English Language and Identities in Qatari Educational Reform: Pedagogical and Social Implications

by

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Abstract

There is a growing disconnect between learning English and the status of Arabic in Qatar. English is seen as an effective means to expose learners to Western culture and ideology; Arabic remains the only official state language in Qatar. Accordingly, English language education has become a site of cultural and linguistic imperialism, potentially causing linguistic and cultural deficits. To examine these processes, I first examined relevant policy documentation then used Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) to analyze the content and revisions made to one set of English textbook materials used in Qatar’s independent schools, supplemented by a follow-up interview with a representative of the publishing company. The thesis identifies hegemonic processes associated with English language teaching materials in Qatar, adds to existing debates about the conflicting status of English and Arabic in Qatar, and initiates critical analysis of Qatar’s education policies.
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This work is dedicated to

Syria.

May you find peace.
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Chapter One: Introduction

My lived experience and work in language education have led me to notice the increasing focus on English language proficiency and skills in the Gulf Region. I am an educator from the Eastern Region of Saudi Arabia. I have worked in education there for a number of years and am familiar with other education systems throughout the Gulf. Additionally, during my time as a graduate student at OISE/University of Toronto I was enrolled in a course on language planning and policy, which was influential in shaping my research interests. It raised my awareness pertaining to the issues of language, specifically English, in the recent era. It also provided me with an understanding of the power of language politics as they relate to my experience with both Arabic and English in the Gulf. The course materials equipped me with the essential knowledge to reflect upon the language issues in the region.

In the Arabian Gulf, I have witnessed how Arabic language and culture are becoming supplanted by English language and Western culture. There has been a significant change in the predominant language of communication since my childhood. As I recall, Arabic was widely spoken 15 years ago and I have very little recollection of English being prevalent at that time. In recent times though, it has astonished me whenever I have seen my mother struggling while shopping at the malls in Qatar due to her lack of English proficiency. Owing to her speaking Arabic exclusively, she has constantly needed my sister or me to speak on her behalf, acting as interpreters of English to Arabic.

I am not alone in my personal observations of this change. I have found through my interactions with friends and youth from Qatar that they too are conscious of this language and cultural shift. While the overwhelming majority of Qatari youth with whom I have discussed
this topic agree that there has been a shift, our views often differ on the nature of this change. In Qatar, like other Gulf States, a large proportion of the youth views this shift as a move towards progression and modernity. They do not seem to see this as a hindrance to their cultural values, or to the lives of their elders, but instead as additional knowledge which benefits Qatar overall. English language proficiency to these youth is seen as additional social capital, which helps open the world to them. A lack of English language knowledge is often viewed as a sign of illiteracy. The end result is that peer pressure compels this generation to learn English or get left behind. Native Arabic language proficiency is often disregarded in favor of improving English language skills.

The language issue in Qatar permeates beyond the experience of my mother in shopping malls, and can be seen in many spheres of society. Thus, my key concern is that the Arabic language is becoming dominated by English, as has been visible not only in daily interactions in the public sphere but in the institutional life of schools and commercial contexts, and that state language policy in education has been instrumental in this change. It is part of an overall push in Qatar to integrate with the rest of the world in all sectors; from education, to business, media, and beyond.

**Background of the Present Study**

English language education has become a billion-dollar industry that facilitates the global spread of English. As Gray (2010) states, “the global boom in commercial English language teaching has also aided the development of a sizeable publishing industry in which UK produced textbooks for the teaching of English as an international or foreign language are core products” (p. 714). This is not to argue that the students are passive consumers, but that their personal
ideology may be affected.

In Qatar’s high school context, there is a growing disconnect between learning English and learning Arabic, as demonstrated by recent figures from the Qatar’s Supreme Education Council (2009, 2010, 2011). When looking at students’ performance in the annual educational assessment tests on English language and on Arabic language proficiency, students’ attitudes towards both subjects—based on annual questionnaires—appear to be correlated with the amount of instructional time they receive in each language. The use of Arabic was limited within the curriculum to certain academic subjects. Presently, the percentage of Arabic language use in math is 0%, in science: 0%, and in computer science: 6%, whereas in subjects like sociology, it is 98%. Students’ attitudes towards both languages are varied: 74% agreed that they enjoyed learning Arabic while 82% agreed that they enjoyed learning English (Qatar’s Supreme Education Council, 2009, 2010, 2011). Further statistics indicate, according to Qatar’s educational assessment tests, grade eleven (G-11) students’ scores are higher in English than in Arabic. In addition, results from the educational assessment suggest that Qatari students have fewer opportunities to develop their Arabic language. The use of the native language is only limited to sociology, whereas English is the language for almost all sciences such as math, science, and computer science. It could be suggested through these findings, with respect to this development aspect in the adjustment of the learning process, that the students of Qatar are subjected to a focus on learning the English language. It could also mean that this is being developed at the cost of Arabic proficiency.

At the same time, it is possible that Qatari learners of English do not realize the influence that the language has on them. It should be noted that culture and language are interrelated.
Language functions as a conduit for culture, and culture is instrumental in shaping language. Therefore, language and culture cannot be isolated from one another. This is echoed by Ramin Akbari (2008) who states that culture is “an indispensable part of any language” (p. 278). The dominance of English language could cause not only a language shift, but a cultural deflation in the society.

**A Case Study**

My passion for the Arabic language (my native tongue) has encouraged me to learn about the apparent linguistic and cultural shift in Qatar. In particular, this thesis investigates recent Qatari school reform and the ideological frames of English language in Qatar’s schools. From my standpoint, Qatar is perhaps best represented by a dual ideology that includes both modernist and traditional Islamic cultural values. Within this ideological context, English-language textbooks may be seen as one of the most effective means to expose students to Western, modernist culture and ideology, to broaden their personal, social, and business horizons (Liyanage et al, 2004). For this reason, I have pursued a case study of the process of producing English language learning resources for independent schools in Qatar, offering an analysis of the process and dynamics related to the creation of two grade 11 English language textbooks entitled *Cutting Edge* and *New Cutting Edge (Advanced)*, the latter of which was an edited and revised version of the former to be used with grade 11 students in Qatar’s independent schools. I also draw on data from an interview with a publishing agent of this textbook. I situate this analysis within the Qatar’s social and political context to explore language education policy.
Researcher Standpoint

Although I am Saudi Arabian and not Qatari, I grew up and resided in Alhassa and Dammam, a few hundred kilometres from Doha. Being so close, I have spent a significant part of my life in Qatar and have made countless visits throughout my life. The relationship between eastern Saudi Arabia and Qatar is comparable to the relationship between southern Canada and the northern United States. Likewise, Gulf nations share many of the same cultural values and customs as one another. The reading of Qatar’s culture from my Saudi lens provides an outlook for understanding the nuances of culture, just as a Torontonian would ‘read’ Detroit through their particular, situated experience. Indeed, not only do many Saudis (myself included) share cultural roots and family relations that stretch across the Qatari-Saudi border, but they also share common media (Al Jazeera, for instance), language, and food. I can say with confidence that I possess at least some level of cultural literacy and knowledge as it applies to Qatar.

Chapter Summary and Organization of the Thesis

This thesis examines evidence of linguistic imperialism within public data sources used in the Qatar’s educational context, indicating how English globalization, through the modalities presented by educational policy, has cultural effects on the Qatar’s community. This study aims to raise awareness about this issue, to examine the ways in which policies which support the use of English language learning may impact cultural and linguistic imperialism outside of the Western political world, and to show specifically how these changes can be understood in a critical but optimistic light. Raising awareness of this issue is imperative to protect Arabic language and Arabic culture from any potential marginalization.

Chapter Two presents a brief review of the literature and outlines the overarching
understanding of this work, which is to explore how the predominance of Arabic is being increasingly challenged in Qatar by the English language. The operation of English linguistic imperialism is therefore boosted in English language teaching in Qatar as a necessity for engaging with the modern world. English language teaching serves as an instrument of hegemony. This is evident in the literature discussed in the chapter, which explores these notions of hegemony as well as the consent required for hegemonic processes. The discussion also relates to cultural imperialism, colonialism, globalization, resistance and the appropriation of English. Finally, the chapter provides the reader with an understanding of critical discourse analysis as it will be applied to the analysis of policy, textbook and interview data in this thesis.

Chapter Three frames the research methods I employed in this research, as well as the processes that have been followed to identify, collect and analyze the data. Principally, this includes three analyses, which are: an assessment of the relevant policy documents in order to establish the context of Qatar’s education, an analysis of textbooks used in Qatar’s English language classes; and the process of conducting and analyzing an interview with a publishing agent involved in the creation of the textbooks.

Chapter Four delineates the policy context and describes relevant policy that encourages English as a language for education in Qatar. Elements of hegemony are also apparent in this exploration of past policies, which have shaped the current state of Qatar’s education. Particular attention is given to the influential recommendations provided by the RAND (Research and Development) Corporation in Qatar and to the resulting policies from these recommendations. Among these policies, most significant was the promotion of English language education, which has undermined the status of Arabic in Qatar.
Chapter Five presents the situation further through an in-depth study of the textbook, incorporating the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. This approach consisted of a study of the contents of and revisions made to a textbook used and created for Qatar’s schools in comparison to its widely circulated international version. The chapter presents evidence from textbook revisions, through the omission of potentially divisive material, of conforming to Arabic cultural values. There is also evidence of the possible implicit undermining of Qatari students’ indigenous identities and values in favour of imposing norms associated with English internationally.

Chapter Six elaborates on the findings gathered from an interview conducted with an agent from the publisher of the textbooks that are being analysed. This encompasses details of the textbook publishing process, revealing the complexities of multi-national publishing, which include interactions between writers, editors and publishers, the influence of business interests on textbook production, as well as the role of Qatar’s educators in the process.

Chapter Seven begins with a detailed discussion of the findings of the previous chapter (Chapter Six), and what is absent from the interview. It then addresses the interconnections between the policy, textbook and interview analyses and presents a preliminary discussion of the findings of the overall study as well as the implications to be drawn from it. Finally, I offer my own recommendations for tackling the issues raised in the thesis, and directions for further studies.
Chapter Two: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

The focus of this chapter was to delve into the relevant research that exists surrounding the subject of the global spread of English and the dynamics that exist therein. I began first with an understanding of linguistic imperialism and its relationship with colonialism and globalization and the significance this has to the spread of English. I also present the relationship between the English language and the ideology that it accompanies. I then explain linguistic imperialism as a sub-type of cultural imperialism. Following this, I explore the ideas of Gramsci’s hegemony as a framework, and the important role that consent plays within hegemonic processes. It is imperative to understand this topic through the concept of hegemony because it builds up a logical relationship that is apparent when discussing linguistic imperialism. I also explore other potential functions of English such as appropriation, inclusive of the complicity of language learners. Following this, I also look at the linguistic conflict between English and the native languages. The remainder of the chapter is an explanation of critical discourse analysis and the conventions and principles on which the theory is based.

Linguistic Imperialism

Phillipson (1992) refers to the notion that in colonized societies, the language of the dominant replaces the language of the subjugated. He relates the power of a language to imperialism. Thus, the domination of language in colonized settings has been regarded in the research as “linguistic imperialism” (Phillipson, 1992).

One particular school of thought in language policy literature claims that English dominates as “the most important language in the world,” and can also be understood as a vehicle for “linguistic imperialism” (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47; Taki, 2008, p. 130). The diffusion of
English is a phenomenon, according to Phillipson (1992), in which English linguistic imperialism exists whenever English replaces the indigenous language and attacks its culture. Furthermore, Phillipson defines English linguistic imperialism as “the dominance asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages” (Phillipson, 1992, p. 47). The spread of English is thus a form of cultural imperialism tied to British and American, or “Western,” ideologies that are transmitted to other peoples. The English language has marked the development of the world over the last century. Through this, standards are being set in institutions such as corporations, transnational organizations and the education sector, implementing a homogeneous set of operations with the English language at its epicentre.

The promotion of English is furthered historically and explicitly through the process of colonization in the past, and globalization in the present; I will elaborate on each briefly.

**English and Colonialism**

The roots of English popularity can be traced back to the vast reaches of the British Empire; indeed, historical evidence demonstrates that the genesis of English transmission was imperialistic in nature. This transfer was furthered by “the United States’ more recent status as the world’s sole superpower” (Johnson, 2009, p. 137). During the British colonial era, the English language was forcibly imposed in the education system of the colonized territories (Phillipson, 1992). The longer a territory was colonized, the more marginalized the mother tongue (MT) was likely to be (Taki, 2008).

Johnson (2009) further explores English and its influence on imperialism, and whether it is valid to relate the English language to any one particular culture. This phenomenon is related
to the histories of colonialism that privilege the English language and other cultural artefacts of the historic British Empire, which “either singly or in partnership have tended to exercise [themselves] in the region of the Middle and Near East” (Sayeed, 1995, p. 5). As these colonies became independent, they began to threaten Western power structures through asserting their right to self-governance or self-determination (Radcliffe, 2005). For this reason, the spread of English became less explicit than before under colonial rule, instead manifesting itself in more covert ways.

**English and Globalization**

The basis for the transmission of ideology has been linked to the process of globalization in the modern era. Globalization is basically defined as “a process or set of processes involving increasing liquidity and the growing multidirectional flows of people, objects, places and information” (Ritzer, 2010, p. 2), which serves as reference point for this thesis.

Globalization as a process for the on-going strengthening of relationships and interactions between nations has been facilitated in part by the spread of English. As Kumaravadivelu (2006) states, “the forces of globalization, empire and English are intricately interconnected” (p. 1). Therefore, these forces of globalization have brought the world together under a form of unification (Ritzer, 2010). This unification has been facilitated by the ubiquitous use of English, which has established “itself as the international language of business, telecommunication, diplomacy, education, pop culture, science, scholarship, and travel” (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003, p. 43). These processes of globalization have accelerated the operation of linguistic imperialism, particularly the dominance of English globally.
Economy and modernization as facets of globalization.

The first version of Pennycook’s model of globalization is modernization that is connected to ‘westernization’ or ‘Americanization’ (Pennycook, 2007). Though this concept of “Western” itself is complex and multi-faceted, it includes a privileging of “civilized” versus “primitive” cultures, including the teaching of English, the usage of capitalist (market-driven) economic organization and “liberal” social policies (Said, 1977). Modernization is therefore, the development process taken to transfer a country from being traditional to modern (Phillipson 1992).

Secondly, Johnson (2009) expounds upon the role of English as both a means to economic success as well as a device of inequality: “[k]nowledge of the English language has indeed acted as a powerful tool for development and advancement throughout the world, and fluency constitutes a huge step forward in many peoples’ (and countries’) struggles for self-sufficiency and success” (Johnson, 2009, p. 133). She posits that the motivating drive of most people learning English is financial in nature: fluency in English is one of the key licenses one must possess to engage in business of an international nature in most cases. She further explains that “proficiency in English has become something of a commodity, valuable both because of its utility, described in The Economist as a “basic skill of modern life comparable with the ability to drive a car or use a personal computer,” as well as for its image as “a form of cultural capital” (Johnson, 2009, p. 133).

English and Ideology

Ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs and ultimately the “implicit or unstated ("common sense") notions about the nature of language” (Tollefson, 2008, p. 5). With regard to linguistic
imperialism, a language is inherently ideological, simply because the outlooks, beliefs, and images that the language carries serve to magnify its dominance. This very often involves the inevitable marginalization of other languages, while the continued spread and use of the language serves to stabilize such a linguistic hierarchy. Phillipson attributes ideology and power to the language itself, with respect to its uses. However, ideology and power more likely reside in the people of the dominant language. I concur with Johnson’s view that English has “everything to do with the power of the people who speak it” (Johnson, 2009, p. 136). English has dominated ultimately because the oppressed and dominated ultimately try to imitate the specific aspects of the dominant culture: “[t]he vanquished always want to imitate the victor in his distinctive characteristics, dress, occupation and all other conditions and customs” (Ibn Khuldûn, 2005, p. 116). According to this theory, the characteristics of the victor represent the culture of the dominant. Thus, because the dominant culture is celebrated, it is also aspired to by members of cultures who have been colonized.

In relation to dynamics of power, Atkinson (1999) has noted that “[t]he groups who have power in society also define or represent culture(s) in ways that tend to benefit them and promote as natural their own social practices-struggles” (Atkinson, 1999, p. 635). Therefore, people around the world are striving to learn English because they feel their future success in the global marketplace is intimately linked to the mobilization of this language (Baker, 2011; Taki, 2008).

The notion of the English language simply being a medium of communication and cultural learning is challenged. Several scholars have stood in opposition to this view of English, such as Fanon, who states that “to speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp morphology of (a) language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the
weight of a civilization” (Pennycook, 1994, pp. 32-33). He comments on the “Western habits of thinking” that were intrinsic within a language (English), which we must be aware of (Pennycook, 1994, p. 25). While similarly Ndebele argues that language is the carrier of a society’s perceptions, attitudes, and goals, it is through language use that speakers absorb its attitudes (Pennycook, 1994). Pennycook struggles with this himself, delving into the complex relationship between language and discourses -- “relationships of power/knowledge embedded social institutions and practices” (Pennycook, 1994, p. 32). He concedes that the bond between English and discourses of capitalism, democracy, education, development, etc. is hardly coincidental nor the result of the inherent linguistic structure or nature of English. It is a reciprocal bond that has existed both historically and in current times, such that both colonial and contemporary world relations have facilitated and been facilitated by the transmission of English. He concludes that “language can never be removed from its social, cultural, political and discursive contexts” (Pennycook, 1994, p. 33).

**English and Cultural Imperialism**

Phillipson (1992) categorizes linguistic imperialism as “a sub-type of cultural imperialism” in which it infuses the other subtypes of cultural imperialism such as economic, political, military, communicative, cultural, and social imperialism (p. 65). This is because linguistic imperialism is the means to mediate those types of imperialism (Phillipson, 1992). Cultural imperialism is a broader framework, which functions to replace the culture of the colonized with the culture of the dominant force, replacing the local customs, traditions, belief-systems and values with those held by the outside and oppressing society (Phillipson, 1992). An example of this is the dissemination of British books to promote the ideas and language of the
British (Phillipson, 1992). In particular, English textbooks distributed in educational settings are means to assimilate learners linguistically and culturally (Phillipson, 1992). Indeed, Edward Said exemplifies this in the context of Indian education where “Indian students were taught not only English literature, but also the inherent superiority of the English race” (Said, 1994, p. 101).

Another example of cultural imperialism is the “English language teaching” (ELT) professionalism that is ideal for curriculum design, material writing and educational reform, which causes increasing dependence. An example of this, as created through a process of cultural hegemony, relates to the ways English is taught and understood in Qatar. English is not only a foreign language in this space, but it is much more than that insofar as it acts as a medium of instruction in some independent schools (Troudi, 2010). The existence of the English language as a medium of instruction in school is associated with a greater amount of prestige than Arabic. This (recent) development in terms of hegemonic cultural instruction can largely be traced to the fact that the government in Qatar employed Western organizations to review and institute reforms in the nation’s schools (Brewer et al., 2006).

As explored earlier, English language education is necessarily accompanied by Western cultures, values, and ideologies, which are adopted by people who cannot relate to, or even understand them (Holborrow, 2006). Despite efforts to infuse cosmetic aspects of local culture into instructional content, it must be reiterated from Pennycook (1994) that the language cannot be separated from certain cultural discourse. Although students themselves can be sites of resistance, the nature of their exposure to English as a second language text facilitates cultural domination. Culture itself is not static, and is at times unstable, dynamic, multiple and shifting. However whether cultural currents are intended through language teaching or not, there will be
some influence. This process of integrating English into Qatar’s society serves as an invitation to consider Western cultural norms, potentially at the expense of indigenous knowledge. Culture is a part of a person’s identity, and contributing to a sense of belonging. Accordingly, one cannot separate him/herself from his/her culture when learning a foreign language.

