views on the English curriculum. They expressed satisfaction in response to questions about the English curriculum and English period. When interviewed, Salma, a student in grade 12 said, "When we know that we have an English period, we feel thrilled to go to the English classroom because we know we will have activities and drawings. But when we know that we have Arabic period, we feel disappointed because we know that we will feel sleepy and bored." She added that "the English textbook is more interesting than the Arabic textbook because it has pictures. In the English period, we are not confined to the book. We discuss issues we want to talk about, but in Arabic we have to stick to the book." Students suggested that their poor proficiency in English doesn't mean that they don't like English or they don't enjoy English periods.

Credibility and reliability of the assessment tools are another issue for the English language teachers. They blamed the assessment used for the low proficiency of the students. Kawthar stated that "students are very careless because they know they will succeed even if they have very low proficiency." The teacher related an incident where one of her students got 23 out of 100 in the make-up exam in grade 10 but was passed to grade 11 to her surprise. She concluded that "nobody fails. The

grade distribution generally aids students to get final marks they don't deserve." In the ongoing assessment, 30 points are allotted for projects which are, according to teachers and students interviewed, copied and pasted from the internet without any effort on the part of the student. The teacher pointed out that the lowest grade she can give for a project is 26 out of 30. 40 grades are allotted for reading and writing and 30 for listening and speaking. Kawthar also said, "A student who cannot write a word or read a sentence can get 85 in English very easily." The principal of Al Raya School also responded to a question about assessment in the following way,

The Ministry doesn't believe that weak students should fail. They consider that students should not fail the whole academic year if they struggle in one or two subjects. Their policy is that we need to let the weak student pass and then find where the areas of their weakness lie and work on improving them because students who are weak in one subject might be brilliant in other subjects.

Observing the English classes was a chance to get a deeper look into the real picture. The proficiency of students varied greatly among students and sections. Emirati students whose mothers were not Arabs were more fluent in speaking English. Students in the Science sections were more fluent in English than their peers in the Arts section who had very low proficiency in English and most of them were unable to interact in English or read very simple sentences or words. Moreover, I noticed that the students in Al Raya School were better in interacting in the classroom and speaking in English even though their reading and writing skills might be similar to the students in Amna bint Wahab School. This might be due to the location of the school in Al Jumeira where students need to interact more in English.

The English lessons I observed were closer to being art lessons than being English lessons. There was exaggerated emphasis on drawing and doing activities that were done at the expense of teaching the language which resulted in losing the time of the period drawing posters or making manual objects such as a stethoscope. In one of the periods, students spent twenty minutes drawing posters without even writing their own sentences on the posters. Moreover, group work was misused because one or two students were doing the work while others were doing nothing other than conversing in Arabic. The observation revealed that there was a sincere attempt to make students motivated to learn English but there was no real teaching of the language by doing extensive reading and writing or analyzing texts. The principal of Al Raya school responded to a question about the weakness of students in reading and writing by

saying that the focus on communicative activities is truly done at the expense of reading and writing skills which she considered to be the skills least developed among students. She suggested that "students don't write while the most important thing is writing." She highlighted the fact that "there is no time to develop this skill because of the ongoing assessment and because the students and teachers are exhausted with activities that we need to have because of the Ministry."

The Relation between Proficiency and Change in Identity

Although students are aware that their English is poor, they associate it with modernity and better outlooks for the future. Results in Table 9 show that 42% (91/220) believed that English is more important for their future and study compared to only 7% (15/220) who stated that it is Arabic which is more important. This indicates that students believed that while English alone can guarantee better future, Arabic alone cannot. Nevertheless, 51% suggest that both languages are important for their future. English is also preferred for technology with 45% preferring English for using the internet as compared to 28% who prefer Arabic.

Table 9: English and Modernity

Language	Future Outlook	Technology	Shopping	Parental pressures
English	41%	45%	41%	51%
Arabic	7%	28%	17%	14.5%
Both languages	52%	27%	42%	34.5%

Globalization pressures appear to play a major role in creating the need for learning English for both students and their parents. Results in table 10 show that more than three thirds of the students agreed that globalization has made learning English more important with 77% (170/220) who agreed or strongly agreed to that. Only 10% who disagreed or strongly disagreed. The effect of globalization in making English so important is demonstrated in the need for English in shopping. Of the surveyed students, 41% use English only in shopping compared to 17% who use Arabic for shopping. Both languages are perceived by 42% of the surveyed students

to be necessary in shopping. This indicates that students need English outside of the school in their interactions in the wider society.

Table 10: Globalization and English

Globalization Pressures to learn English	Numbers in percentages
Agree or Strongly agree	77%
Neutral	13%
Disagree or Strongly disagree	10%

Parents are also aware of these globalization pressures. Over half of the students (51%) stated that their parents encourage them to be better in English while 14.5% (32/220) suggested that their parents encourage them to be better in Arabic. These parents are sending indirect messages to their children that English, not Arabic, is the important and prestigious language. They are unintentionally downgrading Arabic in the eyes of their children. About 34.8% (76/220) suggested that they are encouraged by their parents to excel in both languages. This shows that almost one third of the parents are aware of the importance of both languages for their children's future.

Perceived Impact of English on Arab Identity and Culture

Students feel the need to improve their English language because it is important for technology and future outlook. At the same time, they perceive English as the language that is flourishing at the expense of their first language which they consider central for their identity. An overwhelming majority of the participants (92%) considered Arabic language central to their identity and 88% suggested that Arabic is more important for them as Arabs (see table 11). However, students' perception of the centrality of Arabic language in their identity depended on their mothers' ethnicity. Students whose mothers were Arabs considered Arabic language one of the core components of their Arab identity whereas students whose mothers were not Arabs considered Arabic as part of the outer layers of being an Arab and tended to use more English in their interaction. The three students, whose mothers were not Emiratis, out of the six students interviewed, didn't include Arabic language

in their definition as a core component of what it means to be an Arab. Laila, whose mother was Indian, said that Arabic identity means sharing "Islamic religion, to be born in Arabic country, and to have belonging to the Arab world." Sara, whose mother was Filipina said,

It is not because I talk in English or that my mother is not an Arab that I don't have Arab identity. You can be an Arab without speaking Arabic. However, Arabic will stay forever because it is who we are.

Sheikha, whose mother was also Filipina, revealed that she speaks Arabic only at school. She stated, "We don't speak our native language as much as we speak English." She suggested that she mainly uses English in her interaction at home with her siblings and parents. Therefore, being a UAE national doesn't entail for these Emirati students being proficient in its national language.