**English and Hegemony**

Linguistic imperialism draws heavily on Gramsci’s hegemony, where the dominance and diffusion of English are explained as being sustained through the processes of hegemony. Gramsci’s sense of hegemony is referred to ‘cultural domination,’ in which, achieving power depends crucially upon the consent of the dominated, as well as the acceptance on the part of the dominated of the dominant ideology, which is crucial to sustain power. Gramsci explains further the role of the state and the methods it employs in order to impose its hegemony on citizens, while obtaining their consent in the process, ensuring that any implementation will be met with minimal resistance. Gramsci believes that the state is constantly aiming to further civilization by “adapting the 'civilization' and the morality of the broadest popular masses to the necessities of the continuous development of the economic apparatus of production” (Forgacs, 2000, p. 232).

In order to obtain such a result, the state must convince the populace that its agenda is actually the agency of the masses. For example, the state might redefine the concept of ‘right’ by convincing civil society that what is ‘juridically indifferent’ is in fact what is good. A hegemonic process requires an adaptation or ‘evolution’ of customs, ways of thinking, and morality (Forgacs, 2000, p. 232).

Researchers have demonstrated that cultural hegemony is intertwined with learning English as a second language, and that the values of neoliberalism, capitalism and globalism are
embedded within the process of English language education. Western ideological values have been able to gain acceptance as well as power and control over cultural values at an international level. This process is accelerated via the globalization of communication networks (Leighley & Matsubayashi, 2009). Therefore, it is conceivable that some Western nations have power over other nations through the spread of English, and therefore the learning of this language can threaten the indigenous cultures. As Leighley and Matsubayashi (2009) write, communication networks can and will influence individuals’ political behavior whether or not they are a part of an ideological majority. McLuhan (1964) finds that through social institutions and networks, those in a position of power, namely people within Western social networks can utilize these to gain advantages in terms of cultural expectations. At the same time, those controlling the message profoundly influence the meanings of what is valued and what is not. For those outside of the Western social network, namely immigrants and people in non-Western nations, the process of developing Western tendencies occurs extremely quickly among those hoping to attain economic equality and to join the global workforce.

Schmied (1991) provides a thorough investigation into English and its historical and conventional functions in the African continent, including the legacy of colonization, its ascendency to supremacy and the acceptance of this domination by locals. The spread of English is an instrument of Western power both generating and maintaining domination in the cultural, political, and economic spheres of the world (Norton & Kamal, 2003). Even within the utilization of English language by peripheral communities to fulfill their requirements, one cannot ignore the dynamics of power that are generated in such circumstances. Indeed, in peripheral settings, English language proficiency serves as a threshold for advancement,
demonstrating a microcosm that mirrors the power dynamic of the world at large. Norton and Kamal’s study of middle school students in Karachi and their acceptance and understanding of the role that the English language proficiency plays in determining their advancement in society validates this (Norton & Kamal, 2003). Pennycook (1994) highlights notions echoed by many authors that the prevalence of English use is a threat to local languages; it serves as an instrument for domination and suppression both globally and locally, and it is inextricably linked to the spread and domination of capitalism and Western media. It is for these reasons that Cooke (1988) has associated English language implementation with the ‘Trojan horse,’ resulting in eventual

**Complicity of English Language Learners**

Some research has shown that capitalism in the West has shifted production towards private and exclusionary ownership. As result of that, principles of neoliberalism have come to dominate Western ideology, and thus those are the values that are thought to be detrimental to the heterogeneity of international communities. Kymlicka and Patten (2003) suggest that neoliberalism ignores the values of groups in defense of the values of idealized individuals and private corporations. The growth of the influence of Western thought and discourse, as grounded in the English language, contributes to a global hegemonic culture (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003, p. 46). As English is held in such high regard by the Qatari government, there is immense pressure placed on students to learn this language and then participate in global culture through this medium.

In separate studies, Gao has found instances of resistance as well as complicity in the students that engage in English language education at this level of education (Gao, 2009a).
People exist as sites of resistance and reinterpretation of knowledge that Gao (2009a) elaborates that this is rooted in the essential ‘clash’ that exists between learner’s first and second language habitus, leading to anxiety. Gao (2009a) explains that this clash can be overcome by temporarily suspending one’s first language habitus and adopting western learning, with the economic value of English serving as a learner’s motivation (pp. 57-58). Research done by the Ryerson Centre for Immigration and Settlement has found that while Western/Neoliberal ideology may be present for those who immigrate to Western nations, these individuals also carry with them their own cultural considerations (Root, Gate-Gasse, Shields & Bauder 2014). Leighley and Matsubayashi (2009) write that different immigrant groups often choose the route of cultural pluralism in order to maintain some of their own cultural identity and tradition, while simultaneously conforming to Western values in order to function on an economic level.

This pluralism can often extend into cultural assimilation, beginning first with language assimilation. As Akresh and Akresh (2010) write, language assimilation is often a critical first step in cultural assimilation requiring that “cultural groups should give up their heritage cultures and take on the host society's way of life” (Baker, 2011, p. 400). As noted by Smith-Davis (2004), a positive role of assimilation is that of social equality. Children learning English will be well equipped in relation to native English speakers to get ahead in society, especially in the context of a globalized world. Smith-Davis (2004) writes that linguistic or cultural deficits can lead to “ghettoization” in which families are separated from opportunities which English speakers can take advantage of including education, employment and overall social and financial success.

Often, those who are not cognizant of Western norms are underprivileged and cannot
work in better-paying jobs or may have difficulty graduating from or even entering a program of higher education (Ferguson, 2012). This means that there is a need for an appreciation of the social reality of some communities, and, in the case of the United States and similar countries, the social reality of the broader national culture, which differentiates economically between those who assimilate and those who do not. Using assimilationist processes in classrooms at the elementary and high school levels becomes a means by which social differences can be overcome and can lead to or reproduce equity of opportunity for children coming from different backgrounds.

Responses to Assimilationist Orientations

The beneficial impact of assimilation has also been disputed, as the path to assimilation is thought, by some educators, to be problematic for students. In assimilating, children are likely to lose some facets of their own identity and that of their native culture in the long term (Akresh & Akresh, 2010; Baker, 2011; Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000). As noted by Duff (2007), the prospect of assimilation brings into contention ideas related to social values and norms, which may be connected to social power dynamics. Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) describe the idea of assimilation as, for some students, a phase of loss rather than of gain. When students assimilate, they lose their cultural, social class and ethnic identity, which puts them in a position of vulnerability on a social level. Part of the problem, as noted by Akresh and Akresh (2010), is that there is often no recognition of the value of the culture of the language of origin in assimilationist learning practices. Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) suggest that students are stuck in a kind of parallel universe in which their own language and values are ignored, but in which they also do not understand the language or values of the desired Western social community.
While it might be assumed that assimilationist policies in education would be confined to specific classroom environments such as specialized English classes (as opposed to all elementary and high school classes), this is not the educational policy approach that is usually taken. Instead, assimilationist policies seem to be used in many regions of the world as a means by which to insist on the maintenance of white, Western power structures, in which people of colour are marginalized and devalued (Baker, 2011). This has been the historical case with Spanish in the Andean nations (Hornberger, 2000), where there have only recently been strides to tackle the paradox between pluralist and assimilationist discourses in linguistic education. As noted by Baker (2011), these policies are wholly unrealistic because those who make them assume that it is still possible in today’s multicultural and globalized world to create a monocultural and mono-linguistic society. Instead, there is a value system, which has been put in place, recognizing the positive aspects of sharing different cultural ideas to ensure productivity and creativity.

English Language Appropriation

Contrary to those who see English as a homogenizing force, there are researchers who claim that even though English was supposed to be the vehicle of colonialism, domination and hegemony, it has now changed to fit into the cultures of the people who have adopted it as their second language. In Sri Lanka, students and teachers are culturally and linguistically resisting the imperialistic nature of English, which appears in classes and textbooks and how it is being appropriated for their needs (Canagarajah, 1999). In China, Gao illustrates that students learning English are in fact able to maintain their Chinese habitus, to learn English only for instrumental purposes (2009a, 2009b), for which Gao proposes productive bilingualism model related to a
“native-culture oriented ‘social responsibility’ motivation (Gao, 2009a, p. 106).

**English Language and Mother Tongue**

Some research has shown that the introduction of English as foreign language has created a sense of linguistic conflict between English and the MT. For example, in India in some contexts, English is taught effectively while other local Indian languages are left disregarded (Phillipson, 2001). While communities on the periphery of the English language must be recognized (Canagarajah, 1999), one cannot ignore the circumstances that make the use of English necessary in such settings. It is not improbable that peripheral communities would prefer to utilize their native languages in both private and public settings; it is for this reason that Phillipson stresses the protection of the mother tongue specifically in education. Majority languages are often perceived as vehicles of modernity/mobility, while minority languages are often perceived as “carriers of culture and tradition” (Kymlicka & Patten, 2003, p. 124).

In an African context, Paul Musau suggests that negative attitudes towards the MT can also be considered a linguistic injustice, where such attitudes are usually based on “obvious superficial rationalizations in an attempt to justify imbalances born of injustices of history and circumstances” (Musau, 2003, p. 616). Research finds that the consequence of these negative attitudes is that the colonial languages are favoured and little attention is paid to indigenous languages. These languages, if used at all, are used in a restrictive manner (Musau, 2003). For example, they may be confined to the first years of education or they may be taught as subjects but not used as a medium of instruction (Musau, 2003).

Skutnabb-Kangas (2000) demonstrates how governments can utilize a MT as a medium of instruction or to establish bilingualism within the education system through linguistic,
psychological, pedagogical, and sociological frameworks, but this approach is usually not taken. This demonstrates why English language learning is a process of limiting the linguistic values of other languages (Phillipson, 2001).

**Methodological Framework: CDA**

*Overview.*

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is used for this study to elucidate complex themes in written and social text. Fairclough (1995) defines CDA as a discourse analysis which aims to systematically explore often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discourse practices, events and text, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations and processes; to investigate how such practices, events, and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony (p. 133).

Because CDA has been derived from numerous theoretical backgrounds, it has become a multi-disciplinary approach to achieve its ultimate goal of disclosing ideologies. CDA looks at two main issues: micro issues, which are text-focused, and macro issues, which are focused on inequality, history (Blommaert, 2005) and policy (Fairclough, 1995). Each scholar has a unique approach to their subject area, which influences their usage of CDA. For the purposes of this thesis, I have limited my inquiry to the work of Fairclough, as his method of CDA is helpful when attempting to understand both the minutiae of linguistics and the larger scale social structures that they reflect. More specifically, texts are essential in understanding the socio-cultural politics of a certain space, especially when those texts are utilized within the education
system. For instance, textbooks that are used in the classrooms convey ideologies of the culture in which they are embedded.

**Fairclough’s updated approach to CDA.**

Fairclough has attempted to renegotiate his approach through the lens of sociological analysis. Instead of merely focusing on the minutiae of the text structures, he locates aspects of discourse in a larger socio-historical framework. Taking a more sociolinguistic approach, he attempts to interlink textual and social analysis. There are two kinds of discourse: the linguistically oriented discourse and the relational discourse. Fairclough (2003) combines the two in his recent approach. First, Fairclough considers (concretely countable) discourse to be “a particular way of representing part of the world” (p. 26). Second, he prefers to use semiosis abstractly (non-countable) and to consider that semiosis is language in use. Fairclough also includes social theory to analyze language as both text analysis and social theory, where, in his view, one can help the other (Fairclough, 2003). Social theory helps to anchor the process of interpretation (Fairclough, 2003). It is helpful to understand the social effects of texts on those who consume them: “texts can bring about changes in our knowledge, beliefs, attitudes, values, experiences, and so forth” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 229). Through these social structures, the material realities of the everyday become implicated in the process of meaning (knowledge) creation. This in turn comes to inform social events. Fairclough (2003) established three parts to that process of meaning: the production of text, the text itself, and the reception or interpretation of text. Interpretation involves understanding, evaluation (judgment) and explanation (Fairclough, 2003).
Relational analysis.

Fairclough’s new method (Fairclough, 2003) established a relational approach to text analysis. It explains how CDA is concerned with the “continuity and change at this more abstract, more structural level, as well as with what happens in particular texts” (Fairclough, 2003, p.3). This approach has three levels: external relation, intermediate, and internal relation.

The first level (external) is looking at the outside of text and it includes social structure, social practice and social events. The second level, (intermediate), is looking at discourse, which mediates between external and internal relations. Finally, internal relation focuses on the inside of text - the features of text such as semantics, grammar, vocabulary and phonology. Social structure is the most abstract level in the external relations (social context), including the system that limits the actions of social events. Social practice mediates between the abstract level of social structure and the concrete level of social events. Discourse is its semiotic element that is made up of an order of discourse: discourses, genres and styles; this is “a network of social practices in its language aspect” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 24). Social events are the most concrete level of social organization. Text is an instance and a social element of social events.

This showcases a sociolinguistically anchored analysis, wherein, “[t]ext analysis is seen as not only linguistic analysis; it also includes what [Fairclough has] called ‘interdiscursive analysis.’ It is part of a broader project of developing critical discourse analysis as a resource for social analysis and research” (Fairclough, 2003, p. 3).

The usage of Fairclough’s new method in this thesis is meant to anchor the analysis within a social justice imperative which, as discussed by Fairclough, should “[f]ocus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect” (Fairclough, 2010, p.226). Fairclough (1992) states that in
education, the issues that are drawn from or pertain to language and power can be seen as a social problem. When ideologies are transmitted, the meanings and values are learned and taught. Such issues might take place because the educational organizations mediate and transmit other domains (Fairclough, 1992). In relation to the textbook analysis of my study: even though content does seem neutral, I contend that textbook writers participate in the construction of textbooks through a process of drawing on repertoires of cultural and linguistic meanings and that sometimes these can be read as embedded in a hegemonic Western ideal. Thus, there are arbitrary values encoded within the cultural texts, which must be interrogated. Therefore, analysis is partly contingent on the notion that when learning a foreign language, the learner is informed by socially constructed representations that inform the ways in which they choose to deconstruct texts. Through breaking down the blatant and latent messages within these English textbooks, this study was able to orient itself around the challenges that ESL students face
Chapter Three: Methods

In this chapter, I outline the methods I employed throughout this research, aiming to describe the processes that I followed to collect and analyze data. I begin by stating the rationale of the analysis along with the research questions that I sought to answer. Next, I provide a qualitative assessment of the search for and selection of policy documents. Subsequently; I discuss the textbook selection process and provide a brief explanation of the analysis itself. I then expound on the details of the progression of my interview design process and consequent analysis. Finally, I describe the limitations of the methods employed in the study therein.

Rationale

The main purpose of the study was to uncover and examine the discourses at work in texts produced for and used in Qatari English language education as sites of potential conflict with Qatari English language learners' cultural sensibilities. This project sought to answer the main research questions of this study:

R1: Do the discourses (images and texts) within English language textbooks designed for Qatari students showcase a power imbalance between the students and the producers of knowledge (the publishers)?

R2: How is responsibility for the content of English language textbooks designed for Qatari students understood by publishers?

R3: How do the power relations of English language textbook production impact the process of education in Qatar?

The rationale for this approach of conducting an in-depth analysis of the textbooks was to illustrate the representations that were current in 2010 in Qatar’s English language education. The analysis of the interview with a publishing agent was intended to allow insight into the
particular practices of representation that went into the production and circulation of such representations. Furthermore, engaging with the policy that supports the purchase and use of certain textbooks enabled a demonstration of the complex socio-political location of English language instruction in Qatar.

Policy Context

I appreciated the vital role of presenting official government data of the general demographics of the country. I began by looking for demographic statistics and found the Qatar’s interior ministry website, which had a section entitled “Qatar at a Glance.” This webpage offered extensive information regarding Qatar’s political history, demographics, economy, language, topography etc. among information on a number of aspects of the nation. The website was available in both English and Arabic. I utilized both. However, I utilized the Arabic website more so than the English site, because the data was far more extensive and detailed. Using the data available from this site, I was able to strengthen my understanding of the country, as well as provide the reader with a contextual profile of Qatar.

My approach to assessing the educational policy of Qatar was to begin by looking at the history of education in Qatar. I searched the terms “education in Qatar,” “modernization of education in Qatar,” in English and the terms “Eltaleem fi Qatar,” and elmadares elmustaqela, among others in Arabic, on various search engines. This search led me to the Supreme Education Council (SEC)’s website, where I found numerous documents, most of which were in Arabic, with some in English. I contacted the research assistance centre, which was listed on the SEC website. The research assistance centre explained that the SEC had replaced the Ministry of Education and was in charge of secondary schools in Qatar. I was directed towards Arabic
language documents detailing the annual test scores and educational reports available on the SEC website.

Reviewing these documents led me to ask when, how, and why English became a shared medium of instruction in Qatar. It was on the SEC website that I found links to RAND’s recommendation for education in Qatar, which provided a breadth of information regarding the history of Qatar’s education up until the current structure. After reviewing RAND’s white paper on education, I began searching for reactions to the policy as it had been implemented. This led me to popular news media sources such as Al Jazeera, and Al Arab and domestic scholars such as Alqubaisi that covered this subject extensively.

Textbook Analysis

The focus of my analysis here is on two English Language textbooks. *Cutting Edge*, written by Sarah Cunningham and Peter Moor, was published in 2005. This textbook is the original copy publicly created for all.

The other textbook is the revised copy entitled *New Cutting Edge (Advanced)*, written by the same authors and published in 2013. This textbook is utilized for Grade eleven (G11) students within all independent Qatar’s high schools.

Selection process.

The original copy of *Cutting Edge* was chosen as a matter of convenience since it was available online. On the other hand, I chose the revised *New Cutting Edge (Advanced)* upon the advice of the administration of a Qatari high school in Doha.

CDA of the textbook analysis.

My analysis does not literally follow the CDA approach but rather is informed by its themes and theories. Following Fairclough’s CDA relational approach (see Chapter Two), I
divided my analysis of the textbook into social analysis and text analysis. Social analysis began by identifying and defining the aspects of social realities, such as power dynamics, systematic relationships, and environmental forces.

Social practice is perceived as the result of actions taken by stakeholders, in this specific case, the production of the textbook. The two major stakeholders are the Pearson publishers and its ‘social actors’ which can be understood as authors and editors and the SEC English department. The label ‘social actors’ flows from Fairclough’s articulation of social practice, which involves social actors producing social events for a given audience (see Chapter Two). In this case, I identified the authors and editors (social actors), who, through the publishing house (where they are employed), produce social events (textbooks). I analyzed material made public on the internet by the two primary stakeholders regarding the publishing process. In addition to this, I examined material about the institutions themselves, the publisher, which is responsible for the textbook production, and the SEC department, which is responsible for the textbook distribution. Following this, I explored material provided on the authors and editors of the textbook, including their biographies and interviews.

Then, the text analysis has been made to focus on the comparison between the original copy (*Cutting Edge*) and the edited/revised copy (*New Cutting Edge*) that is produced to adjust the resource to the Qatari students’ cultural and religious background. Here I have identified specific additions, omissions, and modifications between the two versions of what is by the publisher’s admission the same book. Uncovering these instances of change and interpreting the rationale guiding these changes, as well as confirming this reasoning through interviews with the publisher is an essential point of this study.

Finally, I included a close reading and deep analysis of George Bernard Shaw’s
Pygmalion, which is a major instance of the additional material in the *New Cutting Edge*. I employed CDA to reveal what is believed to be proper English in the play.

**Rationale for Interview of Publishing Agent**

As so many actors are involved and their goals and values may vary, textbook publishing is a delicate and complex process. The textbook analysis did not enable an understanding of the relationships between publishers and the SEC involved in textbook production, nor insights on the production process. Thus, I engaged in an interview with a publishing agent from Pearson, the publisher of the mentioned textbooks. Subsequently, I initiated analysis of this interview in which I hoped to delve further into the process of creating, publishing and introducing English language textbooks and programs in Qatar. The agent whom I interviewed is closely involved in the production of the textbooks.