Table 11: Perceived identity

Perceived identity	Arabic is central to my identity	Arabic is more important for me as an Arab
S. Agree and Agree	92%	88%
Neutral	6%	7%
S. Disagree and Disagree	1%	3%

One of the Arabic teachers had her say regarding identity. Hissa, the Arabic teacher of grade 11 said, "Identity is not a passport we have but being." She pointed out that "the Arabic language is not at the core of the Emirati identity because the demographic population in the UAE doesn't help students feel that their language is the prevalent. Non-Arabs outnumber Arabs in the UAE." She mentioned another reason which is "the marriages to non-Arabs which affect the students' perception of their Arabness and identity." She added that "the students whose mothers are not Arabs or Emiratis have very weak belonging. They are not pure Emirati. Their mothers' cultures and religious beliefs affect their identity and their language." She concluded by saying that some Emirati students whose mothers are non-Arabs tell her that the only place their tongue speaks Arabic is in the school.

Students believed that English has negatively impacted Arabic and that it is responsible for its decline with 58% agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement that English is responsible for the decline of the Arabic language. In the open-ended question in which they were asked to state if they think that Arabic is declining and why, the majority of the students who responded to this question stated that Arabic is actually declining. Moreover, most of the students hold English responsible for the decline in Arabic. Students wrote:

- Yes. Because learning in universities depends on English language and not on Arabic language. So how can this not be decline?
- Yes, because job requirements demand English and no work is accepted without English certificates.
- Yes, because everyone talks in English and writes in English. No one talks in Arabic. The entire world tries to be better in English.
- Yes, because the English language has become the main and major language.
- Yes, because we use English more than Arabic.
- Yes, because English is more important than Arabic.
- Arabs don't care about their language and have replaced it with English.
- Yes, because universities and colleges depend mainly on English, and also job market which has resulted in weakening the Arabic language among Arabs themselves.
- Arabs are forced to learn English and leave their Arabic language.
- Using English expressions

Students, who stated that Arabic is not in decline, suggested that the Arabic language will be forever safe because it is the language of the Quran. One student expressed this duality of feelings towards the Arabic language and whether it is in decline because of the English language or saved because it is the language of the Quran. She wrote, "I am neutral: yes; because some Arab people use the English language more than Arabic and they are shy to speak Arabic. They don't feel proud about the Arabic language. In the UAE, we see English more than Arabic language. No; because it is the language of the Quran and heavens."

Most of the students expressed their concern about the future of Arabic. In their response to the open-ended question in which they were asked to foresee the future of Arabic under globalization, students' responses showed fear of losing Arabic in the near future. Some of the responses were:

- The future of Arabic is dark because Arabic is in a state of slow dying in light of what we see nowadays in our Arabic societies.
- If we continue to abandon it, it will be lost and will have no future because we are not taking care of it as our grandparents used to do. Arabic language is the language of the Quran.
- Unsuccessful because people are not caring about it much because of the dominance of other languages especially English.
- There is no future. Now I have a feeling that the Arabic language has started to disappear.
- It is going down and no one is taking care of it in the UAE.
- It is diminishing
- It is in constant decline.
- Everybody will use the English language and will forget the language of their prophets, religion, and the language of the Quran.
- Everybody will use the English language.
- In constant deterioration
- It will become extinct

Arabic teachers expressed their fear of losing Arabic in the coming generations. Hadia, the Arabic teacher of grade 12 said, "If students continue neglecting the Arabic language, mixing it with English and using symbols and Roman letters in text messaging and chatting, Arabic will vanish." She added,

The use of Arabizi among students doesn't only destroy the standard Arabic but also the colloquial Arabic. Students are creating new words we have never known. Their mothers don't know what they are chatting about because of the use of symbols in their writing.

The principal of Al Raya school said in response to a question about if she thinks Arabic is in decline that "the reasons for the diminution of the Arabic language lie in the demographic population in the UAE which is unnatural besides the people's readiness for absorbing new cultural and intellectual trends." However, she

considered that decline temporal and that one day people will wake up and realize the importance of the Arabic language. She suggested that "the Arabic language is like a strong man who is weak and sick with flue. Once given the appropriate medicine or vaccination, he will stand strong on his feet again."

More than half of the surveyed students (58%) believed that English has higher status and more prestige than Arabic in their society. This situation makes them angry and makes them believe that foreign expatriates should learn Arabic when they are in the UAE. Almost 78% (171/220) agreed or strongly agreed that all people living in the UAE should learn to speak Arabic (see table 12). In their responses to the second open-ended question in which they were asked to give solutions to make Arabic equal to English, students wrote the following:

- Foreigners should learn Arabic as we are learning their language.
- Making the Arabic period a basic period, not one class a week in English schools.
- Using Arabic in all sectors and teaching Arabic language in universities and colleges. Besides enforcing all people who live in the UAE to learn Arabic and speak it.
- Making it the primary language and forcing everybody to speak it.

These responses show that students are disappointed because they have to speak with non-Arabs in English. There is a feeling of anger and bitterness in their responses. Speaking English in their home country makes students feel that they are colonized by the language that has far exceeded its function and role as a second language. They want others to be "forced" to use Arabic and not vice versa.

Table 12: Perceived impact of English on Arabic language

Perceived impact of English on Arabic language	English causes Arabic to decline	English has more status than Arabic language	Foreigners in the UAE should learn Arabic
S. Agree and Agree	58%	58%	78%
Neutral	13%	13%	12%
S. D and Disagree	29%	29%	10%

Students are aware that English is not only impacting Arabic language but also Arabic culture and identity. Percentages presented in Table 13 show that almost two thirds of the surveyed students believe that their culture and identity face threats from the English language. Sixty% (132/220) agree or strongly agree that English is a threat to local culture and Arab identity. Students are also aware of the link between language and culture. They, in spite of their poor proficiency in English and their awareness of the threat English constitutes to their culture, suggest that learning English has made them appreciate western culture. Fifty three% (116/220) agree or strongly agree that learning English has made them appreciate western culture compared to only 19% (41/220) who disagree or strongly disagree. This indicates that although they perceive English as a threat to their language, culture and identity, they appreciate its culture and they want to learn it because it is important for them and because it is the language that gives them access to modernity. In the interviews with the students, they said that English culture has affected them in many ways. Sara said that "English culture has influenced me in everything; the way I dress, eat and even the way I think." Sheikha also said, "I like the English culture; I watch English movies. I don't wear traditional Emirati clothes. Even the food we eat has been westernized. We should have corn flakes in our breakfast."

Table 13: the perceived impact of English on Arabic culture and identity

Perceived impact of English on culture and Arab identity	Learning English has made me appreciate western culture	English is a threat to local culture and Arab identity
S. Agree and Agree	53%	60%
Neutral	28%	15%
S. Disagree and Disagree	19%	25%

The three students whose mothers are Emiratis said that English culture has impacted them. They suggested that they look at the west as a model for family democratic relations. Farah, twelfth grader, said that

I wish we had the way of thinking that people in the west have. The parents there have dialogue with their children but here everything is prescriptive and

nonnegotiable. Here, we just need to know what to do and what not to do without paying attention to what we want.

Tamara, the English teacher of grades 11 and 12 suggested that the students' proficiency in English affects their attitude towards the western culture. She said that "the students who are good in English like the English culture more than the Arabic culture whereas the weak students have negative attitude towards it. It depends on their proficiency."