**Contacting interview subjects.**

I initiated contact with Pearson Education’s Riyadh office regarding the prospect of interviewing a publishing agent involved in English language resources in the Middle East. I was directed to Pearson’s London office, where I corresponded with a publishing agent who agreed at first to an interview. After, an informed consent letter was sent to the participant in order to provide a further description of the project and to propose an interview at a mutually convenient time and place. The London publishing agent did not respond to any subsequent e-mail. I then contacted Pearson Canada’s office, which directed me to Pearson’s Middle East office. Through email correspondence with this branch, I received consent for an interview from a publishing agent who specializes in ESL textbooks in the region. Her work entails marketing textbooks in the Gulf Region as well as working closely with clients who have commissioned textbooks, in order to meet their specifications.
The interviewee (the agent) was asked about her work with a publisher preparing ESL textbooks. These textbooks were mainly for the Gulf States, although she had worked on textbooks used worldwide and had worldwide representation. This interview focused mainly on the work in Qatar, the United Arab Emirates (UAE), and in Saudi Arabia.

Though financial compensation was offered, the interviewee declined, instead asking for the results of the work and expressing that she was content to have been able to help through this discussion. The interview allowed a considerable amount of freedom for the interviewee to express her views and control the subject matter to a certain extent. I believe this allowed her to stress issues that she thought were most important and avoided a certain amount of bias on the part of the interviewer.

Interview questions.

I had prepared semi-structured, exploratory research questions for the interview but because of the limited amount of time (half an hour), I was only able to ask the following questions: describe your experience as an agent working with the publisher; how did the publisher become involved in creating ESL textbooks designed for the Gulf Regions and the Middle East?; how was the content of the textbook determined?; what recourse do authors use in writing the content of the textbook?; do authors take into consideration the inclusion of local teachings to the content?; do the local educators get involved in adding content?; did you get any demand from your company to create or reproduce textbooks for the K-12?; and how was the textbook revised and re-edited?

Interview analysis.

The focus of the interview was largely on the publisher’s role and experiences working in ESL publishing in the Gulf Region, including the Pearson’s Cutting Edge textbooks. The
analysis was twofold in nature in that it consisted of first a qualitative analysis of the interview, focused on the content and themes that emerged from the interview. These themes were discussed as factors that influence the publishing process in the Gulf, and Qatar specifically. They emerged as follows: process (textbook development and distribution), audience, viability, validity, control (commissioned content/free market release), cultural and ethical concerns.

Secondly, the analysis of the interview consisted of a close critical reading of the interview transcript, analyzing it through a CDA lens to uncover ideology and power dynamics inherent within the discussion. In addition to this, the goal of the critical reading of the interview included an in-depth discussion of the interplay between the social actors and the social reality of the context in which the discourse was formed.

I examined how the publishing house (represented by the agent) positions itself in the region and how it validates this position within Qatari education. I pay particular attention to how cognizant the publishing house is of its commercial validity within Qatar’s education market. I also examine the priorities and focus of the textbooks in relation to the agenda of the stakeholders involved, while emphasizing the increased participation and application of the student voice in the writing and design of English language textbooks.

Within this inquiry, I attempted to shed light on the dynamics that govern the publishers’ work in the Gulf Region and specifically, Qatar’s education. Questions included how the publisher positions itself within this environment, both in terms of legitimizing its work as an effective ELT publishing house and validating its considerations of cultural context. The interview reveals the perception that English in the Gulf Region is transforming from an Anglo-American centered system to a global language of communication with greater consideration for local sensitivities, traditions, and ethical values. I believe my discussion reconciles these two, in
a functional way, with insights into the influences that contribute most significantly to shaping this condition.

Limitations

This investigation has been limited to these instruments: the review of statistical data offered in the public domain, policy analysis data from Qatar, the textbooks in question, and an interview conducted with a publishing agent. This means that there may be factors that are not captured in the study. This study acknowledges that there are factors other than those represented in these data sources that may also have an impact on student cultural identity and associated experiential data. Some of these factors include socioeconomic and demographic factors such as a safe environment, food security, tutoring and proficient instruction.

This research may be susceptible to criticism regarding the length of texts used for analysis. I addressed this by arguing that the instances of text used for analysis serve as examples of the larger text. Further, the majority of Fairclough’s work is based on small selections of text, therefore following this example, it is necessary to summarize/synthesize the larger trends in the textbooks as this conveys more clearly the issues of linguistic imperialism.

This research might be criticized for a lack of objectivity in which the analyst is biased in interpreting the text. According to Widdowson (1998, 2004), CDA’s analyst is the one whose perspective is reflected upon a text so it is the analyst’s interpretation not that of the students or whomever may be consuming the texts that is the object of inquiry. Nevertheless, Fairclough explains that objectivity is almost impossible to reach by the CDA analyst because “there is no such thing as an ‘objective’ analysis of a text, if by that we mean an analysis which simply describes what is ‘there’ in the text without being ‘biased’ by the ‘subjectivity’ of the analyst” (Fairclough, 2003, pp.14-15).
Another potential critique is that I have not used CDA as thoroughly as I might have in the analysis of my data. CDA was not fully employed in some parts of my analysis, particularly in my policy assessment and intended interactions with Qataris. Since Fairclough elaborated CDA in western space, it is unfair to assume that CDA can be properly utilized in every society. One critical reflection on CDA is that it has a “closure to particular kinds of societies,” that the work of CDA has been conducted in only certain societies and that each society has different discourses (Blommaert, 2005, p. 35). These differences in social, economic and cultural manifestations must be taken into account, which Blommaert argues is missing from Fairclough’s approach. CDA has only been applied to first world European western societies. CDA needs to account for context specific discourse, not currently looked at in the west, and CDA assumes too much ‘sharedness’ between contexts, overlooking sociolinguistics (Blommaert, 2005). Therefore, it is possible that in my study the context could not be situated effectively because Qatar is located in Non-European/western space. Since I am looking at a non-western context, full practical use of CDA cannot be achieved.
Chapter Four: Policy Context

In this chapter, I present the current policy context of Qatar, while also reporting on previous events that have shaped the present educational landscape of the country. This includes a brief historical report of the nation’s political and educational systems as well as a look at the role of foreign consultants and actors in influencing education in Qatar. I provide a detailed account of the work of RAND, their relationship with Qatar’s Supreme Educational Council (SEC), and the goals of the SEC educational policy. Finally, I present the reaction of the nation, particularly educators, students, and parents to this policy, while addressing questions of modernity and English language in conflict with cultural identity and native language.

Qatar’s Language Policy Since 2007: Beginning Context.

Qatar is one of the Gulf States and one of the wealthiest countries of the modern world. The period of Sheikh Hamad’s rule, which began in the mid-nineties, saw a significant transformation of the economy and policy of the state. Qatar’s wealth depends primarily on its natural resources: namely oil and natural gas. Petroleum and natural gas production continue to play a vital role in the government’s economic advancement. Sustaining the growth of the petroleum industry requires Qatar to invest heavily in acquiring top talent and expertise from around the globe in order to extract and process these resources. Despite most oil and gas production being handled by state owned companies, the environment and corporate structure of these companies mirror that of the west.

Sigler (2013) discusses the current blueprint for Doha as what he refers to as a ‘post-national,’ relational city. He discusses Doha and neighboring Dubai, as cities that serve as hubs for ideas, products, business, and people, serving as intermediaries between markets and regions.
(Sigler, 2013). He contrasts Doha, Qatar with my hometown Dammam, Saudi Arabia as both cities are similar in geographical makeup and their proximity to one another. While both cities were built around oil based economies, and the population sizes are similar, the demographics differ, in that Doha has a mostly foreign population (Sigler, 2013). He gives reasoning for this as the Qatari government has made conscious efforts to open Doha up to the world and more importantly globalization on all levels. This has served to move Doha away from an oil based economy, like Dammam, and instead diversify its economy (Sigler, 2013). Doha is now home to many international businesses, universities, and foreign workers, and will continue to grow in this manner as a transnational hub (Sigler, 2013). This approach has been viewed as a proactive response to the future of the region, the Qatari planning ahead for a time after oil and gas reserves (Sigler, 2013). Accommodating the world necessitates a welcoming environment which is accessible to all, and English serves as a key component of this access. By reframing the medium of communication in Doha to English, Qatar has eased the transition for western emigrants and those that have learned English into Doha (Sigler, 2013). This transnationalization of Doha means the city is not the exclusive property of Qatar alone, at least to some degree it belongs to these residents. It seems the Qatari government is conscious and encouraging of this, quite possibly believing that this is necessary for their sustainability. The effect of this policy on Qatari culture and identity remains to be determined and is a central concern of this study.

While Arabic is acknowledged as the official state language, English is in practice the actual language spoken in the workplace. English skills, both written and verbal, are now a mandatory requisite for those seeking employment in the petroleum sector regardless of the particular company. This is prevalent in the practices of most companies; for instance,
“employers, such as Qatar Petroleum, have established extensive training programs to enable secondary school graduates to perform technical, clerical, and administrative jobs. The training includes English-language skills” (Brewer et al, 2007, p.32). Indeed, whether this adoption of the English language in the workplace serves as tool for better facilitation of foreign employees and easier accessibility of global business or a demonstration of global hegemonic tendencies is frankly difficult to claim. It is more likely a combination of these two notions that shapes the workplace practices of Qatar’s petroleum sector. For that reason, RAND’s recommendations have led to Qatar’s policies that promote English teaching and learning in education at the expense of Arabic.

**Education System**

Historically, the educational philosophy in Qatar has been centered on Islamic values and the institutional structures have followed Islamic principles (e.g. status of the teacher, strict gender separation), although the administrations of recent decades have brought forth a paradigm shift focused on meeting development goals. Qatar is not alone in this effort; neighboring Gulf States share similar pedagogical objectives and educational philosophy, anchoring their current policy in a larger scale development and future economic goals. Some key objectives that have been identified in the curricula include; strengthening the faith of the individual in almighty God, fostering national, Arabian, and Islamic cultural identities, and enhancing students' comprehension and performance skills in reading, writing, and mathematics (Alqubaisi, 2011).

Brewer et al. (2006) argue that because Qatar has gone through drastic changes, there have been many issues/things to confront in “modernizing” the country. Along with the economic prosperity and growth that Qatar experienced in the mid-nineties came modernization, as well as the difficulty of regulating the functions of modernization while maintaining the
customs and cultural integrity of Qatar’s society. Furthermore, it was reported by Qatar’s media that the former Emir of Qatar, Sheikh Hamad Al-Thani, had been concerned with the state of Qatar’s education since 1995 and had made efforts to improve the system internally from that time in 1996 and 1997 with the assistance of UNESCO, a team consisting of American and Qatari experts (Lazar, 2003). After finding students continuously performing poorly on international standardized tests, he sought out RAND from a number of potential think tanks, and approved their plans in 2001, putting them into action in 2003 (Lazar, 2003). It seems implicitly that by turning towards western entities on numerous occasions, the Qatar’s government shows a preference for Western-born education design or a lack of confidence for local approaches to reform.

Recently, Qatar assigned RAND to “modernize” the Qatar’s educational system. RAND (Brewer et al., 2006) is a US-based nonprofit research institution analyzing and evaluating the system and philosophy of education. “In 2001, the Government of Qatar grew concerned about the outcomes of the Qatari educational system promulgated by secondary students’ lower scores in the Trends in International Mathematics and Science Study (TIMSS) and the Program for International Assessment (PISA)” (Ellili-Cherif, Romanowski & Nasser, 2012, p. 471). By appointing RAND to analyze and remodel the Qatar’s system, the government hoped to promote “community development (and) to prepare the people of Qatar and the region to meet the challenges of an ever-changing world, and to make Qatar a leader in innovative education and research” (UNESCO, 2011, p. 6). It seems clear that the Qatar’s government was complicit and proactive in following the reform measures and implementations outlined by RAND. RAND was concerned with the future directions of management of the school and reforms, cautioning against losing vision of the initial goals (Brewer et al, 2007, p. 163). RAND's work has brought
on a multitude of complexities to the education system; whether this has been detrimental or beneficial is uncertain.

**RAND Recommendations/Implementation**

RAND’s work culminated with the policy research recommendation paper entitled *Education for a New Era: Design and Implementation of K-12 Education Reform in Qatar* (Brewer et al, 2007), which was completely implemented by the SEC. It provided a summary of their findings, as well as, a description of the current state of affairs in Qatar and what actions and direction the education system should be taking in order to meet future development goals. Looking at the recommendations outlined in the paper, it is apparent that RAND emphasizes western ideals and standards, which according to RAND “did not exist in the region” prior to their endeavor there.

RAND’s report details challenges that existed in Qatar prior to RAND’s arrival in 2001. RAND’s initial audit of the Qatari system revealed students were rarely able to gain acceptance into post-secondary institutions ‘abroad,’ nor were they able to converse or write well in English. RAND linked this presumed shortcoming back to a historical flaw in the Qatar’s education system, which followed an Egyptian model for schooling when it was first implemented in the 1950s. Over the last 50 years, RAND alleged, the Qatar Ministry of Education has failed to utilize new developments and innovations in education. RAND positions itself as the purveyor of these innovations of the international community that have been ignored by the Qataris over the last half-century. Additionally, many of RAND’s suggestions endorse the need for specialists and outside consultants for successful reform and indeed it is apparent that there is a clear push for non-Qatari, western experts to be brought in. The report states, “Qatar should seek to attract the best school operators without regard to nationality” (Brewer et al, 2007, p. xxiii).
However, Brewer points out that while “these international experts bring valuable knowledge and experience, (they) often have dissimilar work styles to their Qatari partners. This can result in friction and inefficiency in adopting the design principles for operating the new institutions, such as open discussions of issues, flat organizational hierarchies, information sharing, and joint decision-making. For the reform to achieve its goals, the international experts and Qatari partners must learn to work together effectively” (Brewer et al., 2006, p. 25).

RAND detailed the inefficiencies in the previous ministry of education in Qatar, and recommended reforming this part of the government. “[T]he overly centralized, hierarchical Ministry had constructed a complex, inefficient set of processes, rules, and regulations to exert control over the schools and the education agenda. This set of controls was designed to ensure compliance to the status quo and, as such, had no mechanisms either for monitoring or assessing performance or for implementing changes for improvement” (Brewer et al., 2007, p. 44).

The report further emphasized a western approach towards schooling with the suggestion of establishing independent schools (Salah, 2010, p. 28) in which the educational philosophy would differ from that of the government schools. Greater autonomy would be offered to the independent schools, affording the freedom to pursue educational missions and objectives without government restrictions (UNESCO, 2011). Similar to government schools, independent schools are also government funded (UNESCO, 2011). Independent schools aim “to produce an educational system that would provide young people with the skills needed to participate more fully in the nation’s economic and social life, consistent with the other social, economic and political changes underway” (Brewer et al., 2006, p. 6). As an initial pilot project, 12 independent schools were first established in 2004 (UNESCO, 2011). The number of independent schools rapidly increased to 88 schools in 2007/8 (UNESCO, 2011). Most recently,
all government schools have been phased out and adopted into independent schools\(^1\), evidence that the initiative has been deemed successful.

Carden (1999), however, argues that these are high stress environments that cause social, psychological and other problems, so much so that individual students often abandon these schools due to the increased stress. This is the result of an increase in weekly hours of study within the independent school to 26 hours (Alqubaisi, 2011). Twenty hours are divided among English, Arabic, math and science, while the remaining six hours are allotted to geography, Islamic studies and history (Alqubaisi, 2011).

The establishment of independent schools has made formal governing structures surrounding education overly complex, because it embroils numerous stakeholders in the process (Salah, 2010). The triad of key stakeholders consists of the following: the Supreme Education Council (SEC), the Higher Education Institute (HEI); and the Evaluation Council (Salah, 2010). The SEC is the main policy-making body that is responsible for establishing educational goals and enacting policies. The Higher Education Institute is responsible for financial aid endowment along with ongoing school maintenance by providing necessary resources. Finally, the Evaluation Council serves to assess and evaluate the performance of school students and school management and staff (Salah, 2010). RAND maintains that these additional stakeholders are necessary components of the infrastructure needed for independent schools to progress.

Salah’s qualitative work shows that the general consensus amongst educators, parents, students, etc., was that the physical school buildings that were constructed after the advent of the reforms were the greatest product of the initiative (Salah, 2010).

\(^{1}\) Personal communications include a phone-call with Supreme Education Council authorities (July 15, 2013).
The former Qatari University (QU) President, Abdullah Alqubaisi, criticizes this newfangled system stating that it serves only to import British/Western texts and values, making Arabic a subordinate language in its own homeland (Alqubaisi, 2012). This move towards English as the lingua franca of Qatar, entails removing Arabic as the method of communication for knowledge transmission, cultural arts, business, as well as any other historic space in which the Arabic language had contributed to the growth of the cultural fabric of Qatar. RAND, Alqubaisi claims, is putting “poison in the honey” (Alqubaisi, 2012, p. 2) – a common Arabic saying, which is similar to the English saying, “a fair skin often covers a crooked mind”– so that it looks benign but really it masks an insidious intention to colonize Qatar under the guise of “modernization.”

Overall, the independent school system serves to reinforce American neoliberalism, which parallels the collapse of the welfare state (due to its huge income from oil and gas, which enables the government to provide social welfare such as free education, free students' transportation and meals, free health service, free housing and scholarships) and reinforces the hegemony of privatized social systems (education). As a result of this, language education falls from being a right to a privilege and Arabic language seems to be forfeited as a concession of modernization (destruction of history/heritage).

This is an instance of the destruction of indigenous culture and language, and reinforces the linguistic imperialism that the English has enjoyed since the days of the British Empire. It is precisely because of this focus on educating students in English that other subjects such as Qatari social studies are being neglected in the curriculum. The Former president of QU believes that this will be the source of long-term damage to students’ sense of culture, while the Qatari national identity gradually begins to disappear or at the very least is left fragmented (Alarab, 2012).
Nationalism and English

Salah (2010) argues that although it is written within the policies of the Independent schools that the schools remain committed to the preservation of Arabic culture and heritage, in practice the schools fail to provide any safeguards for Arabic. On the contrary, the schools have opted for an English-only syllabus in a number of key subjects including math, science, ESL education, and computer science (pp. 25, 28). What is essential here is the emphasis on English language education. The main governing structures of this reform stem from the Supreme Education Council (SEC). This showcases conflict, contrast, and contradiction between the formal and informal goals of this new system, and though it looks like an emphasis on bilingualism, this process truly supports linguistic imperialism.

Apparently, there is indeed a strong emphasis on English language education for a variety of reasons, and building a strong foundation in spoken and written English remains a key goal for the Independent schools. There seems to be a clear inconsistency between the explicit and implicit goals of the Independent school system; from an external standpoint, one may suggest that the system in practice supports a bilingual course of study. However, it is clear from the number of courses as well as the importance of the subjects being taught in English, that in practice the independent schools represent something other than a balanced bilingualism, namely an English immersion.

English Department – SEC

In addition to English being the medium of instruction of science subjects, the English department of the SEC has also established specific criteria for English language teaching and learning. This criteria aims to enable students to attain the necessary English language skills in order for them to be qualified enough to participate in the international marketplace and pursue
graduate degrees abroad (SEC, n.d.). This is because English is regarded as an effective tool of communication and education globally. Therefore the education policy in Qatar revolves around the establishment of English language proficiency that can assist in this process.