Discussion

Students' Linguistic Choices and their Motivation

Findings indicate that students' linguistic choices are mainly motivated by their perceived proficiency in both languages. While students seemingly appear to prefer Arabic to English in socializing, entertainment and literacy, a closer examination of their responses reveals that this preference is not really a choice they have made based on preference but out of limitations. Students express their desire to improve their English and suggest that they would use more English than Arabic if they were more proficient in it. In short students are using Arabic because they are not proficient in English. However, in technological domains, proficiency does not seem to limit these students' choice of English which is generally perceived as the language of the future, whether for higher education or employment. It is a linguistic capital that is appreciated by the wider society. This finding is in line with Badry's (2011) statement that "the dominant ideology in the UAE, espousing globalization to achieve rapid modernization and assigning high value to English, may have predetermined what choices" (p. 108) students make.

When students state that they are better in Arabic than in English, this is a reference to their performance in colloquial Arabic because, according to their teachers, their grades and actual observation of their interaction during the Arabic lessons, they cannot speak, read or write well in MSA. In the interviews, all students suggested that they feel better in Arabic because it is their mother tongue in which they interact and socialize. This socialization is not done in MSA which is restricted to the classroom. In the observation of the Arabic periods, students were stumbling in using it as they did in English. However, students don't realize their poor proficiency in Arabic. They are unable to make a distinction between their academic proficiency in Arabic which is weak, and their fluency in oral communication in dialectal Arabic. This low proficiency in Arabic literacy skills supports Cummins' (2000) view that

surface fluency might hide inadequate academic proficiency. Students don't seem to be concerned with their lacunae in Arabic literacy because they realize that Arabic does not enjoy a high-status in their society and that it will not bring them any benefits. Therefore, they don't want to invest in a language that is, as they suggest, in decline and its future is dim and tragic.

Many factors can be used to explain these attitudes and behaviors. Arabic is a diglossic language that has MSA as the High variety that is used in literacy while the Low variety is usually the regional dialect that differs from region to region across the Arab world. Ferguson (1959) defines diglossia as

a relatively stable language situation in which...there is a very divergent, highly codified...superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation (quoted in Haeri, 2000, p. 63).

Haeri (2000) suggests that one of the most distinctive features of the Arab world is that Classical Arabic coexists with national vernaculars. She points out that “the first is the language of writing, education, and administration, while the latter are the media of oral exchanges, non-print media, poetry, and plays” (p. 63). The diglossic nature of the Arabic language has created a gap that is widening between MSA that is rigidly kept away from changes that are considered by Arabic language specialists and grammarians as impure or impoverished, and the various Arab dialects that are changing and adopting western terms. Haeri (2000) suggests that “while many reform proposals submitted to the language academies were either not followed or were implemented briefly and then stopped because of opposition of many sources” (p. 72), Arabic dialects “have been so accepting of foreign borrowings” (Haeri, 2000, p. 67).

Students are aware of the gap between MSA and their dialects. They suggest in the survey that one of the problems facing them with learning MSA is using it only in the Arabic classroom. The use of MSA for literacy has been confined to the classroom settings. It is taught and used primarily in the classroom, which limits opportunities to practice it. Even the interaction in the classroom is not done exclusively in MSA. Teachers mix it with colloquial in teaching and interacting with students. Therefore, lack of chances for input in MSA makes students unable to have proficiency in it. That is students find Arabic difficult even though the curriculum is easy. Moreover, interviewed students expressed their resistance to using it. They

expressed feeling 'fake' or 'sham' when they speak it. One student said, "I feel shy conversing in MSA even in the Arabic classroom. It makes me feel awkward and unnatural. I also feel I am one thousand years old when I speak it." Another student expressed her fear of being "laughed at" by her friends when speaking it. This indicates that MSA is connected in the students' minds with backwardness while English is the language of future and success they wish to be better in and feel the need to improve. When it comes to reading and writing, students are also unable to read and write in MSA without making major grammatical or lexical errors.

Ignoring the differences between MSA and the dialect has led to students' failure in MSA. The ministry needs to consider that students don't use it in their life outside the school which is one of the reasons for the failure of any bilingual program. This variable is not taken into account when designing the language policy because the transition from the colloquial to MSA is considered to be automatic while it is argued that learning MSA is similar to a great extent to learning a second language than learning a formal register of the same language (Badry, 2012). Garcia suggests that the bilingual program should consider whether "the language taught is used in classroom only so the burden of using it is left to the classroom or there are chances to use it outside the classroom" (p. 142). She emphasizes that the lack of prevalence for a language in society can be compensated by having high status and prestige in the society. However, MSA, unfortunately, is not the language of prestige and is also not prevalent in the wider society which makes dealing with it academically a thorny issue that requires serious thought.

Another problem has to do with the methods and approaches used in teaching MSA. Based on the findings of the study, the interviews and the observations, Arabic language is not presented in an appealing way for students to love the language and to be motivated to excel in it. Morrow and Castleton (2011) report Arabic instructor saying, "There is no love to the language and there is nothing interesting in the curriculum for students anymore" (p. 314). The dry content of the curriculum and the inability of teachers to adapt it to the students' needs and interests have resulted in having superficial Arabic lessons that cannot compete with the teaching of English, that is described by the interviewed students as more fun and more colorful. The findings of the study support the views which suggest that the teaching methods and materials used in teaching Arabic are traditional, prescriptive, and outdated which has resulted in "the demotivation to learn Arabic and its perceived irrelevance to the 21th

century communicative and pragmatic needs" (Badry, 2012). The way Arabic is taught doesn't give students the chance to develop their CALP in MSA within the classroom because they are not exposed to extensive reading and writing in the language which Cummins considers the primary conditions for developing CALP. Therefore, what is needed for an effective teaching of MSA is what Badry (2011) suggests, "A serious reflection on the diglossic nature of Arabic and how it impacts literacy development, an overhaul of the Arabic language and its pedagogy, and an emphasis on teacher training are all urgently called for to maintain bilingualism and strengthen the Arabic act of identity in the UAE" (Badry, 2011, p. 111).

There are certain conditions that need to be met in order to develop students' CALP within the school setting. According to Cummins (2000), teaching is effective and develops students' CALP when they "are generating new knowledge, creating literature and art, and acting on social realities that affect their lives" (p. 99). In order to achieve that, Cummins highlights that "instruction should be cognitively challenging and require students to use higher-order thinking abilities rather than the low-level memorization and application skills that are tapped by typical worksheets or drill-and-practice computer programs" (p. 98). This view is further supported by Brown (2000) who agrees with Ausubel's cognitive theory of learning. He suggests that rote learning that is based on memorizing isolated items that are not relatable to the learners' cognitive structure doesn't allow for establishing meaningful relationships. It doesn't result in meaningful subsumption and therefore cannot be retained in long-term memory. Therefore, the input that students receive should be "rich, intensive, and of good quality [in that it should be] authentic, meaningful and communicative" (Beardsmore, 1996, p. 116). Beardsmore highlights that "this does not necessarily mean that more hours should be devoted to English but that the hours provided in the curriculum be used more efficiently" (p. 116).