The required materials, namely textbooks, have been adapted to better prepare students for continuing their studies abroad. Since the establishment of the SEC in 2002, the body has chosen to distribute textbooks from the British owned multinational publishing giant, Pearson, to all independent schools in Qatar (SEC, n.d.). The textbooks were in use until very recently when partnership between education and Pearson was withdrawn.

There are very strong doubts that students are truly gaining English language proficiency skills and it is quite possible that the content appears much too foreign to them. When literature and subject matter fail to connect with students, students begin to study inactively and rather than understanding the content, they resort to rote memorization, which fails them in the long run.

Coupled with this difficulty is the problem that arises with knowledge being presented from foreign sources as opposed to it being locally constructed. The utilization of foreign produced material functions to build a dependency on western knowledge-production while undermining indigenous knowledge bases, essentially a form of linguistic imperial and cultural imposition.

Development and Modernization

Development and notions of how English can propel the country’s development as a whole (the Western Modernist project) are showcased by the Qatar National Vision 2030:

The National Vision 2030 articulates several education and training goals, namely: a world-class education system that enables citizens to achieve their aspirations and that meets Qatar’s needs; a national network of formal and non-formal education programmes
that equips Qatari children and youth with the skills and motivation to contribute to society; well developed, independent, self-managing and accountable education institutions operating under centrally determined guidelines; an effective system for funding scientific research shared by the public and private sectors and conducted in cooperation with international organizations and leading international research centers; and a strong international role in cultural and intellectual activity and scientific research (UNESCO, 2011, p. 3).

In line with this, there is a clear emphasis on education, which aims to make Qatar a self-reliant, sustainable economy with highly qualified individuals. The vision has a larger scale with social change in mind, as “Qatar’s National Vision 2030 rests on four pillars: human, social, economic and environmental development” (UNESCO, 2011, p. 2). As noted, cultural maintenance is not included in these pillars as being crucial in developing the Qatari identity (Marzouq, 2014). Marzouq (2014) argues that cultural maintenance may be addressed in the social pillar as it concerns keeping the Qatari tradition and boosting the norms of Arabic identity. Qatar’s confrontation with cosmopolitanism showcases the acceptance of western values and the willful distancing from traditions and cultural history (Almarzouq, 2014). English seems to dominate Arabic among the new generation as their Arabic language is being swiftly mixed with English, resulting in English-related culture replacing the poorer culture of Arabic. It is the economy that drives education, and since all the industries that dominate the country are Western, to participate/be part of these industries, you MUST speak English (to achieve/prosper in this country you MUST speak English). “But Qatar’s ambitions lie further West, making English a language of necessity for Qataris eager to be part of the large global marketplace” (Pasha, 2013).
In summary, (despite the 2030 vision), the future is blurred, especially with the creation of conditions of national security through its affiliation with particular allies connected to certain notions of democracy/the protection of sovereign rights (through the insertion of Qatar into a globalized economy or at least into particular relations of bilateral economic cooperation with large scale implications.

Globalization could be seen as a serious force at play in Qatar, resulting in greater economic, education and political dependency on western modes of operation. These three aforementioned aspects of globalization have transformed Qatar into a more developed country in line with the interests of its western developers. From an economic standpoint, English serves as a required instrument in business and the primary language of communication in the workplace. In regards to the educational sphere, RAND’s analysis and recommendations for Qatar’s education system helped to validate the imposition of English as the principal medium of instruction. English textbooks are produced by the west and therefore subtly socialize students into the Western value system.

In the view of critical pedagogy, this emphasis on reeducating students in English as a medium of instruction at the expense of the more widely used and cohesive Arabic only, serves as a detriment to student’s skills development in both languages. By discarding the Arabic that is well integrated into Qatar’s society in lieu of English, which is not only foreign to students but a relatively unfamiliar language, the ability to meet proficiency expectations in either language is compromised (Phillipson, 1992). Qatar now relies on Western philosophies in order to reform and improve the educational system. Guarino and Tanner clarify why this is problematic: “[t]o some degree, these developments substantiate criticisms that reform along the lines promoted by international agencies may be politically unfeasible and difficult to sustain – even in a system of
political hegemony like the emirate of Qatar” (2012, p. 243). Adapting these Western education policies may result in insufficient knowledge of Arabian culture. If so, Arabian culture will be replaced by Western culture, reaffirming histories of colonialism, and exterminating the indigenous cultural ideology.
Chapter Five: The Analysis of Revisions to an English Language Textbook

This ensuing chapter focuses on the analysis of two English language textbooks, Cutting Edge and New Cutting Edge. I begin with a social analysis of the context and the social reality surrounding the textbooks, the authors and the editors that are engaged in their production. I offer a detailed account of the relationships that exist between social actors in order to establish the various levels needed to analyze the textbooks. After this, I begin the text analysis of the textbooks by looking at the organization of each textbook. The bulk of this analysis, however, consists of a review of the changes made between the original and Qatari version of the textbooks, specifically which themes are prevalent in guiding these changes. Finally, I engage in analyzing a crucial section of the textbook using discursive analysis to uncover implicit notions of hierarchy in language being projected to students.

Social Analysis: Textbook Authors

The purpose of exploring the authors’ background is that it is influential in determining their ideological positions and “ideological effectiveness” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 80). Their educational background, interests, and prior experiences are significant to correlate the content that they articulate in their writing.

The Pearson website (http://www.pearsonlongman.com/reallife/authors.html) includes short bios and interviews that can be viewed to learn more about the authors of Cutting Edge, Sarah Cunningham and Peter Moor; the interview questions posed to the authors relate to their professional experiences as educators as well as their personal interests. What is clear from consuming this media is that both authors reflect British cultural norms in their responses (e.g.
first records purchased: the Beatles, the Sound of Music). They articulate a shared interest in traditional Western subjects such as Literature and History. Further, they have taught in a number of countries, but both seem to have the majority of their teaching experience in Western Europe. The website information and interviews highlight their proclivities to ELT, and position them as sites of authority (PearsonELT, n.d.). They discuss within their interviews on their Real Life series that they are proponents of educators taking control of the classroom. However, this is only a cursory glance into their teaching philosophy. Though these individuals are clearly very qualified to teach in their native culture, it is clear that they do not have the formal training on Middle Eastern culture, as they have not only never visited these places, but they have no knowledge of Arabic, nor the cultural traditions of the area. Therefore, their validity as the individuals who are cultivating knowledge for Qatari students requires further scrutiny.

The “text producer’ is more complicated than it may seem” (Fairclough, 1992, p. 78). Its role must be differentiated into the various positions that the production process entails (Fairclough, 1992). The contributions of each contributor must be understood individually for their motivations and the parameters within which they must operate. Thus, publishing a book is a competitive process, where the authors are permitted to engage in their own analysis; however, the larger publishing body must approve such work. The Pearson publishing company suggests a guide for publishing where the author’s work is examined based on how effective their ideas are for the audience (Pearson ELT). Authors’ ideas must be as specific as possible (Pearson ELT).

The production of the textbook is then augmented by the process of SEC editing and publishing, as the SEC then takes the British publication, and makes its own edits. What could perhaps fill this gap between British publishers and the local Qatari culture is the position of the SEC editors. However, it is extremely difficult to find information on these individuals; their
names are not disclosed in the text, and therefore, they are merely representatives of the larger goals (vision 2030) of the SEC itself (extensive bureaucracy). The revisions were done by the local committee within the Curriculum Standards Office – English Department of the Supreme Education Council (SEC) in Qatar (http://www.english.education.gov.qa/). I was unable to obtain any information because the website requires authentication, a username and password. However, before the revision of the textbooks were initiated, this department had established a BlogSpot website to share experiences, educational tools of teaching English, and useful materials for both teachers and students (http://csoenglishdept.blogspot.ca/p/secondary.html). More importantly, under the section of secondary textbooks’ modules overview, one of teachers and users of the original (unedited) textbooks has revealed his strong resistance to the books in his comments. He, (BuEmad), expressed his criticism by commenting that:

I am against the idea of using all these books. I wish we could be wiser and produce English books [specifically] for Qatar. The authors and the publishers of these books are neither prophets nor geniuses> make a survey and check my point of view. Thanks. (BuEmad, 2011).

In turn, one of the SEC English Department agents has responded that:

We totally agree with you Mr. BuEmad. But don't you think that if we design our books, we are getting back to the old traditional way of teaching in [public] schools?

I appreciate your input. (English Department Blog, 2012).

In line with this sort of resistance expressed by BuEmad in 2012-13, SEC revised the textbook ‘New Cutting Edge (Advanced).’ This position, however, can perhaps be better understood through the process of evaluating these revisions, as they convey – not only practical limitations
to utilizing texts produced outside of Qatar – but also the ideologies of the contemporary complex culture that is manifested in the textbook. What is clear is that specific ideas are being transmitted from the authors through the textbook to the students and teachers in addition to an apparent discursive opposition that has resulted to some degree in the relationship between some teachers and students and the ideas of the authors that are permeated through the textbook.

Throughout this process, however, the agency of the authors is obfuscated as the students, who are the readers of the textbooks, do not understand the book as part of a larger process but rather an objective artifact that carries no political value, / weight, or ideological agenda. This is further exacerbated by the fact that neither the teachers nor the students are in communication with the producers of this knowledge, and thus an evident disconnection. Without further inquiry into the authors’ experiences I can only wonder what it is like to engage in such a process, and further, I cannot assume that they are passive vessels for knowledge. The information gathering process, including sources used and value judgments made, has been taken into consideration in the analysis.

Neither the authors, nor the students who are meant to consume these products have control over the full production process and therefore, they are all subject to the whims of the publishing company. The company itself and its major stakeholder, the SEC, concentrate on feasibility, and therefore, the main point of these texts is to make money for this organization.

The majority of the analysis here has been, as stated earlier, centered on a comparison between the two named textbooks. The reason for this focus is due to the fact that there are clear differences between the texts, and this wholly supports the purpose of utilizing CDA where “the power to control discourse is seen as the power to sustain particular discursive practices with particular ideological investments in dominance over other alternatives” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 2).
The alterations reflect cultural ideologies surrounding celebrity status, indigenous culture, forbidden objects and the support of Western linguistic norms.

**Text Analysis**

Through the comparison of the texts, I was able to identify the conflicting cultural beliefs between the British publishers and the local authorities on education. The most noticeable changes were the names of the titles of some chapters, some images and reference to some texts. Presumably, many of these changes were made to make the text more appropriate to students to remove the references to celebrities, alcohol, (politics), mixed gender association and the lottery, etc. Many of these alterations may be understood as an attempt to make the text more familiar to students, and evoke a sense of national pride (e.g. image of Qatari fans vs. Italians). The major trends that can be seen in the shifts between the texts is a clear emphasis on Western Ideals in an attempt to modernize (Westernize) these students.

**Textbook organization.**

The most recent version of the textbook, *the New Cutting Edge (Advanced)*, is divided into six modules or ‘chapters’ (7–12). Each module has six subsections: Language Focus, Vocabulary, Reading/Listening, Task, Further Skills and Study Practice Remember. Each of these modules is comprised of a major thematic such as: Big Events, Making your Mark, Our Mysterious World, Getting Together, Interfering with Nature and Media Mania, and contains a large reading segment. There is also a Consolidation Module, which summarizes modules 7 to 9 and emphasizes grammar, vocabulary, and speaking.

In the revised/edited textbook, there is an insert in Arabic comprised of the national anthem and commentary surrounding the development goals of the nation. The image is of Sheik Hammad, the President of Qatar, surrounded by two flags, and underneath his image is the
national anthem:

Swearing by God who upraised the sky, Swearing by God who spread the light, Qatar will always be free, Elevated by the spirits of the loyal, Follow the path of the ancestors, And the prophets’ guidance. In my heart, Qatar is an epic of dignity and glory, Qatar is the land of the forefathers, Our protectors at the time of war, Doves at the time of peace, And hawks at the time of sacrifice (2013, preface).

After this, the second paragraph explains the nature of Qatar’s flag and what it represents: the maroon of blood, and the white of peace. The blood is meant to symbolize the sacrifice of Qataris to achieve independence, and the nine serrated points: The nine-point serrated line indicates that Qatar is the 9th member of the "reconciled Emirates" of the Arabian Gulf in the wake of concluding the Qatari-British treaty in 1916 (Qatari Ministry of Interior, n.d.).

On the back of this patriotic imagery, there is a discussion by the General Secretariat for Development Planning (GDSP), surrounding “Qatar's National Vision 2030” goals, and it states:

The National Vision aims at transforming Qatar into an advanced country by 2030, capable of sustaining its own development and providing for a high standard of living for all of its people for generations to come (GSDP, 2008, p. 2).

This reemphasizes the previously mentioned notion surrounding the bifurcated identity of the nation. The mixture of tradition and a quest for modernization is clearly salient even within this first page. This summary of the National Vision continues to elucidate the four pillars (development goals) that include education. This includes a discussion of the need for outside skilled workers, to contribute to the economy. Though this may seem natural for a textbook, there is clearly insight to be gained surrounding those who produced this knowledge and their intended audience. The inculcating of English language for Qatari students is clearly a major
facet of Qatar’s overall development plan, which is meant to continue into the next fifty years.

Textbook Revision: What was Added and Removed

The revision of the book includes the addition of more pages to include imagery and ideas that are specifically Western in orientation to place more emphasis on western ideals and culture. As well, I created different categories for the instances where material was removed from the edited book according to the different discourse represented in the texts.

Nationalism and the emphasis on western cultural values.

The most salient shift can be seen within the forms of semiosis (especially types of visual images) selected to convey certain ideas. Many of the sections whose images did not previously display Qatari individuals, but rather other nationalities instead, have been replaced in the edited version. This is exemplified by the changes on page 4, edited from the original pages 70-73. Instances of the numerous images that have been altered include: Italian football/soccer fans being replaced by Qatari football fans; also, on page 46 of the edited version, the Qatari Fall-Ball club has replaced an image of Manchester United football club on page 108 of the original copy. What is exemplary about this image is that the individuals in the photo convey a more traditional sense of Qatar’s history, for example the soccer fans’ clothing is comprised of the traditional Shaumag and Thuop. This is a dated example of how individuals dress, as most contemporary Qatari soccer fans are more likely to be dressed in jeans in a t-shirt. This is of course not the only example of this type of change.

The SEC ensures the inclusion of these discourses of nationalism to create a sense of belonging for students as well as a connection to the content of the textbook. Despite the effort the SEC editors have made to achieve this emphasis on Qatari nationalism, other discourses increasingly find space within the content of the textbook, representing the values of different
nations. On pages 5 and 37 respectively, references to Dragons and Stonehenge are presented in the book as examples of history from other cultures. Dragons are recognized in the text as the cultural symbol of China and on the other hand, Stonehenge is identified as a heritage site of the UK. There are multiple instances from the text involving the particularities of Western culture that serve to exemplify the greatness of its people. The multi-national discourses behind the textbook promote the existence and enhancement of cultural diversity in the text. Such cultural diversity is illustrated in the text (page 48) where the images of individuals from nine different ethnic backgrounds are presented. In the learning exercise that follows this example, students are asked to work together with peers, to make a list of the best guests in this image. Students are allowed to include all people from all areas of interests, men and woman and from different nationalities.

What is problematic in this exercise is the prominence of British cultural imagery in comparison to other cultures in the section. The two examples on page 50 of Qatar hosting the world cup including the above image of Qatari soccer fans are the only examples related to Qatar. Most of the information used in the text is for the most part western in orientation and British in particular. A quick glance reveals examples that include: British national images, the Stilton Cheese Rolling festival, Shakespeare, the Vaughan family case, Stonehenge & Loch Ness Monster, UK Open University, Bernard Shaw's Pygmalion, the poet Sir John Betjeman, (UK radio traffic report, Journalist interviewing UK prime minister, BBC news reporter and England Football manager), BBC entertainment programs, the London Herald, and a British Film review respectively on pages 5, 11, 19, 36, 37, 45, 53, 67, 74, 76, 78, 83.

The references to Qatari cultural representation, names, knowledge and values in the text pale in comparison to the British cultural content; Qatari knowledge and beliefs are limited and
certainly underrepresented in the textbook. In fact, there seems to be very little if any input from any writers from Qatar in any part of the textbooks. One could argue that whether the authors are from Qatar or not is irrelevant as it is the content and not the background of the author that is the purpose of these textbooks. But, it should be noted that to convey the content of the textbooks to Qatari students, utilizing the voice of local authors and involving Qatari authors would serve to better facilitate knowledge transmission in the Qatar’s context. While Pearson certainly employs expert English writers for their textbooks and thus the students must be receiving the finest English language content, there are a number of problems that arise from this. Firstly, perhaps there is an expectation that content and educational materials must be unpacked and interpreted by both teachers and students for “effective learning” to take place. While English has served as a universal language throughout much of the globe, its aspects differ from context to context and thus there is no one universal textbook that can be implemented in the classroom without some degree of interpretation. By not including the local voice in the writing of textbooks, it is difficult to say with confidence that the textbooks being utilized in the Qatari classrooms are meeting their full potential in educating students.

**Cultural appropriation of cultural beliefs.**

In this category, I explore what is removed from the content of the text to make it more culturally accepted. SEC editors changed any reference to western items, events and celebrity and so forth. First; for instance, the mention of alcohol, a wine glass, and a Champagne bottle on page 12, 104 and 74 of the original is replaced with fruit juice, a regular glass, and the Olympics on page 80, 40 and 6 respectively of the edited version. Another example of alcohol is on page 79 of the original in which the images are also altered, the Stilton cheese rolling remains, but the mention of “beer and port wine” is removed in the edited book. The reference to alcohol is
removed because it is prohibited and completely religiously forbidden for the students.

In Western events such as celebrations, for example, there is a segment entitled “Western Celebrations” in the old version on page 76 that was changed to be named “Big Events” in the edited version excluding the Day of the Dead presented in the original copy. The words Hallowe’en and Hollywood on pages 82 and 87 of the edited copy are changed to Lord Mayor and Blade Runner on pages 16 and 20 respectively. Although the word “celebration” and the mentioned example were changed, there is still an increased emphasis on Western celebrations, versus international culture in the form of events in the edited copy on page 8: Martin Luther King Day and Independence Day are presented in the revised text. Moreover, there is also a mention of Islamic events presented in the original copy on page 77. One of the most interesting points here is the representation of Ramadan as it is explained as a “festival” in the previous version, whereas it is in reality a solemn holy month. In the SEC edited text, there is no discussion of this holiday and instead there is a description of American Thanksgiving, which is expressed as a “festival.” This shift is clearly important, as the SEC is attempting to show an American celebration, but they could have just fixed/altered the way Ramadan was represented. This is another example of how Western events are being taught to non-Western children.

Celebrities, societal priorities, and aspects of social life.

Instances of references to western celebrities and pop culture are very commonly displayed in the original version of the textbook, for example, MODULE eight: Celebrity 84. The comparisons between the versions of the chapter (Module 8) in each book showcases a clear shift from the western-centric concept of “celebrity,” in the original textbook, to a more in-depth look at individuals who have contributed to society in the edited book. What was initially entitled “Fame and Fortune” has changed to “Making Your Mark,” on page 18 of the edited version, and
also the removal of the title “How to be a Celebrity.” There are major content shifts in this section many of which are less overt, but more culturally focused, however, some of these are clearly meant to convey a different set of values, away from American celebrity culture and towards more worldly and scholarly endeavors. Previously, the celebrity culture focus of the unedited textbook included sections entitled; (2) Be the Worst, (3) Buy Your Way to Fame (5) Appear on Reality TV (6) Be famous for Being Famous, these are absent in the edited “Qatari centric” version. The only section that has remained the same is (4) Discover Something, which emphasizes contributions to societal progress. This showcases a clear shift in focus that the editors want to convey that advancement in society is based on merit instead of superficial accomplishments. This trend continues throughout the book: excluding any reference to celebrity such as singers and movie actors. Illustrations of celebrities such as David Beckham & JLO (Jennifer Lopez) on pages 86, 88 and 90 are replaced with Neil Armstrong, influential novelists & Presidents and Nobel Prize winner Marie Curie on pages 20, 22 and 24 respectively.