In order to develop students' academic language proficiency, reading is crucial "since academic language is found primarily in written texts" (Cummins, 2000, p. 98). Cummins emphasizes that extensive reading is a prerequisite for getting access to the language of academic success. He points out that collaborative learning and talking about texts help students internalize and comprehend the academic language they find in reading texts. This will not happen unless students have developed their reading skills to the point "where processing text is so fast that readers have enough time to reflect on what they are reading while they are reading" (Janks, 2010, p. 58). Janks

(2010) further points out that the new brain research suggests that reading is not innate. According to Wolf, "Reading can only be learned because of the brain's plastic design, and when reading takes place, that individual brain is changed forever, both physiologically and intellectually" (quoted in Janks, 2010, p. 58).

Cummins (2000) highlights the importance of writing about topics that are relevant to students' life and interests. When students write about issues that matter to them, they consolidate aspects of academic language they have been reading. More importantly, "they also express their identities through language" (Cummins, 2000, p. 98). Cummins also proposes that critical language awareness should be fostered in students by encouraging them to compare and contrast their languages and by giving them the chance to investigate their own and their community's language use, practices, and assumptions. Janks (2010) also proposes that students "whose main language is not English can work with and question the use of language and the concepts language signifies" (p. 43).

In spite of the importance of reading in developing students' CALP, as suggested by Cummins, students don't like reading. The problem of students' low motivation for reading is applicable to both languages. English and Arabic teachers suggest that students don't like to read in any of the languages. As a result, teachers feel frustrated and discouraged to find ways to motivate their students to read. When teachers lose hope in their students, the whole educational process is in danger because if teachers are demotivated, how can they motivate their students? However, what teachers don't realize here is that students are victims of the whole educational system and cultural and societal attitude. Students' demotivation for reading is a natural consequence of their poor proficiency and the techniques used in teaching these skills.

There are additional factors that lead students to have negative attitude towards reading. Swan and Ahmed (2011) summarize the major reasons that keep students away from reading and suggest that "young people's reading skills are deteriorating because of an addiction to technology, lack of reading material in homes and the absence of a literary tradition." Students find interactive games, browsing and chatting easier than reading books. Moreover, reading is not emphasized in the culture of students outside the school. According to Swan and Ahmed (2011), the typical home lacks a culture of reading. They report a teacher who suggests that it is a result of the fact that "parents do not read to their children or encourage them to read."

University students also don't like to read. Swan (2012) reports Abrar Mikawi, a co-founder of the Arabic cultural club at Dubai Women's College, saying that students don't read Arabic books because "they don't see their parents reading and have no idea about Arabic culture, history or figures such as Ibn Battuta. They don't read anything other than what they have to in their textbooks." Lack of the culture of reading is not limited to the UAE. It has become part of the Arab's culture in the Arab world. Swan (2012) points out that according to a 2008 UN survey, "the average Arab in the Middle East reads about four pages of literature a year. Americans read an average of 11 books a year and Britons an average of eight." Therefore, it is not surprising to find that young students don't like to read in this type of environment. Such conditions need to be considered when planning to develop literacy skills in the curriculum and should be compensated by fostering intensive reading in class.

Assessment and testing used in these two public schools lack content validity and reliability. While students are exposed minimally to writing and reading in classrooms, they are tested in their final exams in reading comprehension and writing only. This disconnect between what students do in the classroom and what they have in exams has made students reluctant to study. Moreover, fair and equitable assessment is a prerequisite for any successful bilingual program. All English and Arabic teachers hold the assessment policies responsible for the failure to instill in students the responsibility towards their learning and also for their demotivation and low proficiency level. Flattering students with good grades doesn't solve the problem of their poor proficiency but makes it more complicated because it sends wrong messages to the parents. Moreover, high grades enable students to go the university but makes them unable to cope with the academic requirements of their study.

After examining all of the factors that have resulted in making Arabic weak, we can conclude that the Arabic language suffers from inherent internal problems that make it vulnerable and not able to be equal to English. Diglossia and the unsuccessful language policies have left students unable to attain proficiency in Arabic. Therefore, English impact on Arabic is so obvious and strong because Arabic is so weak and is not taken care of by its own people who are supposed to value it as a national language and learn English as a second language.

Students' Perception of the Impact of English on their Arab Identity

Students' poor proficiency in English and their awareness of its importance in their globalized world has caused them to have identity dilemma. Because of their

poor proficiency in both languages, they are unable to associate themselves with either one of them. The majority of the students revealed in the questionnaire that globalization has made learning English necessary but they cannot attain this proficiency because of the inability of the educational system to develop full bilingualism and bi-literacy in both languages. This identity dilemma is also clear in students having double standards towards English. They seem to be against its exerting power on their language and the culture of their society, but they want to master it and become proficient in it especially as they feel they are under parental and globalization pressures. Students' identity dilemma is manifested in their wish to excel in English, the language of modernity on the one hand, and their perception that English is responsible for the decline in their language on the other. Most of the students suggested that English has higher status than Arabic which is relegated to a secondary position. Although students suggest that Arabic is threatened, has a low status, and is in decline, they are not concerned about their low proficiency in it. They consider Arabic almost a dying language, but don't consider themselves responsible for it and blame the society.

Although students suggest in the survey that the Arabic language is part of their identity, their indifference about the proficiency in Arabic reveals that it is not. Moreover, half of the interviewed students didn't include Arabic language in their definition of Arab identity. As one student said, "You can be an Arab without speaking Arabic." This finding supports Badry's study of the American University of Sharjah students that revealed that Arabic language is no more at the core of Arab identity. Using Hofstede's 'onion metaphor,' Badry (2011) suggests that "language has moved away from the center of the onion to become one of the intermediate layers that can be peeled off" (p. 106). She concludes that "the influence of a second language on native culture and identity must be interpreted outside of the earlier paradigms which placed language at the core of cultural identification" (p. 106).