Further mentions of musicians and singers, i.e. Madonna on pages 74-77 and 112 of the original copy, are replaced by pictures of the Olympics, Qatar hosting the World Cup and Omar Sharif in the edited copy on pages 6 - 7 and 50 respectively. SEC editors, as well as the actors they are accountable for, do not want to encourage students to become celebrities; rather they want to focus on other cultural aspects.

Activities and aspects of Western social life presented in the content of the original textbook are absent in the edited version of the text. For example, references to the lottery on page 132 of the original are removed. The image of the lottery machine is removed, because gambling is against the prevalent religious beliefs of the country. The article on the lottery is also removed because of its confliction with the religious values of Qatar.
Depiction of gender roles and inter-gender social interaction.

Further, a picture depicting the interaction of men and women on a beach holiday on page 80 of the original have been changed to show a typical weekend holiday on page 12 of the edited version, due to the inappropriateness of the way the subjects are dressed in the original content. This sort of interaction and manner of dress is against the norms of Qatar as it can be seen as an incompatible representation of gender roles. Another example of interaction that is deemed inappropriate for the Qatari context appears on page 97. It is an image of parents tickling their children; it has also been removed in the edited version, presumably due to that proximity of the parents to one another and the clothing of the daughter. On page 100, pictures of doctors examining a female patient seem to be inappropriate, due to the compromising position of the doctors’ hands and the posture of the female patient; this has also been removed from the edited textbook. Also a narration of the phenomenon that is plastic surgery has been replaced by a story about nature (page 118 of the original and page 60 of the edited version respectively).

In addition to this, gender relations and social contact between sexes are also viewed as problematic themes that have been removed from the text. For example, the reference to speed dating on page 107 in the original copy has also been removed from the edited version of the textbook; this could be because speed dating is an occurrence that is foreign to the Qatari culture.

Political references.

Other activities and references have been removed from the original version for apparent political reasons. These include the omission of any references to protest, for instance, the word “demonstration” on page 82 of the original copy has been replaced by “procession” in the edited.

Protests are not an important aspect of Qatar’s politics and so any reference to protesting must be explained thoroughly form the root, history and purpose of protesting. The SEC has
removed inflammatory images in the Qatari text for example, the “Fight the Fees” and “F**k fees” images on page 72 of the original copy. The new version, which has a single man, looks much less politicized, with a sign about “Climate Action,” whereas the women marching in the original comes off as highly political. Another political exclusion from the edited textbook is the replacement of the portrayal of African nationalism with images of British nationalism. This showcase could be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to sideline world history in an effort to instill admiration of the West to the Qatari students, whether explicitly or implicitly.

Religious homogeneity.

Other activities related to religious practices have been altered. The removal of references to Hinduism on page 103 of the original version could be due to the non-acceptance of such literature in the Qatari setting, or due to the unfamiliarity of Qatari students to foreign religious movements. Qatar is for the most part a homogenous country with one religion and one language, thus it may be seen as unnecessary to teach foreign religious activities to students in a place that does not celebrate this kind of multi-religious atmosphere. Also, such literature could be interpreted as contradictory and challenging to Islam by parents and authorities in Qatar.

SEC Additional Content

In addition to the removals and changes of the content, the SEC editors added sections of the language learning activity. One of the most interesting additions is the segment entitled: “At Home with English Idioms.” This section on English idioms is one of the most noticeably different representations of English (pp. 14-15; pp. 28–29; pp.38-39; pp.54-55; pp. 68-69 and pp. 80-81). The phrases are emblematic of British English, as opposed to American English, which tends to dominate both the media and the economy. For example, the reference made to “[t]omorrow’s chip paper” showcases a very British occurrence, which would not appear for the
most part in American literature or media. These attempts to teach Qatari students British sayings, which differ greatly from other types of English throughout the world, are a strange method for engaging students. Although the introduction to the text articulates a need for economic-focused education for the competitive global marketplace, the British culture, which is largely considered antiquated in the contemporary era (Cappelan Damm, 2008), wins out over the American culture in the textbook. Many of these phrases come off confusing and unnecessary and symbolize a strange addition to the text. This can be construed as an attempt to distinguish between the “proper” English of the fallen British Empire, and the “improper” American English of the contemporary era (which is a theme that is addressed later). The addition of British sayings and literature is more symbolic of larger forces of linguistic imperialism that are imbued within this process.

Overall, the removal of certain examples and imagery from the original textbook illustrates simple but key differences between cultures that are a vital component of literature translation. This is why exercises such as this close reading and analysis of the literature is helpful in truly understanding the partialities and implicit motivations that guide initiatives such as the transfer of educational material from one context to the next. It is also vital in uncovering problems that may arise in such exchanges and only through assessing the complications and the harm they may pose to students.

Close Reading: Pygmalion

On pages 52 – 53, there is a segment entitled “Speaking and Listening: A Famous Playwright and a famous play,” which foregrounds a discussion of George Bernard Shaw’s *Pygmalion*, a well-known text that was later made into a film entitled *My Fair Lady*:

The English have no respect for their language, and will not teach their children to speak
it. They spell it so abominably that no man can teach himself what it sounds like. It is impossible for an Englishman to open his mouth without making some other Englishman hate or despise him. German and Spanish are accessible to foreigners: English is not accessible even to Englishmen.

In the UK in the early 1900s, when the play is set, accents varied more than they do today. Before the invention of radio and television and modern transport, many people rarely travel outside their hometown, and regional differences in accents were more distinct within small areas, people of similar social status taking part in similar work would have similar accents. Today, we are all much more used to hearing people from all over the world and our patterns of speech have become more similar. Of course, the people who did travel more often were the very rich. They sent their children to the same schools and only socialized with each other so their accents were alike, even if they had homes very far apart. Their accent was regarded as ‘proper’ English. It was very easy to tell who came from a rich background and who came from a poor family. Although lack of education was often the major obstacle to poor children making a success of their lives, the ‘wrong’ accent could also prevent them from making progress (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 52, my emphasis).

The learning activity in the text asks the students 10 questions that lead them to understand what may constitute “good” versus “bad” English. This is presented in a deliberate manner to evoke the correct responses from the students. Some of these leading questions are represented below to showcase the method through which the students are being taught. Initially the students are asked to reflect on their own linguistic patterns (underlined portions are those that deserve further inquiry):
1. Work in groups. You know that there are different forms of English, which are spoken in different parts of the world. Does Arabic exist in different forms too? What are these? Do the differences depend on national borders, different periods of time, degrees of formality, or other factors?

2. Do you think that Arabic speakers make judgments about each other depending on the way they speak? Can you tell where someone comes from or whether they are rich or poor by their accent and the words they use? (Read the text below)

3. Do you think these issues affect your society? Did they exist in the past? (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, pp. 52-53).

In the context of Qatar, like many other countries, there is an accent hierarchy, which students may or may not be aware of. There is a perception that certain individuals of the working class speak a form of “Broken Arabic” with a thick accent. The text continues to explain that such hierarchies are present within the UK: “It was very easy to tell who came from a rich background and who came from a poor family... the ‘wrong’ accent could also prevent them from making progress” (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 52). After establishing this as the norm, the students are then sent to analyze a segment of *Pygmalion*. The students are then asked a series of questions regarding the role of social class and accent discrimination in the text. However, the segment goes on to explain that the UK has become much more accepting as they became more developed, “[t]oday, we are all much more used to hearing people from all over the world and

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2 Students and teachers responses have been identified as a key component for the analysis. However, research proposal to approach students and teachers at schools in Doha were disapproved by the education authorities in Qatar.
our patterns of speech have become more similar” (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 52). This is part of the multicultural mythos perpetuated by Western countries, which purports to be more developed and therefore more egalitarian than developing nations such as Qatar.

The exercise presents a segment of the play, and is augmented by an audio version as well as a written script on p. 90. Prior to this exercise, an introductory paragraph is presented:

Liza Doolittle is a poor young woman no education or respectable manners. She makes her living by selling flowers at Covent Garden Market in London. One evening, a wealthy young man knocks over her basket of flowers and ruins them. Liza argues with him. Professor Henry Higgins and Colonel Pickering, who are both experts on phonetics (the science of language), hear the argument. Higgins studies and makes recordings of London accents. He boasts that he can identify the street in which Liza was born, just by hearing her speak ‘like a duchess’ if he chose. The next day, Liza arrives at the professor’s home and his housekeeper, Mrs. Pearce, answers (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 53).

The paragraph gives readers an initial description of the setting as well as provides information about the characters with their social status in the scene. The exercise then presents a piece of the play, which is augmented by both an audio version as well as a written script on pp. 91-92 (see Appendix F). After students read and listen to the scene, they are asked to answer questions (5-10) to reflect on their own views:

(5) Why is there some text in [square brackets] in the script? Who is the information for?

(6) Which character did you find the most difficult to understand from the recording? Do you agree that Liza might need to change her way of speaking to get a good job?

(7) What is the attitude of each of the other characters towards Liza? What does this tell
you about their personalities? What is the social status of each character? Find evidence in the text for your opinions

(9) Do you like/dislike any of the characters? Why? What do you think is the attitude of the writer to his characters?

(10) What do you think might happen next? Write a short scene between some or all of the characters the same day. Practice it and present it to the class (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p.53).

I could further analyze this piece, employing discursive analysis drawing on Fairclough’s CDA as well as its dialectical relation to linguistic analysis (Grammar, Vocabulary and Text Structures) to reveal what cultivates a “proper” English. A genre is identified in this text through Higgins' and Liza’s interactions. There are three main subjects as shown in the introductory paragraph: Liza, Higgins and Mrs. Pearce. Liza is identified in the text as a woman with no education, and lack of respectful manners, and etiquette. On the other hand, Higgins is shown to be a well-educated wealthy man with excellent command of language and mannerism. There are two forms of discourse/ semiosis attached to this section, first a visual image of both subjects and second, the audio sound provided of actors voices. Beyond the text, the image of both characters in the visual representation of the play is provided (a picture taken from the film adaptation My Fair Lady). The differential social roles and statuses of the characters are evident in this pictorial representation. When Henry Higgins stands over Liza Doolittle in a nice hat and coat, with a text in hand, he is positioned as superior to her and exudes higher-class status, clear in the way he is dressed. He is looking down on her, his subject of study, showcasing his clear superiority and her inferior subject-position. She looks forlorn. She is dressed modestly, while he is ostentatious in his clothing selection, showcasing his affluent status.
Second, the audio material is equipped with annotations to allow students to see the distinction of the varieties spoken by both subjects Liza and Higgins. Mrs. Pearce makes a distinction of class classifying Liza’s accent as ‘dreadful.’ Liza’s accent is noted and even represented in written form so that a reader can hear and read the difference. With regards to grammar, a student would notice the accent of Liza’s broken English by the grammatical structure of her utterance for instance: “I'm come to have lessons, I am. And to pay for em too: make no mistake” (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p.91).

In terms of vocabulary, the establishment of Liza’s low status is apparent through the word choices used by Higgins when he describes Liza to his secretary and even in front of Liza, as “She's so deliciously low--so horribly dirty”; at the end of the scene he says “I shall make a duchess of this draggletailed guttersnipe” (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 91). During the play/scene, Liza expresses her frustration by the way Higgins treats her: “and he treats me as if I was dirt” (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p.91) Further, he (Higgins) says: “[brusquely] Why, this is the girl I jotted down last night. She's no use” (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 91). In this, Higgins tells his secretary that he is unwilling to meet with Liza by describing her as useless. However, note the word ‘brusquely’ in between brackets, [brusquely] demonstrates a sense of Higgins’ style, as an unpleasant manner. Note also the sarcasm of his utterance: “shall we ask this baggage to sit down or shall we throw her out of the window?” Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 91). This sense of disrespect and disregard has an effect on Liza’s style. Notice the prompts in between brackets in Liza’s reaction:

[Running away in terror to the piano, where she turns at bay] Ah--ah--ah--ow--ow--ow--oo! [Wounded and whimpering] I won't be called a baggage when I've offered to pay like any lady (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 91).
The words in terror and (wounded and whimpering) reflect on her inferior personality and style, the sense of intimidation she felt, not being able to speak ‘correctly’ or present herself as a proper genuine lady. The social relations between the subjects in the text are unexpectedly surprising. Notice the authority of Higgins and his secretary towards Liza: “HIGGINS [peremptorily] sit down”; “MRS. PEARCE [severely] Sit down, girl. Do as you're told” (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 91). These are quite direct orders filled with power and authority, with the unlikeable style noted between brackets (peremptorily) and (severely). Liza on the other hand, has a very subjected/subordinating relation, notice her modesty and shyness her response: “LIZA [coyly] Don't mind if I do” (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 91).

A discourse flows in this scene by looking at how both Liza and Higgins function as objects that represent their different variety of accents. Her (Liza’s) characteristics in the play are a physical representation of “bad” English – i.e. lower class/status and inferiority. This image reaffirms the theme of this addition to the text, that there is a physical lack present in those who are incapable of speaking “properly.”

What is interesting about this process is the learning activity related to the content, which includes questions before and after the play. The way questions are ordered matters, as it creates a certain narrative and a way of thinking (to reach the desired conclusion being laid out by the text). Therefore, this activity of a genre has an implicit purpose.

Students

In the activity, a mode of communication between the author and students is implicitly evident. Although the subjects in the play are very obvious and not passive, the object of each question is indirect, and almost euphemistically, there is no clear reference to what constitutes “bad” English, but the students are shown in the reading, and in the audio included with the
imagery presented, what is improper English. Thus, they are lead to believe that the poor girl Liza will not be successful in the community (get a “good job”) if she does not speak *properly*. For instance, note what Liza stated in the content of the play “I want to be a lady in a flower shop stead of selling at the corner of Tottenham Court Road. But they won't take me unless I can talk” (Cunningham and Moor, 2012, p. 91). The text does not permit students to draw their own conclusions, but encourages them to engage in a specific line of reasoning. The vocabulary is also extremely informative as the variety of indirect language to convey the difference between “proper” (good) and “improper” (bad) English. Fairclough (2001) mentions this stating, “how ideological differences in their representations of the world are coded in their vocabulary” (p. 94).

When the students read this text, they are exposed to the hierarchy of accents, which are related to social status. There seems to be ideologically significant meanings relationships that exist between words, where the good/proper as a utility of the employable/upper class and the bad/improper English is used by the unemployable/low class. Finally, the textual structures serve as an apparatus to convey what larger-scale structures that the text supports. This locates the analysis around Arabic and then brings in English hierarchy to normalize the distinction between proper/improper accents (and high/low class). Fairclough (2003) explains: “others are specialized for a relatively ‘global’ (inter)action across networks (genres of governance)” (p. 66); relatively, the textbooks are created by Western publishers (Pearson) for consumption in non-Western contexts (Qatar); this way, there is a specific set of ideas/ideologies that are implicit in the text.

**Conclusion**

Though difficult to discern in this case without access to the students as participants, there is a need to recognize the positions of all stakeholders. However, the clear ideas and
intended purposes of even the editors remain difficult to discern; “in all such cases... one should be sensitive to possible ideologically motivated obfuscation of agency, causality and responsibility” (Fairclough, 2001, p. 103), and therefore the text itself becomes an essential artifact to understand the role that English language Education plays in the contemporary context in Qatar.

Ultimately, the learning activity of judging “proper” versus “improper” English is part of the process of linguistic imperialism, because it affords privilege to a certain way of knowing over indigenous knowledge. The author’s idea is to demonstrate the variety of English back in the colonial era of the British Empire. George Bernard Shaw’s *Pygmalion* is an example of how this process is facilitated through English Language Education, as are the additions and subtractions from the text that help convey the validity of this type of English, and its superiority over all others. Responsibility rests upon the publishing house as it is the publisher that initiates policy and clear guidelines for authors to follow in writing textbooks as explored earlier in the policy analysis of social practice (Pearson). The following chapter will take up the publisher’s perspective in the textbook development and publication process.
Chapter Six: Publishers’ Perspectives on an English Language Textbook

In this chapter I present the content of my interview with a publishing agent from the publisher of the textbooks. The first part of the analysis and chapter presents the overarching themes that were discussed during the interview. These themes are essentially the factors taken into consideration during the process of producing English textbooks for use in Qatar. The emerging themes are used to organize the content and to draw implications regarding the relationships between the actors involved in English-language textbook production and publishing. The remainder of the chapter was a CDA of a close reading of the interview transcripts.

The Textbook Development and Distribution Process

The interview clarified the relationship between the publisher and the institutions in the Gulf, SEC particularly, and how this influences the outcomes of the textbooks produced. The agent discussed the procedures utilized to ensure that the content would be culturally appropriate while still effective in teaching English to Qatari students. Such procedures involve soliciting feedback and consulting with educational agents, local educators and administrators, and representatives of the governing boards in each respective market in the Gulf. The agent also explains that institutions under strict guidelines and criteria regarding cultural appropriateness produce much of the content for the Gulf Region under commission.

The agent discloses that the textbooks are often composed completely from beginning to end by employees of the publishing house, leaving very little room for freelance contributions. The process would also involve more than just writers. It was the agent’s responsibility to
organize consultants (recruited by both clients and the publisher), to facilitate the work and to ensure it was functional in the environment for which it was intended.

From the interview, it is clear that feedback solicitation played a significant role in the process. Feedback would be of a general nature or related to specific textbooks that the agent’s firm had already produced. The publishing house that the agent worked for would not only put out new material, but would also often repurpose and edit existing material that had functioned well and had gained an audience. In these cases, feedback and input from users were even more important as there was already a fixed benchmark that could be improved. While the publisher does not mention having solicited feedback directly from students, either by author or publisher staff, the agent mentions several times that educators provide feedback concerning their own and presumably students’ experiences with the material. The publishing agent does refer to research conducted in the “students’ classroom” but does not specify what this research entails, as there is no further mention to engaging directly with students. Instead, the agent refers several times to ongoing work with educators.

In a specific instance in Qatar, the publisher was asked to revise a textbook for use in that country and had to solicit input from a variety of sources. One such source includes region-specific consultants. The interviewee states that “[w]e have Emirati nationals working in education, who consult for us and Saudi national working in education, who consult for us” (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 102-3). The publisher was amenable in accommodating the requested changes to the textbook.

**Audience**

The end-user, the audience, was a feature of the interview. The agent was well aware of the need to respect the limitations, both cultural and educational of the audience and adjusted
products depending on the level of the readers. In the specific examples discussed, attention was drawn to the needs of students from different cultures. The content of ESL textbooks was a large part of this discussion. It was clear from students and teachers (those in a consulting role) that international content was an important part of the textbook. The agent emphasizes that the textbook makers “are still trying to keep a large portion of international content because students still want that… they enjoy the international content again as soon as it is culturally appropriate” (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 148-50). The agent aimed for a specific percentage of international to local content.

There was also an effort made towards a collaborative approach with local teachers in certain instances. Since teachers are a key audience of these texts, it is important to highlight the attention paid in their regard. The agent states: “[w]e use their syllabus, their curriculum standards. We did research with the students’ classroom etc. and then we started writing. Again with very strong input of the selected people and educators from the university and we worked the whole course out from scratch” (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 300-3). By working in lockstep with local educators, the text makers can deliver an end product more tuned towards their regional audience. The publisher considers the teachers to be suitable actors to turn to in adopting a text that coexists with pre-established tastes and curricula.

**Viability**

The interview revealed some information regarding the business practices, organizational model, and measures of success. The agent briefly touches on the nature of her current work and the office structure in the region. She explains that the Dubai office is responsible for developing ELT resources for the entire Middle-East “[s]o everything that is coming out of here for the Middle East we develop here in the Dubai Office for English language” (Interview with
publisher, 2015, lines 62-69). She further explains that while the publisher does not have offices in Qatar, they have two offices for the Gulf; Dubai, U.A.E. and Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. These three countries are the primary focus of the publisher in the region, although the publisher does have some presence in other countries.

What I can gather from this is that the publisher is dedicated to producing content as locally as possible for the region. While they may not have offices in Qatar, maintaining offices in Riyadh and Dubai are considered by the publisher to be enough to fulfill the needs of the region. Indeed, in my own experience there are enough similarities in culture that the nuances between them would not be so crucial to the end products and one could meet the regional goals from offices in neighboring countries.

An exchange surrounding the company’s history in the region offers some insight into the measures of success on the publisher's part (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 80-84). The agent states that because of the decade long continued sale of particular textbooks and course material, they have been quite successful.

Control

The interview shows that the publisher gave great consideration to the cultural and educational differences that existed between the Gulf and other regions. To overcome any possible unawareness those involved in the publishing process may have, the publisher relies on insights and cooperation from local agents. These local agents are by and large educators from the various countries in the Gulf (Qatar, U.A.E, and Saudi Arabia). The process as described involves discussing and sharing textbooks and other content with local educators that are nationals of each specific country, i.e. Qatari nationals for Qatari content. From this information, the publisher edits the content of the textbook to meet the information specified by these local
consultants. These edits and considerations are then shown to the consultants in order to validate the textbooks for cultural, context specific and regional educational relevancy. It is clear from this, that there is a shared responsibility between the publisher, client and consultants over the content of the textbooks in production. This relationship can further be discussed in terms of control over the end product and which the enactment of this power, lies with.

There were primarily two approaches to textbook publishing that were discussed in depth during the interview. Firstly, textbooks and resources which have been created previously and are then marketed to various schools and institutions, and secondly, textbooks and course materials which have been commissioned by institutions in order to fulfill specific requirements of the clients.

**Commissioned Content**

Educational ministries and institutions throughout the region such as the SEC in Qatar, often commission publishers to develop resources for their prep foundation. Often, this requires the development team to begin writing from “scratch.” In effect, this means combining both regional and international content and working closely with locals to discern topics of interest and appropriate content for the textbooks. The agent finds that the ministries and educators prefer to have both international and regional specific content. She further details the process; the development team sits with (local) consultants to plan the content, from cultural appropriateness to specific skills and language comprehension outcomes. The writing is then completely done by the publisher’s team of writers and edited by their editing staff. Before being formally published, it undergoes the scrutiny of the editors, writers, budget managers, and other directors in the publishing company. The importance of the contributions of the consultants was reemphasized throughout the discussion. What is clear from this is that the
publishers are concerned with the practical content of the textbooks while they rely heavily on local educators serving as consultants to address any concerns of inappropriate content.

There were two specific examples of textbooks and resources that went through this process of commission based content. Firstly, the Qatari version of *New Cutting Edge* states clearly that it was published by the agent’s company and revised by the SEC itself. The agent explained that this was done with the approval of the publisher, in order to meet the standards decided by the SEC. *New Cutting Edge* is an international textbook, although the SEC commissioned the publisher to develop a version of the textbook to meet the SEC’s educational standards, as well as making considerable amendments for cultural appropriateness. This was done in conjunction with the SEC, specifically a small group from the SEC working alongside a team from the publisher to adapt the book over the course of a year. The result was a version of the international course that met both the educational goals and standards of culture outlined by the SEC.

The second example the agent provided was the development of digital foundations of a prep course for a group of technical colleges in the U.A.E. This involved the institution selecting their ‘best’ teachers and organizing them into a team to work with the publisher to create a course customized for their colleges. Using the institution’s syllabus, curriculum standards, and research that involved observing the classroom, the publishing team began writing content to meet the requirements of the client. The input provided to the publisher from outside sources was essentially by the educators from the university. Reading passages and articles were all gathered from the Middle East and the Gulf Region.

The agent highlighted the point that this course was an original creation for the Gulf Region, developed with the institution. The implication here is that the institutions are well
informed of their students' needs, both education and cultural wise and therefore a course developed in part under their direction would fulfill these needs. In the example of Qatar, she explains that these products and courses are also built for and sold to the SEC in Qatar.

The publisher’s discourse highlights an interest in foregrounding local knowledges and needs. Yet, at the same time, the interviewee also demonstrated that a portion of the textbooks is intentionally left unchanged from their initial Western-specific context and examples. She states that “usually about 70% of the international content is not touched” (Interview with publisher, 2015, line 204), meaning that content relating to international linguistic and cultural references is included in the textbook without adaptation to the Gulf Region linguistic and cultural context. This is done with the deliberate intent of keeping the texts credible as being originated in the West. While cultural and linguistic appropriateness plays a factor in having texts accepted in markets like Qatar, the publishing house is mindful that it is being enlisted in large part due to their previously perpetuated brand.

Free Market Release

The second method of resource development is what the agent termed a “free market release,” which differs slightly from the commission model previously outlined. These resources are officially developed independently of any specific institutions in the Gulf. However, the agent does indicate interactions with educators and agents of institutions influencing the creation process of these materials. At least, providing directions for content based on the focus of the various schools and ministries that are potential purchasers of the resources. The process that follows stems from these initial discussions with educators from the region.

The agent acknowledges that these textbooks are not typically developed with a particular region in mind; instead, the publisher develops resources in response to English proficiency
objectives in general. However, she explains the process of remarketing an international textbook to a specific regional audience. Using English language textbooks and instruction courses that have sold well in other regions, the Gulf office of the publisher works with schools and colleges to gather feedback. Colleges in the region express their concern regarding cultural components of the textbook. The agent explains that much of the scrutiny comes from Saudi Arabia and Qatar, where there is much concern that the books do not adhere to Islamic standards. She compares this with the U.A.E, where there is considerably less concern.

The agent discloses that this is not a process unique to the Gulf, and in fact she is aware of teams in various regions (e.g. China, South America) undergoing similar procedures to adapt the books to those markets. In the publisher’s opinion, this is inevitable, as the core content has been developed in the United States and the UK. Even though they have been developed for an international audience, regional differences exist and need to be accommodated.

While the publisher stands by the linguistic content that is offered in the books, justified by their international success on that basis, educators in the region express a strong concern about appropriate content for students. This effectively forces the publisher to re-edit the content of the book in order to address these concerns. The agent stresses how detailed the staff is in revising the books to meet the standards, but also in order to make the content more relevant to the region. This is a joint effort that involves the writers, editors, and using constant feedback from consultants to ensure the books are meeting these goals.

There are essentially two categories of edits that are made to the textbooks at this time, those that can be seen as inappropriate for students, and those that are deemed irrelevant to the students’ surroundings. She estimates that these regionally focused edits, to both commissioned and free market textbooks, result in changes to less than 30% of the international content. She
maintains that they aim to keep most of the international content, as this appeals to both students and educators, as long as it is culturally appropriate.

This detailed information regarding the publishing process reveals the level of influence institutions in the Gulf wield over the educational materials they acquire. This sphere of influence is clear especially in commissioned content, but also surprisingly in free market releases. Free market releases must also conform to the same guidelines as commissioned content to improve the chances of the materials being purchased. This way, the clients in the Gulf Region have set a standard that dictates a large portion of the material produced by international publishers that aim to service this market.

Cultural and Ethical Concerns

The theme of cultural and religious appropriateness seems to be a significant topic of concern for the publisher as it came up several times. This came up when the reasons for revising already existing and successful textbooks were discussed. Again, the textbook prepared for a university in Qatar and in Saudi-Arabia served as an illustrative example.

The agent described the textbook as having content from a Western perspective. Although absolutely ‘normal’ in a Western context, some themes were either inaccessible or inappropriate from a cultural or religious point of view. An example of inaccessibility was a chapter discussing the New York subway system. While students in the Gulf States and Saudi Arabia were familiar with the concept, it was much easier to speak about the train system in Riyadh at Princess Nourah University. This also had cultural implications. Rather than perpetuate the notion of Western cities as unique carriers of technological change, it showed a more global presence of technology. Another example was a chapter about a rugby team. Rugby is not well known in the region and so the sport was changed to soccer, a sport well-known and
loved in the Gulf States. The interviewee states that the consultants will advise them that “[they] don’t want to see pictures of the ladies playing rugby because it is not appropriate. Also rugby, you know, no body follows rugby [t]here. So we have a whole unit about rugby but nobody would find it very interesting so then what we would do is, [we] replace it with [soccer] because we know [it] is very popular [t]here” (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 192-6).

Cultural elements, however, are not the only ones. Certain elements were unfit for the audience from a religious or ethical perspective. While a Western textbook may depict children born outside of a marriage as a ‘regular’ feature of society, in much of the Middle East it is not. Such depictions may disturb sensitivities and were perceivably not welcome by commissioning institutions. Similarly, in the agent’s words, depicting women playing certain sports is not acceptable in the cultural and ethical context of the states in question. Adapting textbooks to reflect a worldview appropriate to the settings in the Gulf States was a major concern of the interview and much discussion was dedicated to it.

Validity

The publishing house is deeply concerned with how credible they appear to the students and institutions that utilize their products. Moreover, the interview subject’s responses establish her own personal credibility in English educational publishing by outlining her past experience. This contributes to the larger objective of establishing the validity of the publishing company itself, within the field of English language teaching. This is a key concern of the agent as a representative of the company, as it is the premise on which the entirety of their work is based. Any questions or concerns regarding the publishers’ capability in this field would compromise their foundation in the region and could prove harmful in the immediate future.
The beginning of the interview centered on the agent’s previous work experience while clarifying what brought her to her current position in the Gulf. She explains that after joining her current publishing company in 2007, she worked in other English speaking countries, “so I have been in the U.K before the Middle East. And before the UK, I was in Australia. I always work in publishing… educational publishing really. So let’s say, I work in education” (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 72-78). By providing her previous experiences similar to one would in a job interview, I interpreted this as establishing her expertise in the field of publishing. Indeed, by clarifying that she has always worked in educational publishing, she further establishes this credibility. I could gather two key points from this, one that having worked in two very predominantly English speaking countries, she must possess a thorough grasp of the language, and by making it explicit that her work has always been in education and educational publishing she is well suited for her position as an ELT publishing agent.

CDA of the Interview

Discourses are identified by particular genres and in this case, in the interview, our discourse has its own particular norms and structures. Interviews are understood as dialogue between two or more individuals, where one takes on the role of the interviewer, and other(s) the role(s) of the interviewee. The discussion is usually centered on the responses of the interviewee, while the interviewer, through the order and pacing of the questions, guides the discussion. While the amount of dialogue between actors is not typically even, styles demonstrated by the actor inform the identities and power within the discourse. The style is used to understand the identities the actors occupy within the discourse. I focused this portion of my analysis on identifying instances of style and what these instances revealed about the actors.

The total number usage of pronoun ‘we’ during in the interview is 152 times. A genre can
be used to form the identity of an actor for instance: “we have very large projects”; “So we work with educators from key colleges in Saudi”; “We conduct some research and we decide to publish” (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 88, 91-92, 115) respectively.

The notable usage of the pronoun “we” by the interviewee positions her as an agent of a larger body, essentially giving her greater power with support from the company she is employed by. Additionally, this serves to protect the interviewee from any personal criticism, while allowing her to take ownership of the larger body of the company and their work as a result. This style, identified as first person, indicates the authoritativeness to relate to quality discourse. As a result, this legitimizes the publisher’s role by the appeal to expert knowledge: “And there’s another Gulf edition of an international courses that’s been very successful”; “to make sure we get the content right” (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 94-95, 96) respectively.

Modality is another aspect to inform the style of the agent. In this instance of discourse I observed the use of the confident words ‘that’s been’ and ‘make sure’ in her speech to establish her example as a matter of fact while reinforcing her authority/expertise in this field. These assured phrases, expressing the success as a confirmed past achievement and the assumption that they have in fact “gotten the content right,” establishes her word as truth and lends her word a degree of knowledge. Rather than prefacing her statements with more passive phrases, such as ‘I think,’ ‘I assume,’ or ‘try to’ in order to move from claims to absolute truth. This is demonstrative of professional style, utilized by those to establish credibility and expertise in a field.

The conventions of the interview genre dictate that each participant completes their contribution to the overall discourse before another’s contribution commences. In this instance,
the interviewee has abruptly cut in and predicted the question or anticipated the interviewer asking for something not easily accessible to her.

J:  You told me something interesting is that students love the international content right?

A:  The educators as well, as long as it is not culturally inappropriate.

J:  Yes, I understand because...

A:  Because in these textbooks there are always something inappropriate because it’s just a nature of this course. English language is taught throughout the world (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 166-171).

The interviewee steers the conversation towards a discussion of global and regional variations of cultural appropriateness. This is either a presumptive style, one of dominance, or anticipation of another question that the interviewee is reluctant to answer, such as “what evidence do you have to support this opinion, that students’ enjoy the content?”

Another attempt was made by the interviewer to present his question:

J:  For the students, I do agree with you that they prefer international content, because they learn not only the language but also the culture right? The western culture. So umm…

A:  But Jamal, they still learn about the international content because as I said, when we modify, usually about 70% of the international content is not touched so they still learn a lot of international things but there are things that as I said are completely alien (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 199-204).

Again, the interviewer was cut off before uttering his complete question, the interviewee again steers the conversation towards discussion surrounding cultural appropriateness. The interviewer in this instance is occupying a passive style, by offering little resistance to the interviewee’s command of the discussion, and as a result has lost the power to steer the discourse. The
hesitation or, relative silence in completing the question at hand, has resulted in an opening for the interviewee to avoid questions surrounding the students, and instead gear it towards a discussion of textbook content:

it is very rare that we accept a proposal from somebody who submits a proposal. Generally speaking, it is us - we conduct research and then we work with educators so it is not easy to accept a proposal that has been sent to us usually because you see for us, we need to make sure that any idea that is developed we need to make sure that something can be used widely and often that’s not the case, so we usually the way it works is that we have the idea, we have a concept and then we go to educators and then we ask for support

(Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 247-253).

This statement is in direct contradiction of information previously taken from the publisher’s website, in which they encourage the submitting of proposals. The interviewee displays a degree of professional style, while also safeguarding the procedure for creating textbooks. Phrasing like ‘we need,’ ‘make sure,’ ‘often not the case’ provide this, in addition to the repeated pronoun of ‘we,’ which strengthens the interviewees claim to ownership of the process. This is also achieved through the use of ‘my’ in the following: “It was my team that was working on this project” (Interview with publisher, 2015, line 186).

Not only does the interviewee enjoin herself to the process, but takes possession of team leadership by using ‘my’ as opposed to ‘our.’ Whereas ‘our’ would infer that there is some group involved in the leadership and efforts, possibly a larger organization or a shared ownership among team members, the use of ‘my’ denotes a voice of individual possession.

Within the context of the interview I analyzed, the interviewee states that the publication of a new textbook is contingent upon the approval of a few key actors above all else.
A: Yeah-yeah I am familiar, I remember. Ok, *New Cutting Edge*, the way it worked in the case of that contract specifically for the SEC. They wanted us to adopt the *New Cutting Edge* to the standards of the Supreme Educational Council like the educational standard. And then also they wanted it to be amended for cultural appropriateness. Ok. So we did the work with them. So there were small committee of stakeholders from SEC. they work with us, the team of 8 people. It was my team that was working on this project. And worked together for… it can take a year to do this so it can be a quite long. And then we published this resource which, again it is *Cutting Edge*, which is an international course but it is modified to meet the need of a specific institution.

J: Standards? (Interview with publisher, 2015, lines 281-290).

This exchange demonstrates the apparent hegemonic relationship that exists within the larger social context surrounding the interview. Here the interviewee discusses the guidelines outlined and the approval granted by the SEC before resources can be published. She highlights the collaborative nature of this modification process, the publisher in charge of content, the modifications to content that are done in consultation with locals. This serves to grant ownership over the course content to the publisher, while revealing that the SEC grants final approval of modifications.

Through CDA, I could see how discourses and genres exist primarily within the social context that conceived them. By engaging in this analysis of the interview in particular, I was able to uncover the various levels of discourse within a particular instance of communication. In this particular study and deep reading of the interview conducted, I uncovered both implicit and explicit ideology within the discourse, while drawing meaning from these exchanges in relation to the larger social context.
Chapter Seven: Discussion and Conclusion

The final chapter brings together the findings that emerged in the thesis to respond to the research questions posed in Chapter Three. The following interview discussion articulates the insights from the previous chapter in relation to the second question regarding the responsibility of the content produced. Following this, the conclusion of the study addresses the first and last question, discussing power imbalances within the textbook production process and their potential impact on the process of education in Qatar. I then offer my own recommendations for addressing concerns raised in the thesis, and suggest potential areas for future research, before giving my closing thoughts on the research.

Interview Discussion

The specific themes from the interview—process, audience, viability, validity, control (commissioned content & free market release), cultural and ethical concerns -- could be further grouped into two general categories represented by 1) material factors and 2) interactional or relational factors. The latter provides insight into key aspects of the publisher-client relationship in the Gulf Region. As a result, points such as authority and power emerged during the analysis of the interview and require further discussion. My interview subject seemed a bit reluctant to discuss the subtleties that govern how content is selected in depth, and student involvement in that process. While she does mention going into the students’ classroom, she does not clarify the specifics of what that entails. There is not enough information in the interview to determine whether students are involved directly in the process, while the agent refers to educators being consulted several times throughout the interview.
While there may be underlying reasons for this omission of detailed references to students from the interview, or possibly the exclusion of students from the process itself, there is not enough information to clarify the point. My own experience in education in the region leads me to believe that students are not consulted directly in the process. Institutions in the Gulf are quite protective of their students and would not easily expose them to foreign agents. Also, in order to maintain the existing relationship with the institutions, publishers may avoid pursuing such measures.

Wodak and Meyer (2009) explain that texts are usually the result of a negotiation of power:

An important perspective in CDA related to the notion of ‘power’ is that it is very rare that a text is the work of any one person. In texts, discursive differences are negotiated; they are governed by differences in power that is in part encoded in and determined by discourse and by genre. Therefore, texts are often sites of struggle in that they show traces of differing discourses and ideologies contending and struggling for dominance (p. 10).

This brings me to the issue concerning control and authority over the process of material production. The process of production in both free market and commissioned content involves a joint effort between the publisher, consultants and institutions. On the surface, the process would seem to be done in full cooperation with all actors working side by side. Through further description of the process, it is revealed that the publisher’s writing staff works fairly independently of the institutions and consultants. Also, the consultants are often educators selected by the institution (e.g. the SEC) itself. The process seems to be more of a constant to and from exchange between the actors, rather than a full collaboration over the written material.
This way, it seems the publisher possesses more authority in this situation than the SEC regarding the teaching of the English language; however, the SEC possesses authority over the publisher with regards to cultural mindfulness. By extension, the SEC ultimately possesses more power than the publisher over the entire implementation of the textbook in schools, as they are the institution commissioning the textbook. This role as the client gives them the authority as the gate keeper for Qatar’s education and what is effectively taught to students.

The approach to producing the textbooks reveals a release of ownership of material to the client. This relieves the publisher and authors of the material from significant responsibility towards producing cultural appropriateness in the textbooks. It also opens the possibility of any difficulties in the use of the material among students being the result of this release of control over the end product. The multiple references to the consultants being responsible for considering culturally relevant and appropriate material strengthen this point.