Students are more interested in improving their English than Arabic. Although the majority of students suggest that English is more difficult than Arabic, they still like it and want to improve their skills in it. Usually when students find a subject or a language difficult, they develop a negative attitude towards it. But the students here wish to be more fluent in it and want to learn it and become proficient in it. The image of English and its power as the lingua franca of the world has impacted them. This finding supports Kachru's view when he suggests that English is like Alladin's lamp

that makes wishes come true. Students' enthusiasm for English although they find it difficult is highlighted by Swan (2012) who reported an English teacher saying that his Emirati students "find it easier to learn Arabic, but they enjoy English more, even though it's harder." Their wish to excel in English is motivated by their wish to enter the imagined community of the west. Their poor proficiency is the obstacle that stops them from joining this community which is looked at as the liberal democratic world where girls are free to do whatever they want while they perceive themselves restricted and confined to the Arabic culture. "Studies of English language learners have shown that discursive assimilation is often based on freedom.... The association of liberation with English is particularly salient, though much of the time it arguably remains largely imagined rather than based on lived experience" (Higgins, 2010, p. 384). The author adds that this is true especially for women who feel that "English gave them a new 'voice' for expressing themselves without constraints" (p. 384), enabled them to discuss openly their relations and to express their responses to societal pressures. English has impacted students' identity because of its overwhelming dominance and use in society, media and universities. English is perceived as the gate to modernity and success. It is perceived as the guarantor of better future and study and the gate to technology and internet. Therefore, the findings of the study support the literature that highlights that identity is fluid and in constant flux. The students in the study have a change in their identity because of learning English even though their proficiency in it is weak.

The Language Policy of the Educational System towards the Two Languages

The findings of the study suggest that the educational system has failed to create an effective bilingual program that enables students to achieve proficiency in Arabic and English languages. According to the principal of Al Raya school, "The ministry policy of teaching English and Arabic aims at having students who are self-confident in using English and Arabic and having a linguistic repertoire in both languages." These objectives do not articulate clearly achieving bilingualism and biliteracy in both languages and the procedures that lead to achieving them. They are left ambiguous and elastic enough as to have different interpretations. Therefore, the absence of articulated objectives has resulted in a blurry vision of the goals to be reached and in inadequate methods to achieve them. This view suggested by the principal supports Badry's (2012) claim that there is absence of articulated objectives at the decision making level.

The educational policy has not equipped students with the appropriate linguistic capital that helps them in the age of globalization. The emphasis on surface fluency in both languages with the absence of any serious concentration on cognitive academic proficiency in both of them has resulted in having students unable academically to read and write in their first language or in their second language. Even when there is emphasis on reading and writing, it comes out of nowhere in the final exams. It appears that globalization and language contact in the wider society has made students enthusiastic about English without giving them the access to it. As Janks (2010) points out, while such contexts may fail to provide students with knowledge of and access to the dominant language, it succeeds in teaching them recognition of its legitimacy.

The ministry keeps trying and changing strategies and policies which confuse teachers and students. The principal of Al Raya school suggests that "the ministry keeps changing the curriculum which troubles the teachers and students." This reflects the fluctuation in the language policy. Changing the Arabic curriculum four years ago suggests that the ministry is aware that there are drawbacks in the teaching of Arabic. However, this change in the curricula has increased the problem especially that there are no much differences between the old and new one except that the new is easier and more superficial. Arabic teachers revealed in the interviews that they wished the old curriculum was not changed and replaced by the new one because it was richer and better. Whole paragraph is awkwardly written

While the ministry is trying to solve the issues of the students' weakness in Arabic by changing the curriculum, it overlooks a very important component of the success of the teaching process which is teachers' professional development. Professional development is not at all implemented on a regular basis or given the importance it deserves. English and Arabic teachers expressed their feeling of being left alone and abandoned to dig for themselves without any guidance. One English teacher said that "we feel that we are left on our own. We don't even have inspectors from the Ministry anymore." Arabic teachers also said that they only have to attend workshops when a new curriculum is introduced. One Arabic teacher said that "in the past we had Arabic language meetings, but now we don't have." Moreover, teachers do not play any role in language planning. The principal of Al Raya school suggests that teachers should be consulted when designing the curriculum because they have good conception of the students' needs, weaknesses and interests. Besides, when

teachers feel that they are part of the educational policy, they will be more motivated. The principal considers the involvement of teachers in the educational policy a kind of professional development.

There is a disconnect between the messages sent within the educational system and those prevalent outside of school. While the colloquial dialect, mostly the Emirati dialect, is prevalent in the school and is used in the interaction, announcements and in teaching all subjects, MSA is used in the paper work and morning assembly and is the language of the corridor displays and notice boards. However, English is not given any role beyond being a subject taught for five periods a week. English is not present on the corridor displays, notice board or cultural events. The absence of bilingual emphasis on the school premises contradicts with the messages sent to students outside their schools. In the wider society, English is prevalent and is considered the prestigious language and the language of modernity and globalization. These contradicting messages invalidate the educational practices and leave students unable to attain the required proficiency to propel in the wider society.

While the recent interest in the Arabic language is still evident only in conferences and symposia held to discuss the decline in Arabic, English is given more emphasis in the educational system. The principal of Al Raya school suggests that there is currently increased interest in the Arabic language that is demonstrated in holding conferences and meetings and doing research about the Arabic language. She points out that Sheikh Khalifa, the ruler of the UAE, has given orders to take care of the Arabic language. However, the principal believes that the ministry policy pays more attention to English. She points out that "'MAG schools' is a realization of that attention." She says that the ministry is under the tremendous pressure of the demands of globalization and students' prospective study in the university. She highlights that "the Ministry is trying to enforce more English because English is the language of instruction in Higher Education." The principal concludes that "this emphasis on English affects the students and sends them a message that English language is better than Arabic language."

Chapter 5: Conclusions, Implications and Limitations

This chapter recapitulates the major findings of the study. Some implications are based on the findings are suggested for teachers, educators, and policy makers. Furthermore, the limitations of the study, and recommend suggestions are pointed out for further research.

Summary of Findings

Students' linguistic choices are driven by their perceived proficiency in the two languages. While their perceived proficiency in English seems to be in line with their teachers' views, their proficiency in Arabic doesn't reflect their actual proficiency in academic Arabic and is basically conceptualized on the basis of having the BICS in Arabic. This poor proficiency in the two languages and the disconnect between the school setting and the wider society has left students unable to associate themselves with either language and hence created for them identity dilemma.

Students associate English with modernity and future outlook. They, under the pressure of globalization and the demands of parents to excel more in English, feel that English is more crucial for their future and success. Students have double standards towards English. They suggest that English has negatively impacted Arabic. They express their concerns about imperialistic English having higher status than Arabic in society and feel angry for speaking English with foreigners in their own country. However, they wish to be more proficient in English and express their enthusiasm of its culture that has penetrated into many aspects of their lives. They suggest that English, which threatens their culture, language and identity, is the language that gives them cultural and linguistic capital. Although most of the students consider Arabic language central to their identity, Arabic is no longer at the core of this identity.

Implications of the Study

This study has many implications for policy makers, teachers and stakeholders. The educational system doesn't enable students to have proficiency in Arabic and English which has resulted in creating identity dilemma for them. The gap between the society and school context needs to be redeemed. The disconnect between the school and the society has left students unable to function in both

contexts. Therefore, a real comprehensive reform that emphasizes achieving bilingualism and biliteracy in Arabic and English in a balanced bilingual program is needed and due. Emphasizing academic proficiency and designing English and Arabic curricula that help students to propel in the globalized world by having proficiency in its global language, English and to maintain their identity by having proficiency in their mother tongue.