Wodak and Meyer (2009) state that “[o]rganizations that strive for power will try to influence the ideology of a society to become closer to what they want it” (p. 8). This seems to be the dynamic at hand in this context, where the SEC and similar institutions wield a great deal of influence over the selection of content in textbooks for the region. Furthermore, power is understood through two approaches, in this case. Firstly, French and Raven’s model (1959) examines power stemming from the specific resources of an actor (as cited in Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p. 9), in this case the SEC and the publisher, where the publisher has ownership over the writing staff, and possesses content knowledge necessary to producing the textbooks. Such ownership provides the publisher with control over the content specific to language conventions; however, its position is somewhat unstable as they may not have exclusive ownership of this knowledge. Nor is it crucial to the process that these knowledge resources come exclusively
through them. The SEC, on the other hand, wields a great deal of power in this regard as it has both the financial resources and the authority over the students and the education system of Qatar. This exclusive authority over these aspects affords them the greater share of control in this context.

Secondly, there is the Weberian notion of power “as the chance that an individual in a social relationship can achieve his or her own will even against the resistance of others” (Weber, 1980, p.28 in Wodak & Meyer, 2009, p.9). This relates to the relationship between the publisher and the SEC, and the constraints that the publisher must adhere to in this relationship. As a branch of Qatar’s government, there is legitimate authority given to the SEC. It is worth noting that the name “Supreme Educational Council” implies omnipotence over the education of the country. There is the strong possibility that the publisher would jeopardize its relationship with the SEC by asserting its role more within this relationship. This would also assume that the publisher’s will differs from that of its client (the SEC), and would resist if possible.

The publisher has produced ELT resources for the Gulf for at least twenty years, with many of their textbooks published over a decade ago still selling well today. This establishes the publishers’ familiarity with the region and its educational practices. This confirms the publisher as a long-term educational partner in the Gulf and would give the publisher its share of credit in the success of Qatar’s education. By the same token, this also includes the publisher in the complications that are ongoing in developing English language proficiency in Qatar. As a long-term publisher of material in the Gulf States, it would follow that the company would have had opportunities to develop strong cultural knowledge of the region. Yet, this is still a challenge for the writers, even though the local content is minimal (30%).
The content in the textbooks relating to the conventions and understandings of English for practical purposes remains largely unchanged in the various regions of the world where the material is distributed. As discussed previously, there are essentially two points of rationale that justify edits to the textbooks. Either the content is culturally inappropriate or it is irrelevant to the learner’s experience. The most easily explained example given by the agent in regards to culturally inappropriate material in the Gulf is the removal of references to alcoholic beverages. The consumption of alcohol is against cultural norms of Qatar and other Gulf countries and indeed it is against the law in Qatar to do so. Thus, referencing the open-minded consumption of alcohol for social purposes would be deemed culturally inappropriate for this region. In addition to being inappropriate, the lack of this phenomenon in the country could label such content as irrelevant to the experience of Qataris.

The agent discusses another example of a revision for cultural inappropriateness, which is the removal of photographs that do not agree with the local customs. The example given is a photograph of female rugby players in the textbooks. The people of the Gulf follow a very strict dress code, to which international women’s rugby uniforms do not conform. Depicting this openly in the textbooks would, and more than likely has, upset educators and students using the books, as alluded to by the agent (Interview with the publisher, 2015, lines 192-193). Images presented in the content remain a crucial issue, and possibly a greater point of contention because they are much more prominent in the textbooks than the written content and can be more open to interpretation.

The omission of content that is unsuitable for Qatari and Gulf students follows the line of thought that examples and anecdotes in textbooks should reflect the context of the learner. Certainly a learner must be able to draw from his or her own experiences in relation to the
materials they engage in. Teaching students content that does not find meaning in their daily functioning and cannot be extended beyond the confines of the classroom leaves them unequipped to engage with society in a larger sense. The agent provides examples of when the content had been revised to reflect the realities of students. She explains that often sports references are changed in order for students to relate more to the content. Acknowledging the geographical regions that are closest to the learner while they are gaining a level of English proficiency would allow the learner to apply that skill to their context and what they may already be familiar with.

These revisions seem thoroughly justified, for the purpose of achieving more relevancy for the students. By revising the content to draw on students' previous experience, the publishers presumed, for example, that enthusiasm for soccer would foster greater engagement from the students. In other words, the English idiom, 'speaking their language,' comes to mind. To present students with examples which are irrelevant to them would be akin to educating them in an unfamiliar tongue. Revising the text to better relate to the students is necessary in the process of integrating these materials into the Gulf.

The interview reveals how ESL policy can differ from one state to another and from one region to another. Concerns of cultural appropriateness are more of the norm rather than the exception; the continuity of English as a global language will only lead to its increased presence in such diverse settings.
Conclusion of the Study

A main concern of the study is to uncover potential power imbalances apparent within the textbook. Exploring the micro and macro analysis of the textbook helped me to answer research primary questions (Q1 and Q3 in particular). Firstly, I attempted to focus the analysis specifically on instances taken from the textbooks, my interpretations of these instances as a reader, and the writer’s motivation for including them. Secondly, with the macro analysis, I tried to uncover the dynamics of the complex process of producing textbooks as well as the policy that promotes its consumption by revising the material to maximize its relevancy to its intended audience. I demonstrated the implicit depletion of the students’ linguistic values and indigenous identities, as well as the hidden disintegration of Arabic in the hegemonic state of Qatar when it comes to mitigating the potential ideological conflicts between Arabic and Western values and also between the perceived need for differentiation between Arabic and Western values on a substantive level.

The social location of people without power is deeply affected by the ways in which endemic linguistic forces within society act against their interests. In turn, the personal experiences of non-Western people serve to inform the ways culture is determined and whether or not these actions are effective at mitigating the impact of power relations.

Nonetheless, the analysis defined not only Qatari students’ social context but their identity now and in the future, which is why a critical lens is needed when it comes to English-associated educational policy. In the classroom, the defining of Qatari students’ social context and identity calls for additional clarity when trying to differentiate between what is needed to learn a language, and what is required from an ideological belief system. It is possible for the SEC and for educators to bridge this gap cautiously, and to build awareness around differences
without engendering conflicts in values, but textbooks need to be developed that can assist with this process, and allow the maintenance of MTs over the long term.

The utilization of both English and Arabic in education has caused Arabic to lose its position as a medium of instruction in the independent schools. This bilingual shift resulted in conflict between the named languages. As bilingualism can be a means to lead students to assimilation, Heller explains that bilingualism in Canada serves as an example of the issues with the modernist project: (2001, p.120). She explains that often when English is celebrated as more important than other indigenous languages, it has the power to foster a universal monoculture that centralizes and privileges western capitalism…modernization” (Heller, 2001, p.124). As a result, a loss of traditional culture is likely. She also extends this issue to also include linguistic capital in the global marketplace (Heller, 2001, p.124). This is evident in Qatar, where English proficiency affords access to gainful employment opportunities, and Arabic proficiency only provides menial work.

**Implications**

**Identity.**

English language learning has socio-psychological effects on the students’ motivation, attitudes and cultural identity (Gao, 2009a). In Gao (2009a) productive bilingualism is where students learn the target language but while remaining oriented to the native culture. In Qatar, the attitude of students is evident as demonstrated in Chapter One, showing that students prefer studying English to Arabic, which veers away from productive bilingualism because students enjoy learning English more than Arabic. The appreciation towards learning English goes hand in hand with appreciation for its culture. Based on Alqubaisi’s (2011) criticism, there is more emphasis on the western festivals going on in Doha, where Qatari traditional events are
increasingly absent these days.

The Western festivals and holidays also appear in the textbook. This contributes to what I have seen in the textbooks, the conflict between Qatari cultural identity and the Western identity. It is claimed that learning a English language “reduces the national self-esteem” (Gao, 2009b, p. 69). As a result of the above elements, English language infuses Qatari cultural maintenance in order to create a ‘post-identity language’ (Lo Bianco, 2005 in Gao 2009b). However, Gao raises the significant question of whether English is taught as a foreign language (2009a). From what was learned from the policy context of Qatar, English is a more active language in society than being just a foreign language. Qatar’s education must also take up the intercultural/transcultural forms and knowledges that have emerged from the cultural shift produced by English language instruction on Qatari cultural identity. This is because identity is produced and processed through interactions between social structures and language use (Gao, 2009a). From this point of view, “the learning of English helps to construct learner identities of various kinds – competitive job hunters on the international market, competent professionals, successful ambassadors of native language, ‘no longer a foreign language,’ as Lo Bianco (2005) has suggested” (Gao, 2009a, p. 114).

Dependency.

As noted in the National Vision 2030, advancement is Qatar’s priority to offer its people the best living standard while sustaining development. However, it seems like a balance between sustaining development and maintaining tradition has not been struck, there are inadequate supporting plans to maintain the cultural heritage of the country.

In the process of modernization, Qatar depends on Western advice to modernize and develop its economy, education and other societal spheres. Dependency can be seen as a mutual
issue on both micro and macro levels. Western specialists and consultants were assigned to reform and modernize K-12 education in Qatar. This reform was anchored by the distribution of English textbooks produced by foreign authors and publishing houses. This dependence extends into the economic sphere, as Qatar’s main natural resources are natural gas and petroleum, industries developed in the west with western experts devoted to extracting such resources. It is very obvious from the policy assessment that Qatari policy makers depend highly on western agency instead of relying on local human capital. Ultimately, the increased dependence will lead Qatar to lack of its self-determination

**Linguistic imperialism.**

Pennycook discusses the schools as “cultural and political arenas where different cultural, ideological and social forms are constantly in struggle’ (Pennycook, 1994, p. 297). Indeed, I have discussed this idea previously with the notion that the classroom is a vulnerable place for students where their previous schema is tested and reconfigured. By accepting this notion, then the tools in the classroom will not be neutral, but instead will be accompanied by ideology. As language pedagogy is currently used as a tool for politics and imperialism, thus ELT resources in the classroom are inevitably tools of the agenda (Phillipson, 1992).

The dilemma that exists with linguistic imperialism is that it will exist to some degree regardless of the context. The mere fact that a language of widespread influence is being learned in regions throughout the globe for the purpose of engaging in a global system shaped by the language reflects this. The solution lies in ways of overcoming this imperialism and imposition of English over Arabic. The contemporary structure of ELT seems to mirror a single stream of knowledge flowing West to East or North to South. Regardless of the partnerships involved in the effective integration of textbooks into the region, the joint ownership over considerations of
culture and appropriateness. The basis for the exchange between western and non-western actors remains the flow of English language knowledge from the West to the East. The local actors serve to facilitate this, essentially supporting the imperialist structure. The fact that learning English is a mandatory requirement for students reinforces this.

Currently the policies observed in Qatar seem to encourage the appropriation of the English language, specifically English of an exclusively Western nature. This is uneasily balanced with efforts to discourage the appropriation of Western culture that accompanies the language. In other words, the role of English as a foreign language in Qatar seems to be in a state of instability. The focus is no longer on presenting English as the domain of the Anglo-American world that would set the standard, but rather, English is viewed as a means of communication between cultures which positions it as a second language. On the one hand, this is a globalizing tendency. It is filling English with non-Western meanings and symbols and facilitating the exchange of ideas between cultures. On the other hand, it is a localizing force. Instead of focusing on bringing the student to think in a way idiomatic to English speakers, it brings the focus on using English within both local and foreign contexts while respecting all the ethical norms and traditions inherent in education in Qatar. English is now the jurisdiction of multiple actors, including agents of states such as the SEC.

This uncovers the essential principle that is at the heart of ELT in Qatar and the aim of ELT resource modification. In my case study, the revision of the English textbook was done to legitimize its use. Although efforts are made to produce such results, there are examples in the text of when this effort has not achieved its full desired outcome. The section in the textbook concerning Pygmalion, although adapted to meet the standards of cultural appropriateness in the region, remains an instrument of cultural transmission. The content related to “proper” and
“improper” language serves to reinforce notions of British social hierarchy in the mind of the reader. This cultural transmission is further underpinned by the questions that follow relating it to various forms of Arabic. The result leads the reader to apply the rules dictating British social hierarchy to the Arab speakers.

*Pygmalion.* By drawing students’ attention to the language hierarchy in English and relating it to the similar, perhaps even more prejudicial, hierarchy of Qatar, the authors create a perception of Liza that would not likely endear her to the students. The authors draw parallels between the students themselves and the character of Liza with the negative perception surrounding the character based on her treatment by the other characters places the students in a sensitive position. This was done by touching on the primary purpose most Qataris would engage in English language learning: the prospects of better employment. By mentioning that there are forms of speech that jeopardize one’s chances of gainful employment, the author makes the students’ position analogous to Liza’s. As the character enters into the scene with her pre-existing form of English, students enter ELL classrooms with skills in Arabic. I contend that this creates the possibility that students are left with the idea that they must in some form discard their Arabic language and accompanying accents to learn “proper” English, which would gain them employment.

This remains a significant finding of my research and is related to the overall theme of linguistic imperialism. By indirectly conveying the message that not all levels of English are equal in terms of upward mobility, the authors cast doubt on students’ own abilities and the value of their native language in helping them achieve success. This serves to discredit the Arabic language in the minds of students, while furthering the perception that English in its highest form is also a crucial instrument for upward mobility.
Recommendations and Overcoming Obstacles

The interview analysis sheds light on the concerns of stakeholders of the textbook publishing process. Cultural segregation is more significant than differences of a socio-cultural nature. Ethical concerns also make it difficult to use educational materials without adapting them. Education in the Gulf traditionally has been the passing on of traditions, norms, and culture (Alqubaisi, 2011). This must be balanced with the Gulf States integrating further with the globalized world. It is significant that textbooks are not the only facets of education where this cultural shift can be observed. Teachers who do not come from the Gulf States also need to adjust their material and presentation (Khelifa, 2009, p. 10). This cultural difference is not unique. It is an issue that textbook publishers need to be aware of in order to service their clients appropriately.

Critical language awareness (Fairclough, 1995) is meaningful to identify and eliminate such issues as those I have discovered. Educational organizations such as the SEC should solve the issues in their educational policy at a broader level and the issues in the textbooks at a concrete level. Issues of language prejudice that are latently injected in textbooks could have been tackled and the material would appear more appropriate.

Furthermore, I would recommend that Qatar invest heavily in developing education reform internally rather than importing materials and resources from abroad. The late Dr. Mustafa Mahmoud in his integral work (Mahmoud, 1993) discusses the necessary conditions for a nation’s self-determination. These include: self-reliance with respect to resources, both human and natural, self-sustaining economic measures, military autonomy and self-dependence in that regard, and a self-guided educational system (Mahmoud, 1993, p. 112). While this may be slower and more challenging to implement, it would yield richer results for Qatar in the long run.
In line with this is a proverb attributed to the renowned Islamic scholar Muhammad AlShafi: “nothing scratches one’s skin like one’s own fingernail” (AlShafi, 2016); this has been understood as advising leaders and nations to manage their own affairs internally. Also, it seems self-government would be a crucial step in overcoming the current difficulties surrounding Qatar’s education, namely the challenges surrounding language and student performance.

I would recommend that the SEC amend its policies to position English as an additional language in school, and not a medium of instruction as it currently stands. The reasoning behind this is that students have consistently performed poorly in subjects where English is the primary language of instruction.

It would be more beneficial to Qataris to learn in a more familiar language of instruction, reinforced by their culture, to foster a greater understanding of content. The SEC has implemented Arabic as a medium of instruction in the subjects of science and math, and I believe supplementing English language instruction by offering additional English study programs will further support this. Learning English is a valuable pursuit, but should not come at the sacrifice of invaluable knowledge in crucial subject areas such as mathematics and science.

The current form of English taught in Qatar is of a completely Western origin, and is taught in a manner that does not allow the language to adapt to the Qatari context. Qatar should focus on allowing English to develop into a localized form, promoting the linguistic hybridity of the languages. This would give rise to a Qatari form of English that would allow citizens to engage with globalized English more organically. It would give concession to the cultural needs of the Qataris while also integrating English into the larger society. There is much discussion surrounding the virtues and critiques of that case; however, the idea is that English can be influenced by locality, something that is yet to be studied on a notable scale in Qatar.
The performance of Qatari students over the last decade has been well documented and Qatar’s education has been criticized for producing consistently poor rankings (Ellili-Cherif, et al., 2012, p. 471). While there are a number of recommendations that have been made and implemented over this time period (Brewer et al., 2007), very little attention has been paid to what materials were used by students, or how they were used, over that period of time.

I believe the SEC should revisit its relationships with publishers and the instruction materials utilized in classrooms. Currently, to my understanding, textbooks and other materials are of western origin. The English language textbooks are amended in consultation with local actors in order to meet the cultural needs of the society. The core discourse remains that of the western publisher, with additional contributions from local actors. Still, this process voids the discourse of the local voice, and opens the content to criticism on those levels. I would implore the SEC to explore the possibilities of reversing the process to better meet the needs of Qatari students. This would be more beneficial to the students and to Qatar’s education as a whole and would be relatively easy to facilitate. While the publisher’s experience and knowledge of the English language and English language teaching is to be acknowledged, there is something to be said for sensitivities regarding relevancy of materials to culture and context. To cope with this, I believe the textbooks could be written by local authors and submitted to the publisher’s staff for editing and proofreading. In this way, the content would be at its core a locally constructed discourse, and any deficiencies in conventional English language content could be addressed with relative ease. Facilitating this shift in roles would give an opportunity to Qataris to better determine their own course of study and to participate in their own educational process. Allowing them further integration and increasing their ownership will allow Qataris to take pride in their work, while also creating content that is inherently more relevant to them. This initiative
would require a level of trust from both the educational institutions as well as the publishers, but would be a greater opportunity for collaboration.

Future Research
Linguistic human rights.

It would be vital to include the concerns of linguistic human rights that are at stake in Qatar. While the situation in the Qatar’s educational system and the implementation of foreign texts and educational material within schools has not escalated to any outright political conflict, these infringements on Qatari culture could be interpreted as violating the linguistic rights of Qatar. As the Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights and particularly the Girona Manifesto affirm a number of rights that native speakers of a language are entitled to:

School instruction must contribute to the prestige of the language spoken by the linguistic community of the territory, It is desirable for citizens to have a general knowledge of various languages, because it favours empathy and intellectual openness, and contributes to a deeper knowledge of one’s own tongue, The right to use and protect one’s own language must be recognized by the United Nations as one of the fundamental human rights (Girona Manifesto, 2011).

These proclamations of linguistic rights that must be maintained globally could come into conflict with some of the efforts of the authors of the textbooks and the SEC. Phillipson (2001) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1994) consider linguistic human rights a central concern in English language instruction, while also arguing that foreign languages must be taught through the MT of learners. While the discussion surrounding linguistic human rights is exhaustive, and while to lay a concrete claim of infringements as such would require very strong evidence of the fact, this is beyond the scope of this research. However, it is certainly an area for review and would
definitely be a worthy cause for extended research, especially if this issue in Qatar is ongoing without resolution.

In an overview of the paradigms associated with this topic, an initial evaluation of the collected works showed that scholars are divided into two groups. The first group is concerned with linguistic rights (imperialism) (Phillipson, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000), the other with cultural rights (Pennycook, 1994). This assessment of the published empirical research will primarily delimit these paradigms into the linguistic right of individuals to maintain their own MT, but cultural rights may inform this process. Ultimately, research that is concerned with linguistic human rights (LHR) has placed much emphasis on the MTs of minorities. This not only involves the learning of the MT but also the assertion that said language is well developed among those minorities. To this end, the granting or taking of LHRs concerns access, meaning, “that all people can identify positively with their MT and have that identification accepted and respected by others whether their MT is a minority language or a majority language” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1994, p. 625). Given these factors, the primary framework for deciding which results to analyze and report on in this research synthesis, includes a focus on how and why a MT of either a minority or majority should be respected, and how educational language policy can frame this expectation of rights.