The Ministry needs to address the diglossic problem in the Arabic language and should plan teaching Arabic accordingly. Badry (2011) suggests that "adopted language-in-education policies do not address the impact of the complex diglossic nature of Arabic." (p. 108). She explains that the exclusive use of MSA in literacy development ignores the differences between the dialectal varieties used at home and the MSA used in school. Therefore, she recommends "establishing a transition from dialectal varieties to the standard form [which] may ease learners into the literate form and motivate them to learn it" (p. 109)

The Ministry is obliged to train teachers and listen to them, involve them and not leave them work without guidance and support. Teachers are very important asset in making the bilingual education successful. Therefore, more attention needs to be given to their professional development and their orientation towards the articulated objectives and goals to be achieved out of the educational process.

Arabic and English teachers have their share of responsibility. The study revealed that they are demotivated as a result of being left to struggle alone. However, they need to challenge the obstacles facing them. They need to alter their attitude because they are the agents of change. They can turn boring lessons into interesting experience if they change their methods and adopt new strategies to empower their students to do their best and instill in them the love of the language and the inspiration to learn.

I think that substantial changes are needed to take place at all levels of the educational system. Everybody has a share of responsibility. As Alim (2010) points out, "Change begins with one student, one teacher, one classroom, one school, [and] one district" (Alim, 2010, p.227).

Limitations of the Study

The scope of time didn't allow for investigating parents' perception of the educational policy and their satisfaction with their children's proficiency in the two

languages and their perception of the effect of the prevalent English outside of school on their children's Arab identity. Another thing is that the study investigated only the female students and female teachers. Examining male students and male teachers and then comparing between them might give another perspective into the study and an indication of the gender variable in identity construction and how it might result in different perceptions and linguistic preferences.

Suggestions for Further Studies

The study aimed to examine the impact of global English on Arab students' identity. However, it examined female high school students. Other studies are needed to examine male high school students to see if gender makes any difference in the perception of students of their languages and identities. Moreover, as this study shows that the students have identity dilemma that leaves them unable to associate themselves with their first or second language, more studies are required to investigate how this identity dilemma affects the way students relate to their wider society outside school.

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Appendix A

Students' Survey

استبيان الطلبة

This survey is part of research on the use of English and Arabic in schools in the UAE. Your participation in the survey is highly valued and the data collected will be held confidential. Thank you for agreeing to participate by responding to these questions.

ان هذا الاستبيان جزء من بحث يتناول استخدام اللغتين العربية والانجليزية في مدارس الدولة. اننا نثمن قبولكم المشاركة في هذا الاستبيان و كل المعلومات فيه سرية.

Age:-----العمر

Nationality:-----الجنسية

Languages spoken:----- اللغات التي تتحدث بها:

Name of school:-----اسم المدرسة

Section A

Choose a, b or c.

1. Which is your preferred period ما هي حصتك المفضلة؟

- a. Arabic period b. English period c. both periods
a. حصة اللغة العربية b. حصة اللغة الانجليزية c. كلاهما

2. Which language is more difficult to learn ما هي اللغة الاصعب في التعلم؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages
a. اللغة العربية b. اللغة الانجليزية c. كلاهما

3. Which language is more important for your future and study

اي لغة أهم لمستقبلك ودراستك؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

4. Which language is your preferred language for using the internet

اي لغة تفضل عند استخدام الانترنت؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

5. Which language you feel you are better at بأي لغة تشعر أنك افضل؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

6. Which language do you prefer to read in أي لغة تفضل للقراءة؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

7. Which language do you prefer to write in أي لغة تفضل عند الكتابة؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

8. Which language do you speak when shopping in the shopping malls

ماهي اللغة التي تتكلم بها عند التسوق؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

9. Which language do you use when you speak with your friends

10. ماهي اللغة التي تتكلم بهامع اصدقائك؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

11. Which language do your parents encourage you to be better in

أي اللغتين يشجعك والديك على تعلمها اكثر؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

12. Which language do you use to express your feelings

ماهي اللغة التي تعبر فيها عن مشاعرك؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

13. Which language do you prefer to listen to music in

ماهي اللغة التي تفضلها لسماع الموسيقى؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

14. Which language do you receive or need to receive private tuition in

بأي لغة تحتاج الى الدروس الخصوصية اكثر؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

15. Which language promotes in you independent learning

اي لغة تساعدك اكثر على استقلالية التعلم؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

16. Which language is enhancing your critical thinking

ماهي اللغة التي تطور تفكيرك الناقد؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

17. Which language is easier to do research in اي اللغتين اسهل في عمل الأبحاث؟

- a. Arabic language b. English language c. Both languages

18. I wish I was more fluent in اتمنى لو كنت اكثرطلاقة في

- a. Standard Arabic b. English language c. Both languages

Section B

Please indicate to what extent you agree or disagree with the following statements on a scale of 1-5 where 1 is strongly agree and 5 is strongly disagree

1. Math and Science should be taught in English

يجب ان يتم تدريس الرياضيات و العلوم بالانجليزية

1. Strongly agree 2. Agree 3. Neutral 4. Disagree 5. Strongly disagree

اوافق بشدة

اوافق

محايد

لاوافق

لاوافق مطلقا

2. In schools, we need more Arabic periods than English periods

نحتاج الى حصص لغة عربية اكثر من الانجليزية

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

3. Arabic curriculum needs to be modified and updated

منهاج اللغة العربية بحاجة الى التعديل و التحديث

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

4. Arabic language is declining and its future is dim and unclear

اللغة العربية تتراجع و مستقبلها مظلم

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

5. Arabic language will be untouched because it is the language of the Quran

اللغة العربية محمية لانها لغة القران

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

6. English language is responsible for the decline in Arabic language

اللغة الانجليزية هي المسؤلة عن تدهور اللغة العربية

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

7. English language has more status and prestige in our society than the Arabic language

اللغة الانجليزية لها مكانة اعلى من العربية في المجتمع

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

8. Arabic language is central to my being an Arab اللغة العربية اساس انتمائي للعروبة

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

9. English language learning has made me appreciate the western culture
تعلم الانجليزية جعلني اثنم الثقافة الغربية

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

10. English language is a threat to local culture and Arab identity
تهدد اللغة الانجليزية الثقافة المحلية و الهوية العربية

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

11. Globalization has made the use of English more demanding and necessary
ادت العولمة الى جعل استخدام الانجليزية ملحا وضروريا

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

12. Despite learning English, I still feel that Arabic is more important for me as
an Arab
بالرغم من تعلم اللغة الانجليزية, ما زالت العربية اهم بالنسبة لي كعربي

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

13. English language has negatively affected my Arab identity
لقد اثرت الانجليزية سلبا على هويتي العربية

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

14. All people in the UAE should learn to speak, read and write in Arabic

15. يجب على كل المقيمين في الامارات تعلم المحادثة و القراءة والكتابة باللغة العربية