**Students and teachers.**

Students’ and teacher’s involvement is crucial to the study. Had data been drawn from recipients (students and teacher), this would have resulted in a very well-balanced analysis. I had attempted that in the first stages of this research, however the ethics application to approach such recipients was rejected by the SEC. Future studies will be enriched by including such actors in the research process.
Concluding Thoughts

The analysis of ELT textbooks in the context of the Qatar’s schools system leads us to a number of thoughts to address, while providing the impetus to explore deeper insights in this context. What is clear is that the dynamics that govern the composition and integration of discourse in society are complex and must be understood with a level of sensitivity. Additionally, various perspectives would view and assess the case uniquely, and this analysis is the result of the author’s respective review of the information. Through a critical understanding and analysis of the discourse, I was able to uncover ideologies inherent within the examined discourse. Additionally, relating this discourse to the social reality in which it is situated provides insights relating to the levels of power that are active within that social reality.

Qatar is a unique setting, as the focus on ELL in the nation is not generally understood as vital to the country’s survival. However, the policies in the nation have created a requirement for ELL, partially to the disadvantage to a large part of the student body. Indeed, this shift in language use has had a profound effect on the composition of local language and culture. The SEC seems well aware of the potential for cultural imposition and takes measures to limit this incursion. It is this struggle to balance Qatar’s cultural safeguards with its linguistic pursuits that is at the heart of this issue. The resolution of this issue is not easy and would require a joint effort on the part of multiple actors to move towards a shared objective. Determining the direction and nature of these goals is a complex process and cannot be done with ease. This research is aimed at contributing positively to the growth of Qatar’s education for the benefit of students, citizens, and Qatar’s society as a whole.
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Appendices

Appendix A. English Language and Identities in Qatari Educational Reform: Pedagogical and Social Implications

To whom it may concern,

As we have informally discussed, I am writing to invite [name of author/editor] in [his/her] capacity as former author/editor of [name of English language textbook] of [name of publishing company] to participate in a research project, English Language and Identities in Qatari Educational Reform: Pedagogical and Social Implications. The main purpose behind the study is to explore the role that English plays as a second language in an increasingly global context. This part of the project involves interviews concerning specific aspects of involvement with English language education, focusing on the attitudes, aptitudes and thoughts that authors/editors have regarding ESL textbook materials. I would like to approach the authors/editors for his/her informed consent to participate in this research. If they are not available, I would appreciate you directing me to any other authors/editors or representatives whom I could interview. This study will meet the requirements of the Research Ethics Board (Human Subjects) of the University of Toronto.

Aims of the research
This study arises at a moment where English has become a priority in Qatar and where English language textbooks have become instrumental in the delivery of English language instruction. Little research, however, has examined English language learning in Qatar. This study will add to existing information, enabling insight into Qatar’s recent education policy in which English has become a medium of instruction, thus contributing to the analysis of public policy in this area on both an academic and a practical level, which will benefit the educational system as a whole.

Research plan and method
Permission will be sought from the authors/editors prior to their participation in the research. Various levels of participation will be suggested, from an audio-taped interview where the researcher takes notes, to an unrecorded interview where the research takes notes, to an unrecorded interview off the record, to a decision to decline to participate. Participation is completely voluntary. Only those who consent will participate. Participation will be completely anonymous and confidential. The names of the authors/editors, textbooks or publishing house will not appear anywhere with reference to the interview in the completed thesis. The conversation will have absolutely no bearing on authors’/editors’ professional work or reputation within the company. The interviews will be approximately one hour in length and will be conducted at a mutually convenient time and location determined in consultation with the prospective participant, for example as a meeting conducted in person for which the researcher would travel to meet the author/editor, or via a videoconference facilitated by the researcher. Participants may withdraw from the study at any time without any adverse consequences.
All information collected will be treated in strictest confidence. Audio-recorded or digital data collected during the interview will be encrypted in the researcher’s computer; equipment will be stored securely at all times. Participants will be invited to provide feedback on completed transcripts to suggest any changes or additions. The completed thesis will be uploaded to the University of Toronto’s library website and will be publicly accessible. Study participants interested in receiving a copy of the completed thesis may also provide an e-mail address to which the digital version of the thesis could be sent. Data will be kept for the duration of the study and will be deleted or destroyed/disposed of in confidential waste following the submission of the thesis, unless participants choose to withdraw prior to the completion of the thesis, at which point all data pertaining to the participant’s interview will be destroyed.

**Involvement**

Attached with this letter of information an informed consent letter to approach authors to participate in the study. I would greatly appreciate your assistance to:

- Forward these informed consent letters to the prospective participants;
- Collect any signed letters of consent from the participants within approximately a week’s time
- Assist me with arranging a secure time and place for data collection to take place, should an interview occur on the premises at the publishing house.

Attached for your information are copies of the Participant Information Statement and Consent Form.

**Invitation to participate**

Thank you for taking the time to read this information. Should you or others at your organization have questions about the study, I would be happy to discuss the research further at your convenience. My master’s thesis supervisor, Dr. Christine Connelly at the University of Toronto is also available to answer any questions or to address any concerns. Moreover, should you have further questions about participants’ rights in this study, please contact Dean Sharpe at the University of Toronto Research Ethics Office.

Thank you very much for your time and consideration. Your help with this initial phase of the research is greatly appreciated. Looking forward to hearing from you at your convenience.

Sincerely,

Jamal Almuhaish
MA Candidate, Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto
Appendix B. English Language and Identities in Qatari Educational Reform: Pedagogical and Social Implications

Dear Participant,

As you may have informally discussed with [the publishing house administrative staff], I am engaging in a research study, entitled *English Language and Identities in Qatari Educational Reform: Pedagogical and Social Implications*, to look at the effects of English language education in Qatar. The main purpose behind the study is to explore the role that English plays as a second language in an increasingly global context. This part of the project involves interviews concerning specific aspects of English language education within school, focusing on the attitudes, aptitudes and thoughts that authors/editors have regarding ESL textbook materials. I am looking to get your own views on this process, because English language education in Qatar has become mandatory in the past few years, and a long-term view of this should reveal great insight into the effects these changes in the curriculum have had on the students and the community as a whole. With your consent, I would like to engage in a short interview to discuss some of your experiences and expertise regarding these themes. This study will meet the requirements of the Research Ethics Board (Human Subjects) of the University of Toronto.

Be advised that an honorarium of $70 Canadian will be offered to you in order to compensate for your time in the instance of a face-to-face interview, in recognition of your specialized expertise. However, due to budget limitations, compensation will be pro-rated if you choose to withdraw prior to the completion of the study. If you withdraw in good faith for any particular reason partway through the study process, then the full honorarium will be provided. If you choose to withdraw prior to the beginning of the study, no compensation will be offered. If you choose to withdraw during the interview, $20 will be provided in recognition of time as a gesture of good faith. If you choose to withdraw from the research after the completion of the interview, $40 will be provided to you. Upon reading the transcript of the interview, should you choose to withdraw, or should you choose to withdraw following the completion of the thesis write-up, the full amount will still be provided, all compensation will be provided following the completion of the thesis transcriptions.

**Aims of the research**

This study arises at a moment where English has become a priority in Qatar and where English language textbooks have become instrumental in the delivery of English language instruction. Little research, however, has examined English language learning in Qatar. This study will add to existing information, enabling insight into Qatar’s recent education policy in which English has become a medium of instruction, thus contributing to the analysis of public policy in this area on both an academic and a practical level, which will benefit the educational system as a whole.

**Research plan and method**
Should you agree to participate, we would conduct an individual interview. Various levels of participation could be possible, from an audio-taped interview where the researcher takes notes, to an unrecorded interview where the research takes notes, to an unrecorded interview off the record, to a decision to decline to participate. Participation is completely voluntary. Only those who consent will participate. Participation will be completely anonymous and confidential. The names of the authors/editors, textbooks or publishing house will not appear anywhere with reference to the interview in the completed thesis. The conversation will have absolutely no bearing on your professional work or reputation within the company. The interviews will be approximately one hour in length and will be conducted at a mutually convenient time and location determined in consultation with you and you’re the administrative staff, for example as a meeting conducted in person for which I would travel to meet you, or via a videoconference facilitated by me through my university. You would also be free to withdraw from the study at any time or to decline to answer any particular question without any adverse consequences.

All information collected will be treated in strictest confidence. Audio-recorded or digital data collected during the interview will be encrypted in the researcher’s computer; equipment will be stored securely at all times. Participants will be invited to provide feedback on completed transcripts to suggest any changes or additions. The completed thesis will be uploaded to the University of Toronto’s library website and will be publically accessible. Study participants interested in receiving a copy of the completed thesis may also provide an e-mail address to which the digital version of the thesis could be sent. Data will be kept for the duration of the study and will be deleted or destroyed/disposed of in confidential waste following the submission of the thesis, at which point all data pertaining to the participant’s interview will be destroyed.

Your contribution to my M.A. thesis work would be very greatly appreciated as you would bring a unique and significant set of experiences and expertise to this research and I would be very interested to hear your insights.

**Invitation to participate**
Attached for your information are copies of the Participant Information Statement and Consent Form.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

If you have questions about the study, please contact Jamal Almuhaish or Jamal’s master’s supervisor, Dr. Christine Connelly at the University of Toronto: [416 978-1989, christine.connelly@utoronto.ca]

If you have further questions about your students' rights as a participant, please contact Dean Sharpe at the University of Toronto Research Ethics Office (416-978-5585 or dean.sharpe@utoronto.ca).
Sincerely,

Jamal Almuhaish

MA Candidate, Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto
Publisher/Authors Consent Form

I have read the project description for the M.A. thesis research project, *English Language and Identities in Qatari Educational Reform: Pedagogical and Social Implications*, and understand that the project involves an interview concerning English language education and experiences with the development of English language textbook materials as part of English education in the curriculum in Qatar.

I have decided that:

- [ ] I wish to participate in an audio-taped interview where the researcher would take notes,
- [ ] I prefer to participate in an unrecorded interview where the researcher would take notes
- [ ] I prefer to participate in an unrecorded interview off the record
- [ ] I prefer not to participate.

__________________________  __________________________
Name (please print)  Signature

__________________________
Date

I wish to receive an e-mail upon the completion of the study with a link to the digital version of the thesis:

__________________________
E-mail

Please keep one copy of this form for your own records and return the other to my attention at your convenience at [email address].
Appendix C. Questions to the Authors/Editors

1. Could you please tell me a little about yourself and your experience working with the publisher (Examples: How long have you been here? How many years have you been involved in publishing?)

2. Could you please tell me how the publisher became involved in creating an ESL textbook for the Gulf Region?

3. Did the publisher have certain objectives in mind for this textbook? (What were the objectives the publisher hoped to achieve with this textbook?) (What parties were involved in outlining the goals? Where did you look to for directives?)

4. Would you be able to talk a bit about how the textbook content was determined? Can you describe the overall process for deciding on the content for the textbook? (Was there a consultative process in developing the content? Who participated? What was the outcome? Was research conducted on the target demographic?)

5. How did the publisher take into consideration the learners' backgrounds? What resources did the publisher have access to in researching the local context?

6. Was the content of textbook evaluated? How? What did you find initially with the evaluation? (Was there any discussion at the time of the textbook creation about whether or not to include international cultural content? Did you receive any comments regarding the content of textbook?)

7. Did you come across any particular challenges in producing textbooks to the Gulf Region?

8. What is it like to try to meet a broad audience in the Gulf Region? How did the publisher go about the distribution of the textbook? What were the goals for distribution?

9. What messages do you believe these books are conveying to the students?

10. Do you see any positive effects of the dissemination of this information, specifically engaging in international English education?

11. Is the same text used in different parts of the world? How do they differ? What is the outcome of such differences?

12. What is your sense of the impact of English language education in Qatar/UAE, especially considering the recent reforms?

13. Was there any demand for your company to create and reproduce textbooks by the (Ministry of Education of Emirates)/(Qatari SEC)?
Appendix D. Letter of Appreciation for Participation

Dear Participant,

As an essential part of my research project, entitled *English Language and Identities in Qatari Educational Reform: Pedagogical and Social Implications*, I would like to take the opportunity to extend my great appreciation for taking the time to participate in my study. This study was approved, assisted and supported by the Saudi Cultural Bureau/Ministry of Higher Education, as well as the University of Toronto. Thank you for your honesty and for your precious time.

Again, thank you so much for your participation in the study. Your input is incredibly valuable in continuing to provide insight to the educational process.

Thank you again for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Jamal Almuhaish

Jamal Almuhaish c/o Christine Connelly
Assistant Professor in Education and Francophone Minorities
Department of Curriculum, Teaching and Learning;
Coordinator of French Language Programming
Ontario Institute for Studies in Education of the University of Toronto
Centre de recherches en éducation franco-ontarienne (CREFO)
6-108, 252 Bloor Street West
Toronto, Ontario, Canada M5S 1V6
Appendix E. Listening Script of the Scene. George Bernard Show:

Act II

MRS PEARCE [hesitation, perplexed] A young woman wants to see you, sir.
HIGGINS A young woman! What does she want?
MRS. PEARCE Well, sir, she says you'll be glad to see her when you know what she's come about. She's quite a common girl, sir. Very common indeed. I should have sent her away, only I thought perhaps you wanted her to talk into your machines. I hope I've not done wrong; but really you see such queer people sometimes-- you'll excuse me, I'm sure, sir--
HIGGINS Oh, that's all right, Mrs. Pearce. Has she an interesting accent?
MRS. PEARCE Oh, something dreadful, sir, really. I don't know how you can take an interest in it.
HIGGINS [to Pickering] Let's have her up. Show her up, Mrs. Pearce [he rushes across to his working table and picks out a cylinder to use on the phonograph].
MRS. PEARCE [only half resigned to it] Very well, sir. It's for you to say. [She goes downstairs].
HIGGINS This is rather a bit of luck. I'll show you how I make records. We'll set her talking; and I'll take it down first in Bell's visible Speech; then in broad Romic; and then we'll get her on the phonograph so that you can turn her on as often as you like with the written transcript before you.
MRS. PEARCE [returning] This is the young woman, sir.

HIGGINS [brusquely] Why, this is the girl I jotted down last night. She's no use: I've got all the records I want of the Lisson Grove lingo; and I'm not going to waste another cylinder on it. [To the girl] Be off with you: I don't want you.

THE FLOWER GIRL. Don't you be so saucy. You ain't heard what I come for yet. [To Mrs. Pearce, who is waiting at the door for further instruction] Did you tell him I come in a taxi?
MRS. PEARCE. Nonsense, girl! what do you think a gentleman like Mr. Higgins cares what you came in?
THE FLOWER GIRL. Oh, we are proud! He ain't above giving lessons, not him: I heard him say so. Well, I ain't come here to ask for any compliment; and if my money's not good enough I can go elsewhere.
HIGGINS. Good enough for what?
THE FLOWER GIRL. Good enough for ye--oo. Now you know, don't you? I'm come to have lessons, I am. And to pay for em too: make no mistake.
HIGGINS WELL!!! What do you expect me to say to you?
THE FLOWER GIRL. Well, if you was a gentleman, you might ask me to sit down, I think. Don't I tell you I'm bringing you business?
HIGGINS. Pickering: shall we ask this baggage to sit down or shall we throw her out of the window?
THE FLOWER GIRL [running away in terror to the piano, where she turns at bay] Ah--ah--ah--ow--ow--ow--oo! [Wounded and whimpering] I won't be called a baggage when I've offered to pay like any lady.
PICKERING [gently] What is it you want, my girl?
THE FLOWER GIRL. I want to be a lady in a flower shop stead of selling at the corner of Tottenham Court Road. But they won't take me unless I can talk more genteel. He said he could teach me. Well, here I am ready to pay him—not asking any favor—and he treats me as if I was dirt.

MRS. PEARCE How can you be such a foolish ignorant girl as to think you could afford to pay Mr. Higgins?

THE FLOWER GIRL Why shouldn't I? I know what lessons cost as well as you do; and I'm ready to pay.

HIGGINS How much?

THE FLOWER GIRL [coming back to him, triumphant] Now you're talking! I

HIGGINS [peremptorily] Sit down.

THE FLOWER GIRL. Oh, if you're going to…

MRS. PEARCE [severely] Sit down, girl. Do as you're told.

THE FLOWER GIRL. Ah--ah--ah--ow--ow--oo!

PICKERING [very courteous] Won't you sit down?

LIZA [coyly] Don't mind if I do.

HIGGINS. What's your name?

THE FLOWER GIRL. Liza Doolittle.

HIGGINS Eliza, Elizabeth, Betsy and Bess*, They went to the woods to get a birds nest:

PICKERING. They found a nest with four eggs in it:

HIGGINS. They took one apiece, and left three in it. [They laugh.]

LIZA. Oh, don't be silly.

MRS. PEARCE. You mustn't speak to the gentleman like that.

LIZA. Well, why won't he speak sensible to me?

HIGGINS. Come back to business. How much do you propose to pay me for the lessons?

LIZA. Oh, I know what's right. A lady friend of mine gets French lessons for eighteenpence an hour from a real French gentleman. Well, you wouldn't have the face to ask me the same for teaching me my own language as you would for French; so I won't give more than a shilling. Take it or leave it.

HIGGINS You know, Pickering, if you consider a shilling, not as a simple shilling, but as a percentage of this girl's income, it works out as fully equivalent to 60 or 70 guineas from a millionaire.

PICKERING. How so?

HIGGINS. Figure it out. A millionaire has about 150 pounds a day. She earns about half-a-crown.

LIZA Who told you I only--

HIGGINS She offers me two-fifths of her day's income for a lesson. Two-fifths of a millionaire's income for a day would be somewhere about 60 pounds. It's handsome. By George, it's enormous! it's the biggest offer I ever had.

LIZA [rising, terrified] Sixty pounds! What are you talking about? I never offered you sixty pounds. Where would I get--
HIGGINS. Hold your tongue.

LIZA [weeping] But I ain't got sixty pounds. Oh--
MRS. PEARCE. Don't cry, you silly girl. Sit down. Nobody is going to touch your money.
HIGGINS. Somebody is going to touch you, with a broomstick, if you don't stop snivelling. Sit down.
LIZA [obeying slowly] Ah--ah--ah--ow--oo--o! One would think you was my father.
HIGGINS. If I decide to teach you, I'll be worse than two fathers to you. Here [he offers her his silk handkerchief]!
LIZA. What's this for?
HIGGINS. To wipe your eyes. To wipe any part of your face that feels moist. Remember: that's your handkerchief; and that's your sleeve. Don't mistake the one for the other if you wish to become a lady in a shop.
MRS. PEARCE. It's no use talking to her like that, Mr. Higgins: she doesn't understand you. Besides, you're quite wrong: she doesn't do it that way at all [she takes the handkerchief].
LIZA [snatching it] Here! You give me that handkerchief. He give it to me, not to you.
PICKERING [laughing] He did. I think it must be regarded as her property, Mrs. Pearce.
MRS. PEARCE [resigning herself] Serve you right, Mr. Higgins.
PICKERING. Higgins: I'm interested. What about the ambassador's garden party? I'll say you're the greatest teacher alive if you make that good. I'll bet you all the expenses of the experiment you can't do it. And I'll pay for the lessons.
LIZA. Oh, you are real good. Thank you, Captain.
HIGGINS [tempted, looking at her] It's almost irrestible. She's so deliciously low--so horribly dirty—
LIZA [protesting extremely] Ah--ah--ah--ah--ow--ow--oooyo!!! I ain't dirty: I washed my face and hands afore I come, I did.
PICKERING. You're certainly not going to turn her head with flattery, Higgins.
MRS. PEARCE [uneasy] Oh, don't say that, sir: there's more ways than one of turning a girl's head; and nobody can do it better than Mr. Higgins, though he may not always mean it. I do hope, sir, you won't encourage him to do anything foolish.
HIGGINS [becoming excited as the idea grows on him] What is life but a series of inspired follies? The difficulty is to find them to do. Never lose a chance: it doesn't come every day. I shall make a duchess of this draggletailed guttersnipe.
LIZA  Ah--ah--ah--ow--ow-- oo!