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

16. Arabic can be as effective in teaching Math and Science as English
اللغة العربية تصلح لتدريس الرياضيات والعلوم كالانجليزية

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

17. The topics of the Arabic curriculum are dry and boring المواضيع في منهج اللغة العربية جافة ومملة

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

18. The difference between Standard Arabic and dialects has made learning Arabic difficult الاختلاف بين اللغة العربية الفصحى و اللهجات جعل تعلم العربية اكثر صعوبة

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

19. Learning Standard Arabic is difficult because we use it only in the classroom تعلم اللغة العربية الفصحى صعب لان استخدامها يقتصر على الصف

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

20. The educational system in the UAE is meeting all students' needs and ambitions

نظام التعليم في الامارات يلبي طموحات الطلاب و احتياجاتهم

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

21. Our educational system is focusing on English and Arabic equally ان نظام التعليم يوازن بين العربية والانجليزية

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

22. The education I am receiving prepares me for the demands of globalization in the job market ان تعليمي يؤهني لمتطلبات العولمة في سوق العمل

Strongly agree Agree Neutral Disagree Strongly disagree

23. The cultural and Islamic values are emphasized in the educational policy of the UAE

ان نظام التعليم يؤكد على القيم الاسلامية والثقافية لدولة الامارات

Strongly agree

Agree Neutral

Disagree

Strongly disagree

Please answer these questions with what you really believe in. All the answers will be kept confidential.

1. Do you think that Arabic is declining? Why? هل تعتقد ان اللغة العربية في انحطاط؟ لماذا؟

2. What solutions do you offer to make Arabic equal to English and not threatened by it? ماهي الحلول التي يمكن أن تجعل اللغة العربية مساوية للانجليزية وليست مهددة من قبلها؟

3. Do you think that the way of teaching English and Arabic is threatening the Arabic language? هل تظن ان طريقة تدريس اللغة العربية و الانجليزية تهدد اللغة العربية؟

4. How do you see the future of Arabic under globalization? كيف ترى مستقبل اللغة العربية في ظل العولمة؟

5. If you were the Minister of Education, what changes you would like to make regarding the use of English and Arabic languages in your school?

ادا كنت وزير التربية والتعليم ماهي التغييرات التي ستحدثها فيما يتعلق باستخدام العربية والانجليزية في مدرستك؟

Thank you for your time and effort

Appendix B

Arabic Teachers' Interview Questions

1. How many years of experience do you have in teaching Arabic?
2. Are you bilingual?
3. Do you attend professional development workshops regularly?
4. What technology do you use? How do you use them?
5. What kind of resources available to you?
6. Do you have any kind of collaboration with the English teachers?
7. What are the attitudes of your students towards their first language?
8. How do you see the parents' attitude towards their children's proficiency in Arabic?
9. What can teachers do to improve students' attitude towards Arabic?
10. How do you feel about the curriculum in motivating students?
11. What can be done to improve the Arabic curriculum?
12. What are the areas in Arabic that students don't like or find difficult?
Arabic grammar and parsing
13. How do the messages from the school environment impact students' linguistic preferences?
14. To what purpose are the two languages used in school outside the classroom?
15. How do you see the future of the Arabic language in the light of its current situation?

Appendix C

English Teachers' Interview Questions

1. How many years of experience do you have in teaching English?
2. Are you bilingual?
3. Do you attend professional development workshops regularly?
4. What technology do you use? How do you use them?
5. What kind of resources available to you?
6. Do you have any kind of collaboration with Arabic teachers?
7. What are the attitudes of your students towards their second language?
8. How do you see the parents' attitude towards their children's proficiency in English?
9. Do you think that your students prefer English to Arabic? Why?
10. Do you encourage students to compare between their culture and English speaking countries' culture?
11. In what ways do you think the first language of your students impacts their second language whether positively or negatively?
12. How do you encourage your students to express their identity when they learn the language?
13. What are the activities or skills that students are allowed to reveal their identity through?
14. Do the messages sent from the school environment impact students' linguistic preferences?

Appendix D

Administrators' Interview Questions

1. What is the underlying philosophy of the language policy in the public schools?
2. What are the main causes for the decline in the Arabic language among students in the UAE?
3. Is English given priority over Arabic in the language policy?
4. Does the emphasis on English impact students' Arab identity?
5. Why is more attention paid to professional development of English teachers than Arabic teachers?
6. Does the interest in English language send a hidden message for students that it is more important than Arabic?
7. How do you think that the use of English as a language of instruction in the university affects the students' attitude towards Arabic?
8. How can Arabic regain its status in the schools as the first language of the students?
9. What are the goals of the language policy?
10. How is the Arab and national identity taken care of in designing the language policy?
11. What are the forces and considerations that affect planning language policy?
12. How do you see the future of Arabic in the light of the prevailing decline?

Appendix E

Interview Questions with Students

1. How old are you?
2. What is the nationality of your mother?
3. What is the educational level of your parents?
4. What does your father do?
5. How do evaluate yourself in English and Arabic in terms of your proficiency?
6. Which language is more difficult to learn? Why?
7. What makes you an Arab? How do you define yourself as an Arab?
8. What are the essential components that constitute your Arabness?
9. If you had more proficiency in English, will you use it more in your everyday life?
10. How do you see the Arabic and English curriculum?
11. Do you feel that you are influenced by the western culture?
12. In what ways has the western culture impacted you?

Appendix F

N o.	Question	Arabic language		T	English Language		T	Both Languages		T
		A B W	Al Raya	Both School s	A B W	Al Raya	Both School s	A B W	Al Raya	Both Schools
1. A	What is your preferred period?	20	49	69 31.3%	40	31	71 32.2%	43	37	80 36.3%
4. A	Which language is your preferred for using the internet?	25	36	61 27.7%	49	50	99 45%	29	31	60 27.2%
6. A	Which language do you prefer to read in?	56	78	134 60.9%	16	12	28 12.7%	31	27	58 26.3%
7. A	Which language do you prefer to write in?	45	68	113 51.3%	31	24	55 25%	27	25	52 23.6%
12 .A	Which language do you prefer to listen to music in?	39	54	93 42.6%	28	26	54 24.7%	36	35	71 32.5%

N o.	Question s	Arabic language (a)		T	English Language		T	Both Languages		T
		A B W	Al Raya	Both schools	A B W	Al Raya	Both schools	A B W	Al Raya	Both schools
3. A	Which language is more important for your future and study?	7	8	15 6.8%	41	50	91 41.3%	55	59	114 51.8%
13 .A	Which language do you receive or need to receive private tutoring in?	16	22	38 17.5%	80	84	164 75.5%	5	10	15 6.9%
10 A	Which language do your parents encourage you to be better in?	17	15	32 14.5%	52	60	112 51%	34	42	76 34.5%
5. A	Which language do you feel you are better at?	56	82	138 62.7%	22	19	41 18.6%	25	16	41 18.6%
17 .A	I wish I was fluent in.....	8	10	18 8%	86	94	180 81.8%	9	13	22 10%
8. A	Which language do you speak when shopping in the shopping malls?	20	18	38 17.2%	47	43	90 40.9%	36	56	92 41.8%
11 .A	Which language do you use to	64	83	147 67%	17	14	31 14%	22	20	42 19%

	express your feelings?									
9 A	Which language do you use when you speak with your friends?	69	94	163 74%	3	0	3 1.3%	31	23	54 24.5%

N o.	Question s	Arabic language			English Language			Both Languages		
		A B W	Al Raya	Total	A B W	Al Raya	Total	A B W	Al Raya	Total
14 .A	Which language promotes in you independent learning?	30	50	80	40	30	70	30	36	66
15 .A	Which language is enhancing your critical thinking?	46	71	117	40	13	53	17	33	50
16 .A	Which language is easier to do research in?	70	93	163	18	12	30	15	12	27
2. A	Which language is more difficult to learn?	40	31	71 32.7%	58	80	138 63.5%	4	4	8 3.6

N o	Statemen ts	S. Agree			Agree			Neutral			Disagree			S. Disagree		
		A B W	Al Ra ya	T	A B W	Al Ra ya	T	AB W	Al Ra ya	T	AB W	Al Ra ya	T	AB W	Al Ra ya	T
4	Arabic language	22	39	61	18	35	53	18	6	24	24	14	38	21	23	44

B	is declining and its future is dim and unclear.			27.7 %			24 %			10.9 %						
5 B	Arabic language will be untouched because it is the language of the Quran.	75	88	<u>163</u>	24	25	<u>49</u>	1	1	<u>2</u>	1	3	<u>4</u>	2	0	<u>2</u>
6 B	English language is responsible for the decline in Arabic language.	18	36	<u>54</u>	30	43	<u>73</u>	17	11	<u>28</u>	28	16	<u>44</u>	10	11	<u>21</u>
7 B	English language has more status and prestige in our society than the Arabic language.	21	36	<u>57</u>	32	38	<u>70</u>	16	13	<u>29</u>	22	16	<u>38</u>	12	14	<u>26</u>

	Statement	S. Agree			Agree			Neutral			Disagree			S. Disagree		
		A B W	Al Raya	T	A B W	Al Raya	T	AB W	Al Ra ya	T	AB W	Al Ra ya	T	AB W	Al Ra ya	T
8 B	Arabic language is central to my being an Arab.	59	85	<u>144</u>	31	28	<u>59</u>	11	3	<u>14</u>	1	1	<u>2</u>	1	0	<u>1</u>
1 0 B	English language is a threat to local culture and Arab identity.	21	35	<u>56</u>	40	36	<u>76</u>	15	18	<u>33</u>	20	21	<u>41</u>	7	6	<u>13</u>

1 2 B	Despite learning English, I still feel that Arabic is more important for me as an Arab.	67	85	<u>152</u>	21	21	<u>42</u>	8	7	<u>15</u>	4	3	<u>7</u>	3	0	<u>3</u>
1 3 B	English language has negatively affected my Arab identity.	11	9	<u>20</u>	19	36	<u>55</u>	20	18	<u>38</u>	37	37	<u>74</u>	16	16	<u>32</u>
1 4 B	All people in the UAE should learn to speak, read and write in Arabic.	48	66	<u>114</u>	26	31	<u>57</u>	15	12	<u>27</u>	10	6	<u>16</u>	3	1	<u>4</u>

No.	Statements	S. Agree			Agree			Neutral			Disagree			S. Disagree		
		A B W	Al Raya	<u>T</u>	A B W	Al Raya	<u>T</u>	AB W	Al Ra ya	T	AB W	Al Raya	T	AB W	Al Ra ya	T
16 B	The topics of the Arabic curriculum are dry and boring.	18	19	<u>37</u>	22	32	<u>54</u>	24	24	<u>48</u>	22	29	<u>51</u>	17	13	<u>30</u>
17 B	The difference between Standard Arabic and dialects has made learning Arabic difficult.	18	17	<u>35</u>	25	25	<u>50</u>	25	23	<u>48</u>	26	28	<u>54</u>	8	22	<u>30</u>
18 B	Learning standard Arabic is difficult because we use it only in the	19	19	<u>38</u>	28	31	<u>59</u>	25	20	<u>45</u>	21	26	<u>47</u>	8	19	<u>27</u>

	classroom.															
1B	Math and science should be taught in English	9	11	<u>20</u>	17	21	<u>38</u>	30	17	<u>47</u>	19	26	<u>45</u>	28	42	<u>70</u>
2B	In schools, we need more Arabic periods than English periods	4	11	<u>15</u>	15	24	<u>39</u>	36	29	<u>65</u>	36	40	<u>76</u>	12	13	<u>25</u>
3B	Arabic curriculum needs to be modified and updated.	16	21	<u>37</u>	29	31	<u>60</u> <u>44%</u>	27	15	<u>42</u>	20	36	<u>56</u>	9	14	<u>23</u>

No	Statements	S. Agree			Agree			Neutral			Disagree			S. Disagree		
		A B W	Al Raya	T	A B W	Al Raya	T	A B W	Al Raya	T	A B W	Al Raya	T	A B W	Al Raya	T
9B	English language learning has made me appreciate the western culture.	17	11	<u>28</u>	42	46	<u>88</u>	24	37	<u>61</u>	18	14	<u>32</u>	1	8	<u>9</u>
11 B	Globalization has made the use of English more demanding and necessary.	41	39	<u>80</u>	35	55	<u>90</u>	18	11	<u>29</u>	6	8	<u>14</u>	3	4	<u>7</u>

N o	Statements	S. Agree			Agree			Neutral			Disagree			S. Disagree		
		A B W	Al Ra ya	T	A B W	Al Ra ya	T	A B W	Al Ra ya	T	A B W	Al Raya	T	A B W	Al Ra ya	T
19 B	The educational system in the UAE is meeting all students' needs and ambitions.	40	33	<u>73</u>	39	40	<u>79</u>	11	20	<u>31</u>	11	18	<u>29</u>	2	6	<u>8</u>
20 B	Our educational system is focusing on English and Arabic equally.	18	13	<u>31</u>	43	40	<u>83</u>	23	24	<u>47</u>	16	26	<u>42</u>	2	12	<u>14</u>
21 B	The education I am receiving prepares me for the demands of globalization in the job market.	26	24	<u>50</u>	43	56	<u>99</u>	22	17	<u>39</u>	8	15	<u>23</u>	3	3	<u>6</u>
22 B	The cultural and Islamic values are emphasized in the educational policy	46	49	<u>95</u>	41	42	<u>83</u>	5	16	<u>21</u>	8	8	<u>16</u>	2	0	<u>2</u>

VITA

Taghreed Masri graduated from the UAE University in Al Ain, UAE in 1997. She worked as a high school teacher for five years.